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CONTENTS OF No. LI.

- ART. I. Mémoires de Madame la Marquise de Larochejaque-
lein ; avec Deux Cartes du Théâtre de la Guerre
de La Vendée p. 1
- II. Attraction des Montagnes, et ses Effets sur les Fils à
Plomb, déterminés par des Observations Astrono-
miques et Geodesiques. Par le Baron de Zach . 36
- III. Popular Reflections on the Progress of the Principles
of Toleration, and the Reasonableness of the Ca-
tholic Claims. By a Protestant 51
- IV. Lectures on Dramatic Literature. By W. A. Schlegel.
Translated from the German, by John Black Esq. 67
- V. Culloden Papers ; comprising an Extensive and Inter-
esting Correspondence, from the year 1625 to 1748 107
- VI. An Inquiry into the Causes of the High Prices of Corn
and Labour ; the Depressions of our Foreign Ex-
changes and High Prices of Bullion during the late
War ; and Considerations of the Measures to be ad-
opted for relieving our Farming Interest from the
unprecedented Difficulties to which they are now
reduced ; with relative Tables and Remarks. By
Robert Wilson Esq. 135
- VII. Conchiologia Fossile Subapennina con Osservazioni
Geologiche sugli Apennini e sul Suolo adiacente.
Di G. Brocchi, Ispettore delle Miniere, &c. . 156
- VIII. Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, from the earlier
Teutonic and Scandinavian Romances, being an
Abstract of the Book of Heroes and Nibelungen
Lay ; with Translations of Metrical Tales from the
old German, Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic Lan-
guages, with Notes and Dissertations. By Mr We-
ber and Mr Jamieson. — Besides various other
Publications on Ancient German and Northern
Poetry, by Von der Hagen, Grimm, &c. . 180

CONTENTS.

ART. IX. The Substance of some Letters written by an Englishman resident at Paris, during the last Reign of the Emperor Napoleon : With an Appendix of original Documents	215
X. On the Fire-Damp of Coal Mines, containing an Account of an Invention for Lighting the Mines, and consuming the Fire-Damp, without Danger to the Miner. By Sir Humphry Davy, LL.D. F. R. S. &c. &c.	233
Quarterly List of New Publications	241

THE
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FEBRUARY, 1816.

N^o LI.

ART. I. *Mémoires de MADAME LA MARQUISE DE LAROCHE-JAQUELEIN ; avec Deux Cartes du Théâtre de la Guerre de La Vendée.* 2 tomes. 8vo. pp. 500. Paris, 1815.

THIS is a book to be placed by the side of Mrs Huchison's delightful Memoirs of her heroic husband and his chivalrous Independents. Both are pictures, by a female hand, of tumultuary and almost private wars, carried on by conscientious individuals against the actual government of their country :— and both bring to light, not only innumerable traits of the most romantic daring and devoted fidelity in particular persons, but a general character of domestic virtue and social gentleness among those who would otherwise have figured to our imaginations as adventurous desperadoes or ferocious bigots. There is less talent, perhaps, and less loftiness, either of style or of character, in the French than the English heroine. Yet she also has done and suffered enough to entitle her to that appellation ; and, while her narrative acquires an additional interest and a truer tone of nature, from the occasional recurrence of female fears and anxieties, it is conversant with still more extraordinary incidents and characters, and reveals still more of what had been previously malignantly misrepresented, or entirely unknown.

Our readers will understand, from the title-page which we have transcribed, that the work relates to the unhappy and sanguinary wars which were waged against the insurgents in La Vendée during the first and maddest years of the French Republic ; but it is proper for us to add, that it is confined almost entirely to the transactions of two years, and that the detailed

narrative ends with the dissolution of the first Vendean army, before the proper formation of the Chouan force in Brittany, or the second insurrection of Poitou; though there are some brief and imperfect notices of the e, and subsequent occurrences. The details also extend only to the proceedings of the Royalist or Insurgent party, to which the author belonged; and do not affect to embrace any general history of the war.

This hard-fated woman was very young, and newly married. when she was thrown, by the adverse circumstances of the time, into the very heart of these deplorable contests;—and, without pretending to any other information than she could draw from her own experience, and scarcely presuming to pass any judgment upon the merits or demerits of the cause, she has made up her book, of a clear and dramatic description of acts in which she was a sharer, or scenes of which she was an eyewitness,—and of the characters and histories of the many distinguished individuals who partook with her of their glories or sufferings. The irregular and undisciplined wars which it is her business to describe, are naturally far more prolific of extraordinary incidents, unexpected turns of fortune, and striking displays of individual talent, and vice and virtue, than the more solemn movements of national hostility, where every thing is in a great measure provided and foreseen; and where the inflexible subordination of rank, and the severe exactions of a limited duty, not only take away the inducement, but the opportunity, for those exaltations of personal feeling and adventure which produce the most lively interest, and lead to the most animating results. In the unconcerted proceedings of an insurgent population, all is experiment, and all is passion. The heroic daring of a simple peasant, lifts him at once to the rank of a leader, and kindles a general enthusiasm to which all things become possible. Generous and gentle feelings are speedily generated by this raised state of mind and of destination; and the perpetual intermixture of domestic cares and rustic occupations, with the exploits of troops serving without pay, and utterly unprovided with magazines, produces a contrast which enhances the effects of both parts of the description, and gives an air of moral picturesqueness to the scene, which is both pathetic and delightful. It becomes much more attractive also in this representation, by the singular candour and moderation—not the most usual virtue of belligerent females—with which Mad. de Larochejaquelein has told the story of her friends and her enemies—the liberality with which she has praised the instances of heroism or compassion which occur in the conduct of the republicans, and the simplicity with which she confesses the jealousies

and excesses which sometimes disgraced the insurgents. There is not only no royalist or antirevolutionary rant in these volumes, but scarcely any of the bitterness or exaggeration of a party to civil dissensions; and it is rather wonderful that an actor and a sufferer in the most cruel and outrageous warfare by which modern times have been disgraced, should have set an example of temperance and impartiality which its remote spectators have found it so difficult to follow. The truth is, we believe, that those who have had most occasion to see the *mutual* madness of contending factions, and to be aware of the traits of individual generosity by which the worst cause is occasionally redeemed, and of brutal outrage by which the best is sometimes debased, are both more indulgent to human nature, and more distrustful of its immaculate purity, than the fine declaimers who aggravate all that is bad in the side to which they are opposed, and refuse to admit its existence in that to which they belong. The general of an adverse army has always more toleration for the severities and even the misconduct of his opponent, than the herd of ignorant speculators at home;—in the same way as the leaders of political parties have uniformly far less rancour and animosity towards their antagonists, than the vulgar politicians in their train. It is no small proof, however, of an elevated and generous character, to be able to make those allowances; and Mad. de Larochejaquelein would have had every apology for falling into the opposite error,—both on account of her sex, the natural prejudices of her rank and education, the extraordinary sufferings to which she was subjected, and the singularly mild and unoffending character of the beloved associates of whom she was so cruelly deprived.

She had some right, in truth, to be delicate and royalist, beyond the ordinary standard. Her father, the Marquis de Donnison, had an employment about the person of the King; in virtue of which, he had apartments in the Palace of Versailles; in which splendid abode the present writer was born, and continued constantly to reside, in the very focus of royal influence and glory, till the whole of its unfortunate inhabitants were compelled to leave it by the fury of that mob which escorted them to Paris in 1789. She had, like most French ladies of distinction, been destined from her infancy to be the wife of M. de Lescure, a near relation of her mother, and the representative of the ancient and noble family of Salgues in Poitou. The character of this eminent person, both as it is here drawn by his widow, and indirectly exhibited in various parts of her narrative, is as remote as possible from that which we should have been inclined *a priori* to ascribe to a young French nobleman of the old regime.

just come to Court, in the first flush of youth, from a great military school. He was extremely serious, bashful, pious, and self-denying,—with great firmness of character and sweetness of temper,—fearless, and even ardent in war, but humble in his pretensions to dictate, and most considerate of the wishes and sufferings of his followers. To this person she was married in the 19th year of her age, in October 1792,—at the time when most of the noblesse had emigrated, and when the rage for that unfortunate measure had penetrated even to the province of Poitou, where M. de Lescure had previously formed a prudent association of the whole gentry of the country, to whom the peasantry were most zealously attached. It was the fashion, however, to emigrate; and so many of the Poitevin nobility were pleased to follow it, that M. de L. at last thought it concerned his honour, not to remain longer behind; and came to Paris in February 1793, to make preparations for his journey to Coblenz. Here, however, he was requested by the Queen herself not to go farther, and thought it his duty to obey. The summer was passed in the greatest anxieties and agitations; and at last came the famous Tenth of August. Madame de L. assures us, that the attack on the Palace was altogether unexpected on that occasion, and that M. Montmorin, who came to her from the King late in the preceding evening, informed her, that they were perfectly aware of an intention to assault the royal residence on the night of the 12th; but that, to a certainty, nothing would be attempted till then. At midnight, however, there were signs of agitation in the neighbourhood; and before four o'clock in the morning, the massacre had begun. M. de Lescure rushed out on the first symptom of alarm to join the defenders of the Palace, but could not obtain access within the gates, and was obliged to return and disguise himself in the garb of a *Sansculotte*, that he might mingle with some chance of escape in the croud of assailants. M. de Montmorin, whose disguise was less perfect, escaped as if by a miracle. After being insulted by the mob, he had taken refuge in the shop of a small grocer, by whom he was immediately recognized, and where he was speedily surrounded by crowds of the National Guards, reeking from the slaughter of the Swiss. The good-natured shopkeeper saw his danger, and, stepping quickly up to him, said with a familiar air,—‘Well, cousin, you scarcely expected, on your arrival from the country, to witness the downfall of the Tyrant—Here, drink to the health of those brave assertors of our liberties.’ He submitted to swallow the toast, and got off without injury.

The street in which M. Lescure resided, being much frequented by persons of the Swiss nation, was evidently a very danger-

ous place of retreat for royalists; and, soon after it was dark, the whole family, disguised in the dress of the lower orders, slipped out with the design of taking refuge in the house of an old *femme-de-chambre* on the other side of the river. M. de Donnison and his wife went in one party; and Madame Lescure, then in the seventh month of her pregnancy, with her husband, in another. Intending to cross by the lowest of the bridges, they first turned into the Champs-Élysées. More than a thousand men had been killed there that day; but the alleys were now silent and lonely, though the roar of the multitude and occasional discharges of cannon and musketry, were heard from the front of the Tuileries, where the conflagration of the barracks was still visible in the sky. While they were wandering in these horrid shades, a woman came flying up to them, followed by a drunken patriot, with his musket presented at her head. All he had to say was, that she was an aristocrate, and that he must finish his day's work by killing her. M. Lescure appeased him with admirable presence of mind, by professing to enter entirely into his sentiments, and proposing that they should go back together to the attack of the Palace—adding only, 'But you see what state my wife is in—she is a poor timid creature—and I must first take her to her sister's, and then I shall return here to you.'—The savage at last agreed to this, though, before he went off, he presented his piece several times at them, swearing that he believed they were aristocrats after all, and that he had a mind to have a shot at them. This rencontre drove them from the lonely way; and they returned to the public streets, all blazing with illuminations, and crowded with drunken and infuriated wretches, armed with pikes, and in many instances stained with blood. The terror of the scene inspired Madame de L. with a kind of sympathetic frenzy; and, without knowing what she did, she screamed out, *Vive les Sansculottes! à bas les tyrans!* as outrageously as any of them. They glided unhurt, however, through this horrible assemblage; and crossing the river by the *Pont Neuf*, found the opposite shore dark, silent and deserted, and speedily gained the humble refuge in search of which they had ventured.

The domestic relations between the great and their dependants were certainly more cordial in old France, than in any other country—and a revolution, which aimed professedly at levelling all distinction of ranks, and avenging the crimes of the wealthy, armed the hands of but few servants against the lives or liberties of their masters. M. de Lescure and his family were saved in this extremity by the prudent and heroic fidelity of some old waiting-women and laundresses—and ultimately effected

their retreat to the country by the zealous and devoted services of a former tutor in the family, who had taken a very conspicuous part on the side of the Revolution. This M. Thomasin, who had superintended the education of M. Lescure, and retained the warmest affection for him and the whole family, was an active, bold and good-humoured man—a great fencer, and a considerable orator at the meetings of his section. He was eager, of course, for a revolution that was to give every thing to talents and courage; and had been made a captain in one of the municipal regiments of Paris. This kind-hearted patriot took the proscribed family of M. de Lescure under his immediate protection, and by a thousand little stratagems and contrivances, not only procured passports and conveyances to take them out of Paris, but actually escorted them himself, in his national uniform, till they were safely settled in a royalist district in the suburbs of Tours. When any tumult or obstruction arose on the journey, M. Thomasin leaped from the carriage, and assuming the tone of zeal and authority that belonged to a Parisian officer, he harangued, reprimanded and enchanted the provincial patriots, till the whole party went off again in the midst of their acclamations. From Tours, after a cautious and encouraging exploration of the neighbouring country, they at length proceeded to M. Lescure's chateau of *Clisson*, in the heart of the district afterwards but too well known by the name of La Vendée, of which the author has here introduced a very clear and interesting description.

A tract of about 150 miles square, at the mouth and on the southern bank of the Loire, comprehends the scene of those deplorable hostilities. The most inland part of the district, and that in which the insurrection first broke out, is called *Le Bocage*; and seems to have been almost as singular in its physical conformation, as in the state and condition of its population. A series of detached eminences, of no great elevation, rose over the whole face of the country, with little rills trickling in the hollows and occasional cliffs by their sides. The whole space was divided into small enclosures, each surrounded with tall wild hedges, and rows of pollard trees; so that though there were few large woods, the whole region had a sylvan and impenetrable appearance. The ground was mostly in pasturage; and the landscape had, for the most part, an aspect of wild verdure, except that in the autumn some patches of yellow corn appeared here and there athwart their green enclosures. Only two great roads traversed this sequestered region, running nearly parallel, at a distance of more than seventy miles from each other. In the intermediate space, there was nothing but a labyrinth of

wild and devious paths, crossing each other at the extremity of almost every field—often serving, at the same time, as channels for the winter torrents, and winding so capriciously among the innumerable hillocks, and beneath the meeting hedge-rows, that the natives themselves were always in danger of losing their way when they went a league or two from their own habitations. The country, though rather thickly peopled, contained, as may be supposed, few large towns; and the inhabitants, devoted almost entirely to rural occupations, enjoyed a great deal of leisure. The noblesse or gentry of the country were very generally resident on their estates, where they lived in a style of simplicity and homeliness which had long disappeared from every other part of the kingdom. No grand parks, fine gardens, or ornamented villas; but spacious clumsy chateaus, surrounded with farm offices and cottages for the labourers. Their manners and way of life, too, partook of the same primitive rusticity. There was great cordiality, and even much familiarity in the intercourse of the seigneurs with their dependants. They were followed by large trains of them in their hunting expeditions, which occupied so great a part of their time. Every man had his fowling-piece, and was a marksman of some or pretensions. They were posted in various quarters, to intercept or drive back the game; and were thus trained, by anticipation, to that sort of discipline and concert, in which their whole art of war was afterwards found to consist. Nor was their intimacy confined to their sports. The peasants resorted familiarly to their landlords for advice, both legal and medical; and they repaid the visits in their daily rambles, and entered with interest into all the details of their agricultural operations. They came to the weddings of their children, drank with their guests, and made little presents to the young people. On Sundays and holidays, all the retainers of the family assembled at the chateau, and danced in the barn or the court-yard, according to the season. The ladies of the house joined in the festivity, and that without any airs of condescension or of mockery; for, in their own life, there was little splendour or luxurious refinement. They travelled on horseback, or in heavy carriages drawn by oxen; and had little other amusement than in the care of their dependants, and the familiar intercourse of neighbours among whom there was no rivalry or principle of ostentation.

From all this there resulted, as Madame de L. assures us, a certain innocence and kindliness of character, joined with great hardihood and gaiety,—which reminds us of Henry IV. and his Bearnois,—and carries with it, perhaps on account of that association, an idea of something more chivalrous and romantic—

more honest and unsophisticated, than any thing we expect to meet with in this modern world of artifice and derision. There was great purity of morals accordingly, Mad. de L. informs us, and general cheerfulness and content in all this district;—crimes were never heard of, and lawsuits almost unknown. Though not very well educated, the population was exceedingly devout;—though their's was a kind of superstitious and traditional devotion, it must be owned, rather than an enlightened or rational faith. They had the greatest veneration for crucifixes and images of their saints, and had no idea of any duty more imperious than that of attending on all the solemnities of religion. They were singularly attached also to their curés, who were almost all born and bred in the country, spoke their *patois*, and shared in all their pastimes and occupations. When a hunting-match was to take place, the clergymen announced it from the pulpit after prayers,—and then took his fowling-piece, and accompanied his congregation to the thicket. It was on behalf of these curés, in fact, that the first disturbances were excited.

The decree of the Convention, displacing all priests who did not take the oaths imposed by that Assembly, occasioned the removal of several of those beloved and conscientious pastors; and various tumults were excited by attempts to establish their successors by authority. Some lives were lost in these tumults; but their most important effect was in diffusing an opinion of the severity of the new government, and familiarizing the people with the idea of resisting it by force. The order of the Convention for a forced levy of 300,000 men, and the preparations to carry it into effect, gave rise to the first serious insurrection;—and while the dread of punishment for the acts of violence then committed, deterred the insurgents from submitting, the standard was no sooner raised between the republican government on the one hand and the discontented peasantry on the other, than the mass of that united and alarmed population declared itself for their associates; and a great tract of country was thus arrayed in open rebellion, without concert, leader or preparation. We have the the testimony of Madame de L. therefore, in addition to all other good testimony, that this great civil war originated almost accidentally, and certainly not from any plot or conspiracy of the leading royalists in the country. The resident gentry, no doubt, for the most part, favoured that cause; and the peasantry felt almost universally with their masters;—but neither had the least idea, in the beginning, of opposing the political pretensions of the new government, nor, even to the last, much serious hope of effecting any revolution in the general state of the country. The first

movements, indeed, partook far more of bigotry than of royalism; and were merely the rash and undirected expressions of plebeian resentment for the loss of their accustomed pastors. The more extensive commotions which followed on the compulsory levy, were equally without object or plan, and were confined at first to the peasantry. The gentry did not join until they had no alternative, but that of taking up arms against their own dependants, or along with them; and they went into the field, generally, with little other view than that of acquitting their own faith and honour, and scarcely any expectation beyond that of obtaining better terms for the rebels they were joining, or of being able to make a stand till some new revolution should take place at Paris, and bring in rulers less harsh and sanguinary.

It was at the ballot for the levy of St Florent, that the rebellion may be said to have begun. The young men first murmured, and then threatened the commissioners, who somewhat rashly directed a fieldpiece to be pointed against them, and afterwards to be fired over their heads:—Nobody was hurt by the discharge; and the crowd immediately rushed forward and seized upon the gun. Some of the commissioners were knocked down—their papers were seized and burnt—and the rioters went about singing and rejoicing for the rest of the evening. An account, probably somewhat exaggerated, of this tumult, was brought next day to a venerable peasant of the name of *Cathelineau*, a sort of itinerant dealer in wool, who was immediately struck with the decisive consequences of this open attack on the constituted authorities. The tidings were brought to him as he was kneading the weekly allowance of bread for his family. He instantly wiped his arms, put on his coat, and repaired to the village market-place, where he harangued the inhabitants, and prevailed on twenty or thirty of the boldest youths to take their arms in their hands and follow him. He was universally respected for his piety, good sense, and mildness of character; and, proceeding with his troop of recruits to a neighbouring village, repeated his eloquent exhortations, and instantly found himself at the head of a hundred enthusiasts. Without stopping a moment, he led this new army to the attack of a military post guarded by four score soldiers and a piece of cannon. The post was surprised,—the soldiers dispersed or made prisoners,—and the gun brought off in triumph. From this he advances the same afternoon, to another post of two hundred soldiers and three pieces of cannon; and succeeds by the same surprise and intrepidity. The morning after, while preparing for other enterprises, he is joined by another band of insurgents, who had associated to protect one of their friends, for whose arrest

a military order had been issued. The united force, now amounting to a thousand men, then directed its attack on Chollet, a considerable town, occupied by at least 500 of the republican army; and again bears down all resistance by the suddenness and impetuosity of its onset. The rioters find here a considerable supply of arms, money and ammunition;—and thus a country is lost and won, in which, but two days before, nobody thought or spoke of insurrection!

If there was something astonishing in the sudden breaking out of this rebellion, its apparent suppression was not less extraordinary. These events took place just before Lent; and, upon the approach of that holy season, the religious rebels all dispersed to their homes, and betook themselves to their prayers and their rustic occupations, just as if they had never quitted them. A column of the republican army, which advanced from Angers to bear down the insurrection, found no insurrection to quell. They marched from one end of the country to the other, and met everywhere with the most satisfactory appearances of submission and tranquillity. These appearances, however, it will readily be understood, were altogether deceitful; and as soon as Easter Sunday was over, the peasants began again to assemble in arms,—and now, for the first time, to apply to the gentry to head them. One of the first on whom they prevailed was M. de la Charette; who had never, till that time, given any indication of hostility to the revolutionary government. He very early took the command of the insurgents in Lower Poitou, the only quarter in which their first successes were stained with cruelty and pillage. M. de Charette attempted in vain to restrain these disorders; and, when he was compelled to give way to them, discovered, that greater devotedness was to be expected from men who had thus sinned beyond all hopes of forgiveness.

All this time Madame Lescure and her family remained quietly at Clisson; and, in that profound retreat, were ignorant of the singular events to which we have alluded, for long after they occurred. The first intelligence they obtained was from the indefatigable M. Thomasin, who passed his time partly at their chateau, and partly in scampering about the country, and haranguing the constituted authorities—always in his national uniform, and with the authority of a Parisian patriot. One day this intrepid person came home, with a strange story of the neighbouring town of Herbiers having been taken either by a party of insurgents, or by an English army suddenly landed on the coast; and, at seven o'clock the next morning, the chateau was invested by 200 soldiers,—and a party of dragoons rode into the court-yard. Their business was to demand all the horses,

arms and ammunition, and also the person of an old cowardly chevalier, some of whose foolish letters had been carried to the municipality. M. de L. received this deputation with his characteristic composure—made the apology of the poor chevalier, and a few jokes at his expense—gave up some bad horses—and sent away the party in great good humour. For a few days they were agitated with contradictory rumours: But at last it appeared that the government had determined on vigorous measures; and it was announced, that all the gentry would be required to arm themselves and their retainers against the insurgents. This brought things to a crisis;—a council was held in the chateau, when it was speedily determined, that no consideration of prudence or of safety could induce men of honour to desert their dependants, or the party to which, in their hearts, they wished well;—and that, when the alternative came, they would rather fight with the insurgents than against them. Henri de Larochejaquelein—of whom the fair writer gives so engaging a picture, and upon whose acts of heroism she dwells throughout with so visible a delight, that it is quite a disappointment to find that it is not his name she bears when she comes to change her own—had been particularly inquired after and threatened; and upon an order being sent to his peasantry to attend and ballot for the militia, he takes horse in the middle of the night, and sets out to place himself at their head for resistance. The rest of the party remain a few days longer in considerable perplexity.—M. Thomasin having become suspected, on account of his frequent resort to them, had been put in prison; and they were almost entirely without intelligence as to what was going on; when one morning, when they were at breakfast, a party of horse gallops up to the gate, and presents an order for the immediate arrest of the whole company. M. de L. takes this with perfect calmness—a team of oxen is yoked to the old coach; and the prisoners are jolted along, under escort of the National dragoons, to the town of Bressuire. By the time they had reached this place, their mild and steady deportment had made so favourable an impression on their conductors, that they were very near taking them back to their homes;—and the municipal officers, before whom M. de L. was brought, had little else to urge for the arrest, but that it did not seem adviseable to leave him at large, when it had been found necessary to secure all the other gentry of the district. They were not sent, however, to the common prison, but lodged in the house of a worthy republican, who had formerly supplied the family with groceries, and now treated them with the greatest kindness and civility. Here they remained for several days, closely shut up in two

little rooms; and were not a little startled, when they saw from their windows two or three thousand of the National guard march fiercely out to repulse a party of the insurgents, who were advancing, it was reported, under the command of Henri de Larochejaquelein. Next day, however, these valiant warriors came flying back in great confusion. They had met and been defeated by the insurgents; and the town was filled with terrors, and with the cruelties to which terror always gives birth. Some hundreds of Marseillois arrived at this crisis to reinforce the republican army; and proposed, as a measure of intimidation and security, that they should immediately massacre all the prisoners.—The native leaders all expressed the greatest horror at this proposal—but it was nevertheless carried into effect. The author saw these unfortunate creatures marched out of the town, under a guard of their butchers. They were then drawn up in a neighbouring field, and were cut down with the sabre—most of them quietly kneeling and exclaiming, *Vive le Roi!* It was natural for Mad. de L. and her party to think that their turn was to come next: and the alarms of their compassionate jailor did not help to allay their apprehensions. Their fate hung indeed upon the slightest accident. One day they received a letter from an emigrant, congratulating them on the progress of the counter-revolution, and exhorting them not to remit their efforts in the cause. The very day after, their letters were all opened at the municipality, and sent to them unsealed. The patriots, however, it turned out, were too much occupied with apprehensions of their own, to attend to any thing else. The national guards of the place were not much accustomed to war, and trembled at the retaliation which the excesses of their Marseillois auxiliaries might so well justify. A sort of panic took possession even of their best corps; nor could the general prevail on his cavalry to reconnoitre beyond the walls of the town. A few horsemen, indeed, once ventured half a mile farther; but speedily came galloping back in alarm, exclaiming, that a great troop of the enemy were at their heels. It turned out to be only a single country-man at work in his field, with a team of six oxen. There was no waiting an assault with such forces; and, in the beginning of May 1793, it was resolved to evacuate the place, and fall back on Thouars. The aristocratic captives were fortunately forgotten in the hurry of this inglorious movement; and though they listened through their closed shutters, with no great tranquillity, to the parting clamours and imprecations of the Marseillois, they soon received assurance of their deliverance, in the supplications of their keeper, and many others of the municipality, to be allowed to retire with them to Clisson,

and to seek shelter there from the vengeance of the advancing royalists. M. de Lescure, with his usual good nature, granted all these requests; and they soon set off, with a grateful escort, for their deserted chateau.

The dangers he had already incurred by his inaction—the successes of his less prudent friends, and the apparent weakness and irresolution of their opponents, now decided M. de L. to dissemble no longer with those who seemed entitled to his protection; and he resolved instantly to take his part with the insurgents, and support the efforts of his adventurous cousin. He accordingly sent round without the delay of an instant, to intimate his purpose to all the parishes where he had influence, and busied himself and his household in preparing horses and arms, while his wife and her women were engaged in manufacturing white cockades. In the midst of these preparations, Henri de Larochejaquelein arrived, flushed with victory and hope, and announced his seizure of Bressuire, and all the story of his brief and busy campaign.

Upon his first arrival in the revolted district of his own domains, he found the peasants rather disheartened for want of a leader—some setting off for the army of Anjou, and others meditating a return to their own homes. His appearance, however, and the heartiness of his adherence to their cause, at once revived the sinking flame of their enthusiasm, and spread it through all the adjoining region. Before next evening, he found himself at the head of near ten thousand devoted followers—without arms or discipline indeed, but with hearts in the trim—and ready to follow wherever he would venture to lead. There were only about 200 firelocks in the whole array, and these were shabby fowling-pieces, without bayonets: The rest were equipped with scythes, or blades of knives stuck upon poles—with spits, or with good heavy cudgels of knotty wood. In presenting himself to this romantic army, their youthful leader made the following truly eloquent and characteristic speech.—
‘ My good friends, if my father were here to lead you, we
‘ should all proceed with greater confidence. For my part, I
‘ know I am but a child—but I hope I have courage enough
‘ not to be quite unworthy of supplying his place to you—Follow me when I advance against the enemy—kill me when I
‘ turn my back upon them—and revenge me when they give
‘ me my death.’ That very day he led them into action. A strong post of the republicans was stationed at Aubiers:—Henri, with a dozen or two of his best marksmen, glided silently behind the hedge which surrounded the field in which they were, and immediately began to fire—some of the unarmed peasants handing forward loaded muskets to them in quick succession.

He himself fired near 200 shots that day; and a gamekeeper who stood beside him, almost as many. The soldiers, though at first astonished at this assault from an invisible enemy, soon collected themselves, and made a movement to gain a small height that was near. Henri chose this moment to make a general assault; and calling out to his men, that they were running, burst through the hedge at their head, and threw them instantly into flight and irretrievable confusion; got possession of their guns and stores, and pursued them to within a few miles of the walls of Bressuire. Such, almost universally, was the tactic of these formidable insurgents. Their whole art of war consisted in creeping round the hedges which separated them from their enemies, and firing there till they began to waver or move—and then rushing forward with shouts and impetuosity, but without any regard to order, possessing themselves first of the artillery, and rushing into the heart of their opponents with prodigious fierceness and activity. In these assaults they seldom lost so much as one man for every five that fell of the regulars. They were scarcely ever discovered soon enough to suffer from the musketry—and seldom gave the artillery an opportunity of firing more than once. When they saw the flash of their pieces, they instantly threw themselves flat on the ground till the shot flew over, then started up, and rushed on the gunners before they could reload. If they were finally repulsed, they retreated and dispersed with the same magical rapidity, darting through the hedges, and scattering among the defiles in a way that eluded all pursuit, and exposed those who attempted it to murderous ambuscades at every turning.

As soon as it was known that M. de Lescure had declared for the white cockade, forty parishes assumed that badge of hostility; and he and his cousin found themselves at the head of near twenty thousand men. The day after, they brought eighty horsemen to the chateau. These gallant knights, however, were not very gorgeously caparisoned. Their steeds were of all sizes and colours—many of them with packs instead of saddles, and loops of rope for stirrups—pistols and sabres of all shapes tied on with cords—white or black cockades in their hats—and tricoloured ones—with bits of epaulets taken from the vanquished republicans, dangling in ridicule at the tails of their horses. Such as they were, however, they filled the chateau with tumult and exultation, and frightened the hearts out of some unhappy republicans, who came to look after their wives who had taken refuge in that asylum. They did them no other harm, however, than compelling them to spit on their tricolor cockades, and to call *Vive le Roi!*—which the poor people, being ‘des gens honnêtes et paisibles,’ very readily performed.

In the afternoon, Madame de L. with a troop of her triumphant attendants, paid a visit to her late prison at Bressuire. The place was now occupied by near twenty thousand insurgents—all as remarkable, she assures us, for their simple piety, and the innocence and purity of their morals, as for the valour and enthusiasm which had banded them together. Even in a town so obnoxious as this had become, from the massacre of the prisoners, there were no executions, and no pillage. Some of the men were expressing a great desire for some tobacco; and upon being asked whether there was none in the place, answered, quite simply, that there was plenty, but they had no money to buy it.

In giving a short view of the whole insurgent force, which she estimates at about 80,000 men, Mad de Larochejaquelein here introduces a short account of its principal leaders, whose characters are drawn with a delicate, though probably too favourable hand. M. D'Elbée, M. De Bonchamps, and M. De Massigny, were almost the only ones who had formerly exercised the profession of arms, and were therefore invested with the formal command. Stofflet, a native of Alsace, had formerly served in a Swiss regiment, but had long been a gamekeeper in Poitou. Of Cathelineau we have spoken already. Henri de Larochejaquelein, and M. De Lescure, were undoubtedly the most popular and important members of the association, and are painted with the greatest liveliness and discrimination. The former, tall, fair, and graceful—with a shy, affectionate, and indolent manner in private life, had, in the field, all the gaiety, animation and adventure, that he used to display in the chase. Utterly indifferent to danger, and ignorant of the very name of fear, his great faults as a leader were rashness in attack, and undue exposure of his person. He knew little, and cared less for the scientific details of war; and could not always maintain the gravity that was required in the councils of the leaders. Sometimes after bluntly giving his opinion, he would quietly fall asleep till the end of the deliberations; and, when reproached with this neglect of his higher duties, would answer, 'What business had they to make me a General?—I would much rather have been a private light-horseman, and taken the sport as it came.' With all this light-heartedness, he was full of kindness to his soldiers, and compassion for his prisoners. He would sometimes offer, indeed, to fight them fairly hand to hand, before accepting their surrender; but never refused to give quarter, nor ever treated them with insult or severity.

M. de Lescure was altogether of an opposite character. His courage, though of the most heroic temper, was invariably united

with perfect coolness and deliberation. He had a great theoretical knowledge of war, having diligently studied all that was written on the subject; and was the only man in the party who knew the least of fortification. His temper was unalterably sweet and placid; and his never-failing humanity, in the tremendous scenes he had to pass through, had something in it of an angelical character. Though constantly engaged at the head of his troops, and often leading them on to the assault, he never could persuade himself to take the life of a fellow creature, or to show the smallest severity to his captives. One day a soldier, whom he thought had surrendered, fired at him, almost at the muzzle of his piece. He put aside the musket with his sword, and said, with perfect composure, take that prisoner to the rear. His attendants, enraged at the perfidy of the assault, cut him down behind his back. He turned round at the noise, and flew into the most violent passion in which he had ever been seen. This was the only time in his life in which he was known to utter an oath. There was no spirit of vengeance in his nature; and he frequently saved more lives after a battle, than had been lost in the course of it.

The discipline of the army, thus commanded, has been already spoken of. It was never even divided into regiments or companies. When the chiefs had agreed on a plan of operations, they announced to their followers;—M. Lescure goes to take such a bridge,—who will follow him? M. Marigny keeps the passes in such a valley—who will go with him?—and so on. They were never told to march to the right or the left, but to that tree or to that steeple. They were generally very ill supplied with ammunition, and were often obliged to attack a post of artillery with cudgels. On one occasion, while rushing on for this purpose, they suddenly discovered a huge crucifix in a recess of the wood on their flank, and immediately every man of them stopped short, and knelt quietly down, under the fire of the enemy. They then got up, ran right forward, and took the cannon. They had tolerable medical assistance; and found admirable nurses for the wounded, in the nunneries and other religious establishments that existed in all the considerable towns.

Their first enterprize, after the capture of Bressuire, was against Thouars. To get at this place, a considerable river was to be crossed.—M. de Lescure headed a party, that was to force the passage of a bridge; but when he came within the heavy fire of its defenders, all his peasants fell back, and left him for some minutes alone:—His clothes were torn by the bullets, but not a shot took effect on his person:—He returned to the charge again with Henri de Larochesjaquelein,—their followers, all but

two, again left them at the moment of charging; but the enemy had already taken flight; the bridge was carried by those four men, and the town was given up after a short struggle, though not before Henri had climbed alone to the top of the wall by the help of a friend's shoulders, and thrown several stones at the flying inhabitants within. The republican general Quétineau, who had defended himself with great valour, obtained honourable terms in this capitulation, and was treated with the greatest kindness by the insurgent chiefs. He had commanded at Bressuire when it was finally abandoned, and told M. Lescure, when he was brought before him, that he saw the closed window-shutters of his family well enough as he marched out; and that it was not out of forgetfulness that he had left them unmolested. M. Lescure expressed his gratitude for his generosity, and pressed him to remain with them.—‘You do not agree in our opinions, I know;—and I do not ask you to take any share in our proceedings. You shall be a prisoner at large among us; but if you go back to the republicans, they will say you gave up the place out of treachery, and you will be rewarded by the executioner for the gallant defence you have made.’—The captive answered in terms equally firm and spirited.—‘I must do my duty at all hazards. I should be dishonoured, if I remained voluntarily among enemies. I am ready to answer for all I have hitherto done.’—It will surprise some violent royalists among ourselves, we believe, to find that this frankness and fidelity to his party secured for him the friendship and esteem of all the Vendean leaders. The peasants, indeed, felt a little more like the liberal persons just alluded to. *They* were not a little scandalized to find a republican treated with respect and courtesy;—and, above all, were in horror when they saw him admitted into the private society of their chiefs, and discovered that M. de Bonchamp actually trusted himself in the same chamber with him at night. For the first two or three nights, several of them kept watch at the outside of the door, to defend him against the assassination they apprehended; and once or twice he found in the morning, that one more distrustful than the rest had glided into the room, and laid himself down across the feet of his commander.

From Thouars they proceeded to Fontenay, where they had a still more formidable resistance to encounter. M. de Lescure was again exposed alone to the fire of six pieces of cannon charged with grape; and had his hat pierced, a spur shot off, and a boot torn by the discharge;—but he only turned round to his men, who were hanging back, and said, ‘You see these

fellows can take no aim ;—come on !' They did come on, and soon carried all before them.

The republicans had retaken, in the course of these encounters, the first piece of cannon which had fallen into the hands of the insurgents, and to which the peasants had fondly given the name of *Marie Jeanne*. After their success at Fontenay, a party was formed to recover it. One man, in his impatience, got far a-head of his comrades, and was in the heart of the enemy before he was aware. Fortunately, he had the horse and accoutrements of a dragoon he had killed the day before, and was taken by the party for one of their own company. They welcomed him accordingly ; and told him that he was just come in time to repulse the brigands, who were advancing to retake their *Marie Jeanne*. ' Are they ? ' says he ;—' follow me, and we shall soon give a good account of them : '—and then heading the troop, he rode on till he came within reach of his own party, when he suddenly cut down the two men on each side of him, and welcomed his friends to the victory. At another time, four young officers, in theantonness of their valour, rode alone to a large village in the heart of the country possessed by the republicans, ordered all the inhabitants to throw down their tricoloured cockades, and to prepare quarters for the Royalist army, which was to march in, in the evening, 100,000 strong. The good people began their preparations accordingly, and hewed down their tree of liberty—when the young men laughed in their faces, and galloped un-molested away from upwards of a thousand enemies.—The whole book is full of such feats and adventures.—Their recent successes had incumbered them with near four thousand prisoners, of whom, as they had no strong places or regular garrisons, they were much at a loss how to dispose. To dismiss such a mob of privates, on their parole not to serve any more against them, they knew would be of no avail ; and, after much deliberation, they fell upon the ingenious expedient of shaving their heads, at the same time that their parole was exacted ; so that if they again took the field against them within any moderate time, they might be easily recognized and dealt with accordingly. Madame Lescure's father had the merit of this happy invention.

The day after the capture of Fontenay, the greater part of the army thought it was time to go home for a while to look after their cattle, and tell their exploits to their wives and children. In about a week, however, a considerable number of them came back again, and proceeded to attack Saumur. Here Mad. Lescure received his first wound in the arm ; and

Henri, throwing his hat over the entrenchments of the place, called to his men, ' Let us see who will find it again ! '—and rushed at their head across the glacis. A vast multitude of the republicans fell in this battle ; and near twelve thousand prisoners were made,—who were all shaved and let go. The Insurgents did not lose four hundred in all. In the castle they found Quetineau, the gallant but unsuccessful defender of Thouars, who, according to M. de Lescure's prediction, had been arrested and ordered for trial in consequence of that disaster. He was again pressed to remain with them as a prisoner on parole ; but continued firm in his resolution to do his duty, and leave the rest to fortune. He was sent, accordingly, to Paris a short time after—when he was tried, condemned, and executed !

The insurrection had now attained a magnitude which seemed to make it necessary to have some one formally appointed to the chief command ; and with a view of at once flattering and animating the peasants, in whose spontaneous zeal it had originated, all voices were united in favour of Cathelineau, the humble and venerable leader under whom its first successes had been obtained. It is very remarkable, indeed, that in a party thus associated avowedly in opposition to democratical innovations, the distinctions of rank were utterly disregarded and forgotten. Not only was an humble peasant raised to the dignity of commander-in-chief, but Mad. de L. assures us, that she never knew whether one half of the officers were of noble or plebeian descent ; and mentions one, the son of a village shoemaker, who was long at the head of all that was gallant and honourable in the cause. We are afraid that this is a trait of their royalism, which it is no longer thought prudent to bring forward in the courts of royalty.

These brilliant successes speedily suggested enterprises of still greater ambition and extent. A communication was now opened with M. de Charrette, who had long headed the insurrection in Anjou, and a joint attack on the city of Nantes was projected and executed by the two armies. That of Poitou was now tolerably provided with arms and ammunition, and decently clothed, though without any attention to uniformity. The dress of the officers was abundantly fierce and fantastic. With pantaloons and jackets of gray cloth, they wore a variety of great red handkerchiefs all about their person—one tied round their head, and two or three about their waist, and across their shoulders, for holding their pistols and ammunition. Henri de Larochejaquelein introduced this fashion ; and it speedily became universal among his companions, giving them not a lit-

tle the air of *brigands*, or *banditti*, the name early bestowed on them by the republicans, and at last generally adopted and recognized among themselves. The expedition to Nantes was disastrous. The soldiers did not like to go so far from home; and the army, as it advanced, melted away by daily desertions. There was also some want of concert in the movements of the different corps;—and, after a sanguinary conflict, the attack was abandoned, and the forces dispersed all over the country. The good Cathelineau was mortally wounded in this affair, at which neither M. de Lescure nor Henri were present; the latter being in garrison at Saumur, and the other disabled by his wound. The news of this wound came rather suddenly upon his wife, who, though she had always before been in agonies of fear on horseback, instantly mounted a ragged colt, and galloped off to rejoin him. She never afterwards had the least alarm about riding. The army having spontaneously disbanded after the check at Nantes, it was found impossible to maintain the places it had occupied. General Westermann arrived in the country, at the head of a large force; and, after retaking Saumur and Parthenay, began the relentless and exterminating system of burning and laying waste the districts from which he had succeeded in dislodging the insurgents. One of the first examples he made was at M. de Lescure's chateau of Clisson. It was burnt to the ground, with all its offices, stores, and peasants' houses, as well as all the pictures and furniture of its master. Having long foreseen the probability of such a consummation, he had at one time given orders to remove some of the valuable articles it contained; but, apprehensive that such an operation might discourage or disgust his followers, he afterwards abandoned the design, and submitted to the loss of all his family moveables. The event, Mad. de L. assures us, produced no degree either of irritation or discouragement. The chiefs, however, now exerted all their influence to collect their scattered forces before Chatillon; and Mad. de L. accompanied her husband in all the rapid and adventurous marches he made for that purpose, through this agitated and distracted country. In one of these fatiguing movements with some broken corps of the army, they stopped to repose for the night in the chateau of Mad. de Concise, who was still so much an alien to the Vendean manners, that they found her putting on *rouge*, and talking of the agitation of her nerves!

The attack on Westermann's position at Chatillon was completely successful; but the victory was stained by the vindictive massacres which followed it. The burnings and butcheries of the republican forces were bloodily avenged; in spite of the ef-

forts of M. de Lescure, who repeatedly exposed his own life to save those of the vanquished. In the midst of the battle, one of his attendants seeing a rifleman about to fire at him, stepped bravely before him, and received the shot in his eye. The carriage of Westermann was taken; and some young officers, to whom it was entrusted, having foolishly broken open the strong box, which was believed to be full of money, there was a talk of bringing them to trial for the supposed embezzlement. M. de L., however, having declared that one of them had given him his word of honour that the box was empty when they opened it, the whole council declared themselves satisfied, and acquitted the young men by acclamation.

In the course of the summer of 1793, various sanguinary actions were fought with various success; but the most remarkable event was the arrival of a M. Tinteniach, with despatches from the English government, about the middle of July. This intrepid messenger had come alone through all Brittany and Anjou, carrying his despatches in his pistols as wadding, and incessantly in danger from the republican armies and magistrates. The despatches, M. de L. informs us, showed an incredible ignorance on the part of the English government of the actual posture of affairs. They were answered, however, with gratitude and clearness. A debarkation was strongly recommended near Sables or Paimbœuf, but by no means at L'Orient, Rochefort, or Rochelle; and it was particularly entreated, that the troops should consist chiefly of emigrant Frenchmen, and that a Prince of the House of Bourbon should, if possible, place himself at their head. Mad. de L., who wrote a small and very neat hand, was employed to write out these despatches, which were placed in the pistols of M. Tinteniach, who immediately proceeded on his adventurous mission. He reached England, it seems, and was frequently employed thereafter in undertakings of the same nature. He headed a considerable party of Bretons, in endeavouring to support the unfortunate descent at Quiberon; and, disdaining to submit, even after the failure of that ill-concerted expedition, fell bravely with arms in his hands. After his departure, the insurgents were repulsed at Luçon, and obtained some advantages at Chantonnay. But finding the republican armies daily increasing in numbers, skill and discipline, they found it necessary to act chiefly on the defensive; and, for this purpose, divided the country into several districts, in each of which they stationed that part of the army which had been recruited within it, and the General who was most beloved and confided in by the inhabitants. In this way, M. Lescure came to be stationed in the heart of his own estates; and was not a little touched

to find almost all his peasants, who had bled and suffered by his side for so long a time without pay, come to make offer of the rents that were due for the possessions to which they were but just returned. He told them, it was not for his rents that he had taken up arms,—and that while they were exposed to the calamities of war, they were well entitled to be freed of that burden. Various lads of thirteen, and several hale grandfathers of seventy, came at this period, and insisted upon being allowed to share the dangers and glories of their kinsmen.

From this time, downwards, the picture of the war is shaded with deeper horrors; and the operations of the insurgents acquire a character of greater desperation. The Convention issued the barbarous decree, that the whole country, which still continued its resistance, should be desolated;—that the whole inhabitants should be exterminated, without distinction of age or sex; the habitations consumed with fire, and the trees cut down with the axe. Six armies, amounting in all to more than two hundred thousand men, were charged with the execution of these atrocious orders; and began, in September 1793, to obey them with a detestable fidelity. A multitude of sanguinary conflicts ensued; and the insurgents succeeded in repulsing this desolating invasion at almost all the points of attack. Among the slain in one of these engagements, the republicans found the body of a young woman, which Madame de L. informs us gave occasion to a number of idle reports; many giving out, that it was she herself, or a sister of M. de L. who had no sister, or a new Joan of Arc, who had kept up the spirit of the peasantry by her enthusiastic predictions. The truth was, that it was the body of an innocent peasant girl, who had always lived a quiet and pious life, till recently before this action, when she had been seized with an irresistible desire to take a part in the conflict. She discovered herself some time before to Madame de L.; and begged from her a shift of a peculiar fabric. The night before the battle, she also revealed her secret to M. de L.;—asked him to give her a pair of shoes,—and promised to behave herself in such a manner in the morrow's fight, that he should never think of parting with her. Accordingly, she kept near his person through the whole of the battle, and conducted herself with the most heroic bravery. Two or three times, in the very heat of the fight, she said to him—‘No, mon General, you shall not get before me—I shall always be closer up to the enemy even than you.’ Early in the day, she was hurt pretty seriously in the hand, but held it up laughing to her General, and said—‘It is nothing at all.’ In the end of the battle, she was surrounded in a charge, and fell fighting like a desperado. There were about ten other women, who took up

arms, Madame de L. says, in this cause;—two sisters, under fifteen—and a tall beauty, who wore the dress of an officer. The priests attended the soldiers in the field, and rallied and exhorted them, but took no part in the combat, nor ever excited them to any acts of inhumanity. There were many boys of the most tender age among the combatants,—some scarcely more than nine or ten years of age.

M. Piron gained a decided victory over the most numerous army of the republic; but their ranks being recruited by the whole garrison of Mentz, which had been liberated on parole, presented again a most formidable front to the insurgents.—A great battle was fought in the middle of September at Choklet, where the Government army was completely broken, and would have been finally routed, but for the skill and firmness of the celebrated Kleber who commanded it, and successfully maintained a position which covered its retreat. In the middle of the battle, one of the peasants took a flageolet from his pocket, and, in derision, began to play *ça ira*, as he advanced against the enemy. A cannon-ball struck off his horse's head, and brought him to the ground; but he drew his leg from the dead animal, and marched forward on foot, without discontinuing his music. One other picture of detail will give an idea of the extraordinary sort of warfare in which the country was then engaged. Westermann was beat out of Chatillon, and pursued to some distance; but finding that the insurgent forces were withdrawn, he bethought himself of recovering the place by a coup de main. He mounted an hundred grenadiers behind an hundred picked hussars, and sent them at midnight into the city. The peasants, as usual, had no outposts, and were scattered about the streets, overcome with fatigue and brandy. However, they made a stout and bloody resistance. One active fellow received twelve sabre wounds on the same spot; another, after killing a hussar, took up his wounded brother in his arms, placed him on the horse, and sent him out of the city;—then returned to the combat; killed another hussar, and mounted himself on the prize. The republicans, irritated at the resistance they experienced, butchered all that came across them in that night of confusion; all order or discipline was lost in the darkness; and they hacked and fired at each other, or wrestled and fell, man to man, as they chanced to meet, and often without being able to distinguish friend from foe.—An eminent leader of the insurrection was trampled under foot by a party of the republicans, who rushed past him to massacre the whole family where he lodged, who were all zealous republicans.—The town was set on fire in fifty places,—and was at

last evacuated by both parties in mutual fear and ignorance of the force to which they were opposed. When the day dawned, however, it was finally occupied by the insurgents.

After some more successes, the insurgent chiefs found their armies sorely reduced, and their enemies perpetually increasing in force and numbers. M. de la Charette, upon some misunderstanding, withdrew his corps; and all who looked beyond the present moment, could not fail to perceive, that disasters of the most fatal nature were almost inevitably approaching. A dreadful disaster, at all events, now fell on their fair historian. M. de L. in rallying a party of his men near Tremblaye, was struck with a musket ball on the eyebrow, and instantly fell senseless to the ground. He was not dead, however, and was with difficulty borne through the rout which was the immediate consequence of his fall. His wife, entirely ignorant of what had happened, was forced, however, to move along with the retreating army; and in a miserable little village, was called at midnight, from her bed of straw, to hear mass performed to the soldiers by whom she was surrounded. The solemn ceremony was interrupted by the approaching thunder of the artillery, and the perpetual arrival of fugitive and tumultuary parties, with tidings of evil omen. Nobody had the courage to tell this unfortunate woman the calamity that had befallen her, though the priest awakened a vague alarm by solemn encomiums on the piety of M. de L., and the necessity of resignation to the will of heaven. Next night she found him at Cherdron, scarcely able to move or to articulate,—but suffering more from the idea of her having fallen into the hands of the enemy, than from his own disasters.

The last great battle was fought near Chollet, when the insurgents, after a furious and sanguinary resistance, were at last borne down by the multitude of their opponents, and driven down into the low country on the banks of the Loire. M. de Bonchamp, who had always held out the policy of crossing this river, and the advantages to be derived from uniting themselves to the royalists of Brittany, was mortally wounded in this battle; but his counsels still influenced their proceedings in this emergency; and not only the whole debris and wreck of the army, but a great proportion of the men and women and children of the country, flying in consternation from the burnings and butchery of the Government forces, flocked down in agony and despair to the banks of this great river. On gaining the heights of St Florent, one of the most mournful, and at the same time most magnificent spectacles burst upon the eye. These heights form a vast semicircle; at the bottom of which a broad

bare plain extends to the edge of the water. Near an hundred thousand unhappy souls now blackened over that dreary expanse,—old men, infants and women mingled with the half-armed soldiery, caravans, crowded baggage waggons and teams of oxen, all full of despair, impatience, anxiety and terror:—Behind, were the smokes of their burning villages, and the thunder of the hostile artillery;—before, the broad stream of the Loire, divided by a long low island, also covered with the fugitives,—twenty frail barks plying in the stream—and, on the far banks, the disorderly movements of those who had effected the passage, and were waiting there to be rejoined by their companions. Such, Mad. de L. assures us, was the tumult and terror of the scene, and so awful the recollections it inspired, that it can never be effaced from the memory of any of those who beheld it; and that many of its awe-struck spectators have concurred in stating, that it brought forcibly to their imaginations the unspeakable terrors of the great day of Judgment. Through this dismayed and bewildered multitude, the disconsolate family of their gallant general made their way silently to the shore;—M. de L. stretched, almost insensible, on a wretched litter,—his wife, three months gone with child, walking by his side,—and, behind her, her faithful nurse, with her helpless and astonished infant in her arms. When they arrived on the beach, they with difficulty got a crazy boat to carry them to the island; but the aged monk who steered it, would not venture to cross the larger branch of the stream,—and the poor wounded man was obliged to submit to the agony of another removal. At length, they were landed on the opposite bank; where wretchedness and desolation appeared still more conspicuous. Thousands of helpless wretches were lying on the grassy shore, or roaming about in search of the friends from whom they had been divided. There was a general complaint of cold and hunger; and nobody in a condition to give any directions, or administer any relief. M. de L. suffered excruciating pain from the piercing air which blew upon his feverish frame;—the poor infant screamed for food, and the helpless mother was left to minister to both;—while her attendant went among the burnt and ruined villages, to seek a drop of milk for the baby. At length they got again in motion for the adjoining village of Varades,—M. de L., borne in a sort of chair upon the pikes of his soldiers, with his wife and the maid-servant walking before him, and supporting his legs, wrapped up in their cloaks. With great difficulty they procured a little room, in a cottage swarming with soldiers,—most of them famishing for want of food, and yet still so mindful of the rights of their neighbours, that they would not

take a few potatoes from the garden of the cottage, till Mad. de L. had obtained leave of the proprietor.

M. de Bonchamp died as they were taking him out of the boat; and it became necessary to elect another commander. M. de L. roused himself to recommend Henri de Larochejaquelein; and he was immediately appointed. When the election was announced to him, M. de L. desired to see and congratulate his valiant cousin. He was already weeping over him in a dark corner of the room; and now came to express his hopes that he should soon be superseded by his recovery. 'No,' said M. de L. 'that I believe is out of the question: But even if I were to recover, I should never take the place you have now obtained, and should be proud to serve as your aid-de-camp.'—The day after, they advanced towards Rennes. M. de L. could find no other conveyance than a baggage-waggon; at every jolt of which he suffered such anguish, as to draw forth the most piercing shrieks even from his manly bosom. After some time, an old chaise was discovered: a piece of artillery was thrown away to supply it with horses, and the wounded general was laid in it,—his head being supported in the lap of Agatha, his mother's faithful waiting-woman, and now the only attendant of his wife and infant. In three painful days they reached Laval;—Mad. de L. frequently suffering from absolute want, and sometimes getting nothing to eat the whole day, but one or two sour apples. M. de L. was nearly insensible during the whole journey. He was roused but once, when there was a report that a party of the enemy were in sight. He then called for his musket, and attempted to get out of the carriage;—addressed exhortations and reproaches to the troops that were flying around him, and would not rest till an officer in whom he had confidence came up and restored some order to the detachment.—The alarm turned out to be a false one.

At Laval they halted for several days; and he was so much recruited by the repose, that he was able to get for half an hour on horseback, and seemed to be fairly in the way of recovery; when his excessive zeal and anxiety for the good behaviour of the troops tempted him to premature exertions, from the consequences of which he never afterwards recovered. The troops being all collected and refreshed at Laval, it was resolved to turn upon their pursuers, and give battle to the advancing army of the republic. The conflict was sanguinary; but ended most decidedly in favour of the Vendéans. The first encounter was in the night,—and was characterized with more than the usual confusion of night attacks. The two armies crossed each other in so extraordinary a manner, that the artillery of each was sup-

plied, for a part of the battle, from the *caissons* of the enemy; and one of the Vendean leaders, after exposing himself to great hazard in helping a brother officer, as he took him to be, out of a ditch, discovered, by the next flash of the cannon, that it was an enemy, and immediately cut him down. After daybreak, the battle became more orderly, and ended in a complete victory. This was the last grand crisis of the insurrection. The way to La Vendée was once more open; and the fugitives had it in their power to return triumphant to their fastnesses and their homes, after rousing Brittany by the example of their valour and success. M. de L. and Henri both inclined to this course; but other counsels prevailed. Some were for marching on Nantes—others for proceeding to Rennes—and some, more sanguine than the rest, for pushing directly for Paris. Time was irretrievably lost in these deliberations; and the republicans had leisure to rally, and bring up their reinforcements, before any thing was definitively settled.

In the mean time, M. de L. became visibly worse; and one morning, when his wife alone was in the room, he called her to him, and told her that he felt his death was at hand;—that his only regret was for leaving her in the midst of such a war, with a helpless child, and in a state of pregnancy. For himself, he added, he died happy, and with humble reliance on the Divine mercy;—but her sorrow he could not bear to think of;—and he entreated her pardon for any neglect or unkindness he might ever have shown her. He added many other expressions of tenderness and consolation; and seeing her overwhelmed with anguish at the despairing tone in which he spoke, concluded by saying, that he might perhaps be mistaken in his prognosis;—and hoped still to live for her. Next day they were under the necessity of moving forward; and, on the journey, he learned accidentally from one of the officers, the dreadful details of the Queen's execution, which his wife had been at great pains to keep from his knowledge. This intelligence seemed to bring back his fever—though he still spoke of living to avenge her—‘If I do live,’ he said, ‘it shall be for vengeance only—no more mercy from me!’—That evening, Madame de L., entirely overcome with anxiety and fatigue, had fallen into a deep sleep on a mat before his bed:—And soon after, his condition became altogether desperate. He became speechless, and nearly insensible;—the sacraments were administered, and various applications made without awaking the unhappy sleeper by his side. Soon after midnight, however, she started up, and instantly became aware of the full extent of her misery. To fill up its measure, it was announced in the course of the morning that they must immedi-

ately resume their march with the last division of the army. The thing appeared altogether impossible, and Madame de L. declared she would rather die by the hands of the republicans, than permit her husband to be moved in the condition in which he then was. When she recollected, however, that these barbarous enemies had of late not only butchered the wounded that fell into their power, but mutilated and insulted their remains, she submitted to the alternative, and prepared for this miserable journey with a heart bursting with anguish. The dying man was roused only to heavy moanings by the pain of lifting him into the carriage,—where his faithful Agatha again supported his head, and a surgeon watched all the changes in his condition. Madame de L. was placed on horseback; and, surrounded by her father and mother, and a number of officers, went forward, scarcely conscious of all active exertion—only that sometimes, in the bitterness of her heart, when she saw the dead bodies of the republican soldiers on the road, she made her horse trample upon them, as if in vengeance for the slaughter of her husband. In the course of little more than an hour, she thought she heard some little stir in the carriage, and insisted upon stopping to inquire into the cause. The officers, however, crowded around her, and then her father came up and said that M. de L. was in the same state as before, but that he suffered dreadfully from the cold, and would be very much distressed if the door was again to be opened. Obligated to be satisfied with this answer, she went on in sullen and gloomy silence for some hours longer, in a dark and rainy day of November. It was night when they reached the town of Fougères; and, when lifted from her horse at the gate, she was unable either to stand or walk:—she was carried into a wretched house, crowded with troops of all descriptions, where she waited two hours in agony till she heard that the carriage with M. de L. was come up. She was left alone for a dreadful moment with her mother; and then M. de Beauvolliers came in, bathed in tears,—and taking both her hands, told her she must now think only of saving the child she carried within her. Her husband had expired when she heard the noise in the carriage, soon after their setting out—and the surgeon had accordingly left it as soon as the order of the march had carried her a-head;—but the faithful Agatha, fearful lest her appearance might alarm her mistress in the midst of the journey, had remained alone in that dreadful situation for all the rest of the day. Fatigue, grief and anguish of mind now threatened Madame de L. with consequences which it seems altogether miraculous that she should have escaped. She was seized with violent pains, and was threatened with a miscarriage in a room

which served as a common passage to the crowded and miserable lodging she had procured. It was thought necessary to bleed her—and, after some difficulty, a surgeon was procured. She can never forget, she says, the formidable apparition of this warlike phlebotomist. A figure six feet high, with ferocious whiskers, a great sabre at his side, and four huge pistols in his belt, stalked up with a fierce and careless air to her bed-side; and when she said she was timid about the operation, answered harshly—‘ So am not I—I have killed three hundred men and upwards in the field in my time—one of them only this morning—I think then I may venture to bleed a woman—Come, come, let us see your arm.’ She was bled accordingly—and, contrary to all expectation, was pretty well again in the morning. She insisted for a long time on carrying the body of her husband in the carriage along with her—but her father, after indulging her for a few days, contrived to fall behind with this precious deposit, and informed her when he came up again, that it had been found necessary to bury it privately in a spot which he would not specify.

This abstract has grown to such a bulk that we find we cannot afford to continue it on the same scale. Nor is this very necessary; for though there is more than a third part of the book, of which we have given no account—and that, to those who have a taste for tales of sorrow, the most interesting portion of it—we believe that many readers will think they have had enough of La Vendée; and that all will now be in a condition to judge of the degree of interest or amusement which the work is likely to afford them. We shall add, however, a brief sketch of the rest of its contents.—After a series of murderous battles, to which the mutual refusal of quarter gave an exasperation unknown in any other history, and which left the field so cumbered with dead bodies, that Mad. de L. assures us that it was dreadful to feel the lifting of the wheels, and the cracking of the bones, as her heavy carriage passed over them,—the wreck of the Vendéans succeeded in reaching Angers upon the Loire, and trusted to a furious assault upon that place for the means of repassing the river, and regaining their beloved country. The garrison, however, proved stronger and more resolute than they had expected. Their own gay and enthusiastic courage had sunk under a long course of suffering and disaster; and, after losing a great number of men before the walls, they were obliged to turn back in confusion, they did not well know whither, but farther and farther from the land to which all their hopes and wishes were directed. In the tumult of this retreat, Mad. de L. lost sight of her venerable aunt, who had hitherto been the

mild and patient companion of their wanderings ; and learned afterwards, that she had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and, at the age of eighty, been publicly executed at Rennes, for the crime of rebellion. At Fougères, at Laval, at Dol and Savenay, the dwindled force of the insurgents had to sustain new attacks from their indefatigable pursuers, in which the officers and most of the soldiery gave still more extraordinary proofs, than any we have yet recorded, of undaunted valour and constancy worthy of better fortune. The weather was now, in the latter end of November, extremely cold and rainy ; the roads almost impassable ; and provisions very scarce. Often, after a march of ten hours, Mad. de L. has been obliged to fish for a few cold potatoes in the bottom of a dirty caldron, filled with greasy water, and polluted by the hands of half the army. Her child sickened from its teething, and insufficient nourishment ; and every day she witnessed the death of some of those gallant leaders whom the spring had seen assembled in her halls in all the flush of youthful confidence and glory. After many a weary march, and desperate struggle, about ten thousand sad survivors got again to the banks of that fatal Loire, which now seemed to divide them from hope and protection. Henri, who had arranged the whole operation with consummate judgment, found the shores on both sides free of the enemy :—but all the boats had been removed ; and, after leaving orders to construct rafts with all possible despatch, he himself, with a few attendants, ventured over in a little wherry, which he had brought with him on a cart, to make arrangements for covering their landing. But they never saw the daring Henri again. The vigilant enemy came down upon them at this critical moment—intercepted his return—and, stationing several armed vessels in the stream, rendered the passage of the army altogether impossible. They fell back in despair upon Savenay ; and there the brave and indefatigable Marigny told Mad. de L. that all was now over—that it was altogether impossible to resist the attack that would be made next day—and that he advised her to seek her safety in flight and disguise, without the loss of an instant. She set out accordingly, with her mother, in a gloomy day of December, under the conduct of a drunken peasant ; and, after being out most of the night, at length obtained shelter in a dirty farm house,—from which, in the course of the day, she had the misery of seeing her unfortunate countrymen scattered over the whole open country, chased and butchered without mercy by the republicans, who now took a final vengeance for all the losses they had sustained. She had long been clothed in shreds and patches, and needed no disguise to conceal her quality. She

was sometimes hidden in the mill, when the troopers came to search for fugitives in her lonely retreat;—and oftener sent, in the midst of winter, to herd the sheep or cattle of her faithful and compassionate host, along with his rawboned daughter.

In this situation they remained till late in the following spring;—and it would be endless to enumerate the hairbreadth 'scapes and unparalleled sufferings to which they were every day exposed—reduced frequently to live upon alms, and forced every two or three days to shift their quarters, in the middle of the night, from one royalist cabin to another. Such was the long continued and vindictive rigour of the republican party, that the most eager and unrelaxing search was made for fugitives of all descriptions; and every adherent of the insurgent faction who fell into their hands was barbarously murdered, without the least regard to age, sex, or individual innocence. While skulking about in this state of peril and desolation, they had glimpses, and occasional rencounters with some of their former companions, whom similar misfortunes had driven upon similar schemes of concealment. In particular, they twice saw the daring and unsubduable M. de Marigny, who had wandered over the whole country, from Angers to Nantes; and notwithstanding his gigantic form, and remarkable features, had contrived so to disguise himself, as to elude all detection or pursuit. He could counterfeit all ages and dialects, and speak in perfection to *patois* of every village. He appeared before them in the character of an itinerant dealer in poultry, and retired unsuspected by all but themselves. In this wretched condition, the term of Mad. de L.'s confinement drew on; and, after a thousand frights and disasters, she was delivered of two daughters, without any other assistance than that of her mother. One of the infants had its wrist dislocated; and so subdued was the poor mother's mind to the level of her fallen fortunes, that she had now no other anxiety, than that she might recover strength enough to carry it herself to the waters of Barege, which she fancied might be of service to it;—but the poor baby died within a fortnight after it was born.

Towards the end of 1794, their lot was somewhat softened by the compassionate kindness of a Madame Dumoutiers, who offered them an asylum in her house; in which, though still liable to the searches of the bloodhounds of the municipality, they had more assistance in eluding them, and less misery to endure in the intervals. The whole history of their escapes, would make the adventures of Caleb Williams appear a cold and barren chronicle; but we have room only to mention, that after the death of Robespierre, there was a great abatement in

the rigour of pursuit; and that a general amnesty was speedily proclaimed, for all who had been concerned in the insurrection. After several inward struggles with pride and principle, Madame de L. was prevailed on to repair to Nantes, to avail herself of this amnesty;—but, first of all, she rode in to reconnoitre, and consult with some friends of her hostess, and proceeded boldly through the hostile city, in the dress of a peasant, with a sack at her back, and a pair of fowls in her hand. She found that the tone was now to flatter and conciliate the insurgents by all sorts of civilities and compliments; and after some time, she and her mother applied for, and obtained, a full pardon for all their offences against the republican government.

This amnesty drew back to light many of her former friends, who had been universally supposed to be dead; and proved, by the prodigious numbers whom it brought from their hiding-places in the neighbourhood, how generally the lower orders were attached to their cause, or how universal the virtues of compassion and fidelity to confiding misery are in the national character. It also brought to the writer's knowledge many shocking particulars of the cruel executions which so long polluted that devoted city. We may give a few of the instances in her own words, as a specimen of her manner of writing; to which, in our anxiety to condense the information she affords us, we have paid perhaps too little attention.

‘ Madame de Jourdain fut menée sur la Loire, pour être noyée avec ses trois filles. Un soldat voulut sauver la plus jeune, qui était fort belle. Elle se jeta à l'eau pour partager le sort de sa mère. La malheureuse enfant tomba sur des cadavres, et n'enfonça point. Elle criait: Poussez moi, je n'ai pas assez d'eau; et elle périt.

‘ Mademoiselle de Cuissard, âgée de seize ans, qui était plus belle encore, s'attira aussi le même intérêt d'un officier qui passa trois heures à ses pieds, la suppliant de se laisser sauver. Elle était avec une vieille parente que cet homme ne voulait pas se risquer à dérober au supplice. Mad. de Cuissard se précipita dans la Loire avec elle.

‘ Une mort affreuse fut celle de Madlle. de la Roche St. André. Elle était grosse: on l'épargna. On lui laissa nourrir son enfant; mais il mourut, et on la fit périr le lendemain. Au reste, il ne faut pas croire que toutes les femmes enceintes fussent respectées. Cela était même fort rare; plus communément les soldats massacraient femmes et enfants. Il n'y avait que devant les tribunaux, où l'on observait ces exceptions; et on y laissait aux femmes le temps de nourrir leurs enfants, comme étant une obligation républicaine. C'est en quoi consistait l'humanité des gens d'alors.

‘ Ma pauvre Agathe avait couru de bien grands dangers. Elle n'avait quitté à Nort, pour profiter de cette amnistie prétendue,

dont on avait parlé dans ce moment. Elle vint à Nantes, et fut conduite devant le général Lamberty, le plus féroce des amis de Carrier. La figure d'Agathe lui plut : " As-tu peur, brigande ? " lui dit-il. " Non, général, " répondit-elle. " Hé bien ! quand tu auras peur, souviens-toi de Lamberty, " ajouta-t-il. Elle fut conduite à l'entrepôt. C'est la trop fameuse prison où l'on entassoit les victimes destinées à être noyées. Chaque nuit on venait en prendre par centaines, pour les mettre sur les bateaux. Là, on liait les malheureux deux à deux, et on les poussait dans l'eau à coups de baïonnette. On saisissait indistinctement tout ce qui se trouvait à l'entrepôt, tellement qu'on noya un jour l'état-major d'une corvette anglaise, qui était prisonnier de guerre. Une autre fois, Carrier, voulant donner un exemple de l'austérité des mœurs républicaines, fit enfermer trois cents filles publiques de la ville, et les malheureuses créatures furent noyées. Enfin, l'on estime qu'il a péri à l'entrepôt quinze mille personnes en un mois. Il est vrai qu'outre les supplices, la misère et la maladie ravageaient les prisonniers, qui étaient pressés sur la paille, et qui ne recevaient aucun soin. A peine les connaissait-on. Les cadavres restaient quelquefois plus d'un jour sans qu'on vint les importer.

Agathe ne doutant plus d'une mort prochaine, envoya chercher Lamberty. Il la conduisit dans un petit bâtiment à soupape, dans lequel on avait noyé les prêtres, et que Carrier lui avait donné. Il était seul avec elle, et voulut en profiter : elle résista. Lamberty la menaça de la noyer : elle courut pour se jeter elle-même à l'eau. Alors cet homme lui dit : Allons, tu es une brave fille, je te sauverai. Il la laissa huit jours seule dans le bâtiment, où elle entendait les noyades qui se faisaient la nuit ; ensuite il la cacha chez un nommé S***, qui était, comme lui, un fidèle exécuter des ordres de Carrier.

Quelque temps après, la discorde divisa les républicains de Nantes. On prit le prétexte d'accuser Lamberty d'avoir dérobé des femmes aux noyades, et d'en avoir noyé qui ne devaient pas l'être. Un jeune homme, nommé Robin, qui était fort dévoué à Lamberty, vint saisir Agathe chez Madame S***, la traîna dans le bateau, et voulut la poignarder pour faire disparaître une preuve du crime qu'on reprochait à son patron. Agathe se jeta à ses pieds, parvint à l'attendrir, et il la cacha chez un de ses amis, nommé Lavaux, qui était honnête homme, et qui avait déjà recueilli Madame de l'Epinay ; mais on sut dès le lendemain l'asile d'Agathe, et on vint l'arrêter.

Cependant le parti ennemi de Lamberty continuait à vouloir le détruire. Il résulta de cette circonstance, qu'on jeta de l'intérêt sur Agathe. On loua S*** et Lavaux de leur humanité, et l'on parvint à faire périr Lamberty. Peu après arriva la mort de Robespierre. Agathe resta encore quelques mois en prison, puis obtint sa liberté. II. p. 171—175.

When the means of hearing of her friends were thus suddenly
vol. XXVI. No. 51.

ly restored, there was little to hear but what was mournful. Her father had taken refuge in a wood with a small party of horsemen, after the route of Savenay, and afterwards collected a little force, with which they seized on the town of Ancenis, and had nearly forced the passage of the Loire; but they were surrounded, and made prisoners, and shot in the market-place. The brave Henri de Larochejaquelein had gained the north bank with about twenty followers, and wandered many days over the burnt and bloody solitudes of the once happy La Vendée. Overcome with fatigue and hunger, they at last reached an inhabited farm-house, and fell fast asleep in the barn. They were soon roused, however, by the news that a party of republicans were approaching the same house; but were so worn out, that they would not rise, even to provide against that extreme hazard. The party accordingly entered; and being almost as much exhausted as the others, threw themselves down, without asking any questions, at the other end of the barn, and slept quietly beside them. Henri afterwards found out M. de la Charrette, by whom he was coldly, and even rudely received; but he soon raised a little army of his own, and became again formidable in the scenes of his first successes:—till one day, riding a little in front of his party, he fell in with two republican soldiers, upon whom his followers were about to fire, when he said, ‘No, no, they shall have quarter;’ and pushing up to them, called upon them to surrender. Without saying a word, one of them raised his piece, and shot him right through the forehead. He fell at once dead before them, and was buried where he fell.

‘Ainsi périt, à vingt et un ans, Henri de la Rochejaquelein. Encore à présent, quand les paysans se rappellent l’ardeur et l’éclat de son courage, sa modestie, sa facilité, et ce caractère de guerrier, et de bon enfant, ils parlent de lui avec fierté et avec amour. Il n’est pas un Vendéen dont on ne voie le regard s’animer, quand il raconte comment il a servi sous M. Henri.’ II. p. 187, 188.

The fate of the gallant Marigny was still more deplorable. He joined Charrette and Stofflet; but some misunderstanding having arisen among them upon a point of discipline, they took the rash and violent step of bringing him to a court-martial, and sentencing him to death for disobedience. To the horror of all the Vendéans, and the great joy of the Republicans, this unjust and imprudent sentence was carried into execution; and the cause deprived of the ablest of its surviving champions.

When they had gratified their curiosity with these melancholy details, Madame de L. and her mother set out for Bourdeaux, and from thence to Spain, where they remained for nearly two years—but were at last permitted to return—and, upon Bonaparte’s accession to the sovereignty, were even restored to a great

part of their possessions. On the earnest entreaty of her mother, she was induced at last to give her hand to Louis de Larochejaquelein, brother to the gallant Henri—and the inheritor of his principles and character. This match took place in 1802, and they lived in peaceful retirement till the late movements for the restoration of the house of Bourbon. The notice of this new alliance terminates the original Memoirs; but there is a supplement containing rather a curious account of the intrigues and communications of the royalist party in Bourdeaux and the South, through the whole course of all the revolution,—and of the proceedings by which they conceive that they accelerated the restoration of the King in 1814. It may not be uninteresting to add, that since the book was published, the second husband of the unfortunate writer fell in battle in the same cause which proved fatal to the first, during the short period of Bonaparte's last reign, and but a few days before the decisive battle of Waterloo.

We have not left room now for any general observations—and there is no need of them. The book is, beyond all question, extremely curious and interesting—and we really have no idea that any reflections of our's could appear half so much so as the abstract we have now given in their stead. One remark, however, we shall venture to make, now that our abstract is done. If all France were like La Vendée in 1793, we should anticipate nothing but happiness from the restoration of the Bourbons and of the old government. But the very fact that the Vendéans were crushed by the rest of the country, proves that this is not the case; and indeed it requires but a moment's reflection to perceive, that the rest of France could not well resemble La Vendée in its royalism, unless it had resembled it in the other peculiarities upon which that royalism was founded—unless it had all its noblesse resident on their estates, and living in their old feudal relations with a simple and agricultural vassallage. The book indeed shows two things very plainly,—and both of them well worth remembering. In the first place, that there may be a great deal of kindness and good affection among a people of insurgents against an established government;—and, secondly, that where there is such an aversion to a government, as to break out in spontaneous insurrection, it is impossible entirely to subdue that aversion, either by severity or forbearance—although the difference of the two courses of policy is, that severity, even when carried to the savage extremity of devastation and indiscriminate slaughter, leads only to the adoption of similar atrocities in return—while forbearance is at least rewarded by the acquiescence of those who are conscious of weakness, and gives time and opportunity for those mutual concessions

by which alone contending factions or principles can ever be permanently reconciled.

We have observed with pleasure a translation of this book announced:—as we think there are few recent productions of the French press likely to afford so much gratification to English readers.

ART. II. *Attraction des Montagnes, et ses Effets sur les Fils à Plomb, déterminés par des Observations Astronomiques et Géodésiques.* Par le BARON DE ZACH. 2 vol. 8vo. Avignon, 1814.

THE BARON DE ZACH is known in the scientific world as an astronomer, and as the author of several works on the practical parts of the mathematical sciences. He is a native of Germany; and his principal residence, if we mistake not, has been at the court of the Prince of Saxe-Gotha. He appears, from what is mentioned in these volumes, to have been employed in 1802 by the King of Prussia, in constructing a map of Thuringia, from an actual survey. Several years ago he visited England; and resided there for a considerable time. He lived much in the family of Lord Egremont; and we owe to him the discovery of several unpublished MSS. of HARRIOT, one of the ablest and most inventive mathematicians of the age in which he lived. These the Baron found among the papers of the nobleman just named: They have since been consigned to the care of the University of Oxford; and are now, we have no doubt, in the progress toward publication.

Circumstances, of which he does not inform us, having led him to Marscilles in 1810, and induced him to make some considerable stay in that city, a climate and situation so favourable for observation naturally inclined him to undertake the solution of some of the great problems of practical astronomy. He was provided with a good apparatus; and the research he thought of pursuing was one abundantly nice and difficult—the attraction of mountains.

It is to the discoverer of the principle of universal gravitation that we owe the first idea of such attraction, as a thing not only real, but capable of being ascertained by actual observation. NEWTON, in his *Tract de Mundi Systemate*, § 22, computes, that a plummet, at the foot of a hemispherical mountain three miles high, and six broad (at the base), would be drawn about two minutes out of the perpendicular. This suggestion was sufficient to rouse the attention of astronomers, who could not but

remark, that a cause was here pointed out. which, in certain circumstances, might greatly impair the accuracy of their observations. It does not however appear that any one undertook to investigate the subject experimentally, till the visit made to the Andes by the French and Spanish academicians about the year 1738. The sight of the mountains which form so stupendous a rampart along the shores of the Pacific Ocean, could not but remind these astronomers of the influence which such masses might have on the accuracy of the observations by which they were to ascertain the figure and magnitude of the earth. M. BOUGUER, a most active and skilful astronomer, proposed to ascertain the fact by actual observation; and began with making a coarse estimate of the effect which might be expected from Chimborazo, the highest of the Cordelieras, elevated more than 3000 toises above the level of the sea, and not less than 1700 above the level of the plain from which it rises. From the dimensions of this enormous mass, he computed that it might draw the plummet out of the perpendicular by $1' 40''$; a quantity much too large to escape observation.

So skilful and ingenious an observer as BOUGUER, could not fail quickly to perceive, that there were more ways than one by which the quantity of this attraction might be experimentally ascertained.

It is obvious that, abstracting from all disturbance of the plumb-line, the altitude of any given celestial body when it passes the meridian is the same in all places under the same parallel of latitude, or in all places due east and west of one another. If, therefore, two stations are chosen, one at the foot of a mountain, suppose on the south side, and another at a considerable distance to the east or west of the former, the meridian altitude of the same star, if the mountain have no attraction, will be the same at both these stations. But if, at the first station, the plummet be drawn towards the mountain, that is, if the apparent zenith be carried towards the south, the meridian altitudes of the star at the two stations, will differ, by the deviation of the plumb-line from the true perpendicular. If, then, observations are made at two such stations, the questions, whether the mountain has any attraction, and what the quantity of that attraction is, will both be resolved. It will add to the accuracy of the determination, if stars to the south and north of the zenith be observed at both stations. Those to the south will have their zenith distances diminished, and those to the north will have them increased, by the same quantity, when compared with the observations made beyond the influence of the mountain; so that the effect to be measured will be doubled.

Another method proposed by these Academicians was, to take two stations, one on the south, and another on the north side of the same mountain, and as nearly as possible in the same meridian. From the zenith distances of the same stars observed at each station, the difference of their latitudes might be very accurately determined. The difference of the latitudes might also be determined from the distance between the same stations, found from a trigonometrical survey of the ground. The difference of these determinations would give the sum of the deviations of the plumb-line on the opposite sides of the mountain; and, when divided in the inverse ratio of the squares of the distances of the stations from the centre of gravity of the mass, would give the deflection of the plummet at each station. *

A third method supposes one observer to be placed at the eastern foot of the mountain, and another at the western. If each of these observers regulate his clock exactly by equal altitudes, or by the time when the sun passes over the meridian, the difference of time pointed out by the clocks, or the difference of longitude of the stations, will be greater than if the mountain had not acted on the plummets, and carried the one zenith too far to the east, and the other too far to the west. If this difference, therefore, be determined by signals made at each station, and observed at the other, it will be discovered, whether the differences of longitude so found correspond to the measured distance by which the one observatory is east or west of the other. This method, though perfectly good in theory, would be found more subject to error than that just described, in the same degree that the difference of the lon-

* The Baron de Zach has fallen into an error in quoting, or rather in interpreting, a rule laid down by Bouguer, for dividing the deflection between the two stations, and allowing to each side of the mountain its due proportion of the effect. The formula of that Academician, in the case that the stations are in the same meridian, but at different distances from the centre of gravity of the mountain, requires that the sum of the deviations, or the total deviation observed, should be divided between the stations, in the inverse ratio of the squares of their distances, from the centre of gravity of the mountain, as is stated above. The Baron makes it in the direct ratio of the cubes; referring at the same time to Bouguer, whose general proposition, on the contrary, gives the result just mentioned. The theorem of the Baron is obviously wrong; and even the theorem of Bouguer is but a coarse approximation; as, in an irregular figure such as that of a mountain, the attraction does not vary as any power of the distance from the centre of gravity, or from any fixt point whatsoever.

gitude of two points is less easily determined than their difference of latitude.

The French Academicians made trial of the first of these methods, by placing their instruments on the south side of the great mountain of Chimborazo. They observed the meridian altitude of some stars on the north, and of others on the south side of the zenith; and they repeated the same observations of the same stars a league and a half to the west of the first station, where they conceived themselves to be out of the reach of the action of the mountain. By comparing the observations at the two stations, they had a difference twice as great as if they had only observed stars on one side of the zenith. They would, however, have preferred the method of observing, first on the south, and then on the north side of the mountain, if it had not been that Chimborazo is inaccessible from the north. They found, in this way, that the zenith, by the action of the mountain on the plummet, had been carried $7\frac{1}{2}''$ towards the south; a quantity vastly less than they had anticipated, and insufficient, in reality, considering that their instruments were not so perfect but that inconsistencies of $19''$, and even $26''$, sometimes entered into their observations, to determine the question whether the mountain had or had not a sensible effect on the plumb-line. From that time, however, to the year 1773, no attempt was made to determine this curious and interesting fact in physical astronomy. In that year, the Astronomer-royal at Greenwich proposed to the Royal Society of London to make an experiment of the same kind on some of the mountains of Great Britain. After a careful survey of the principal mountains both in England and Scotland, the mountain of Schehallien, * in the latter country, was judged to be more advantageously situated than any other.

* In a note on the word *Schehallien*, our author says—' *Montagne appelée dans le pays, en langue Erse, Maidenpap, qui veut dire orage perpetuel.* ' There could not be a more unfortunate translation. The Gaelic etymologists do indeed differ as to the derivation and import of the word *Schehallien*. According to one derivation, it signifies *Maiden pap*; according to another, it is said to signify perpetual storm: And if the figure of the mountain be brought as an evidence of the former derivation, the weather that so often prevails around it may be brought in support of the latter. The learned Baron, however, putting these two interpretations into one, has been so unlucky as to give *Maiden pap* and *perpetual storm* as synonymous expressions. From this inaccuracy, his residence for several years in London ought to have delivered him; for though he could not learn there what was Erse, he might have learned what was English.

Dr MASKELYNE himself undertook the operation; and with the same excellent zenith sector which he had carried to the island of St Helena when he went to observe the transit of Venus in 1761, he observed the zenith distances of stars, first on the south, and then on the north side of the mountain. Notwithstanding a most unfavourable summer, he made 337 observations, and determined the zenith distances of the same 40 stars at each of the two stations. The difference of the latitude of the two stations obtained from these observations, compared with that which was inferred from the measurement of their distance on the ground, gave decidedly $5''.8$ for the action of the mountain on the plummet of the sector. The great number of these observations, and their perfect agreement with one another, leaves no doubt at all, that mountains such as Schehallien, or of the height of 3000 feet, are able to draw the plumb-line $5''$ or $6''$ out of the perpendicular.

We must not here omit to observe, that the researches of the BARON DE ZACH have brought out a circumstance hitherto unobserved, vastly to the credit of Dr MASKELYNE's accuracy. That astronomer, as he tells us himself, though he had made observations on 43 stars, did not calculate the effect from any more than the 10, which he considered as the best determined, in order that he might satisfy more speedily the impatience of the Society to be made acquainted with the result of his experiments. It does not appear that he himself afterwards, or any other astronomer, ever undertook the remaining part of this task, which, however, the BARON DE ZACH has now performed with his usual skill and accuracy. He has calculated the results of all the 337 observations which Dr MASKELYNE had made on the zenith distances of the 43 stars just mentioned. Three of these stars not having been seen from the stations both on the north and south side of the mountain, cannot be taken into account. From the 40 that remain, the conclusion deduced is, that the celestial arc between the zenith of the two observatories was $54''.651$. Now, from the measurement on the ground, the same arc comes out $43''.019$; the difference, $11''.632$, being the sum of the attractions of the opposite sides of the mountain. The half of this, $5''.816$, is the effect on each side, precisely the same which Dr MASKELYNE has deduced from the observations which he considered as the best. This verification of his work is in itself highly satisfactory, and very gratifying to those who enjoyed the friendship, and who respect the memory of that excellent astronomer.

Among the means of resolving the problem of the attraction of mountains, we must not omit one which was proposed by

BOSCOVICH. This was, to suspend a plummet from a high tower, situated on the sea-shore, where the rise of the tide was very great, and where the different positions of the plumb-line, at high and low water, might be directly observed. This method, however, though simple at the first view, is incumbered by so many difficulties, that we believe it has never been undertaken. A very ingenious improvement on it, proposed by the late Professor ROBISON, consisted in observing the alteration of the level of a fluid, caused by the access and recess of the great wave of the tide, which alteration was to be measured by the reflection of a fixed object from the surface of the fluid. The fluid might be the water in a deep well, close to the sea-shore. We do not think that this notion is entirely inapplicable to practice; and we believe all must agree that it is very ingenious.

The BARON DE ZACH, when at Marseilles in the year 1810, finding himself, as has been said, in a situation most favourable to astronomical observations, and being also furnished with good instruments, though not such as the zenith sector employed by Dr MASKELYNE, yet conceived that the position of Marseilles, with a chain of hills rising on the one side, and the Mediterranean stretching out on the other, afforded great conveniency for trying whether, with such instruments as he possessed, the attraction of a mountain of moderate size could be rendered sensible.

The scene of his observations was the bottom of a chain of calcareous mountains, which, at the distance of 6000 or 8000 toises from the city of Marseilles, extends from east to west. The highest part of the chain, called the hill of *Mimet*, has an elevation of about 400 toises above the level of the sea. On the side of it, and at the height of about 250 toises, are the ruins of an old convent, known by the name of *Notre Dame des Anges*, commanding a fine view of the Mediterranean at the distance of five or six miles, extending indefinitely toward the south. In the south-west, at the distance of about 8000 toises from the coast, an insulated rock, in the middle of the sea, rises just above the surface, and is called *l'Isle de Planier*, on which stands a light-house. The position of these two points seemed very favourable for the proposed experiment, which was to be made by determining the difference of latitude of the two points, the convent and the light-house, by astronomical observation, and then connecting them together by a series of triangles, in order to ascertain the same difference by trigonometrical measurement. At *N. D. des Anges* the hill of *Mimet* would exert its full action on the plumb-line, or on the liquor in the spirit level. At *Isle de Planier*, on the contrary, on the surface of an insu-

lated rock, and at the distance of 8000 toises from the land, and 16000 from the mountains, the action of the hill must amount to nothing; and, consequently, the difference between the amplitude of the arch of the meridian, determined by celestial observation, and inferred from terrestrial measurement, would give the effect of the attraction, uncombined with any other force either assisting or opposing it. The instruments with which the **BARON** was furnished, were, a repeating circle of 12 inches radius by **REICHENBACH**, with which he proposed to measure the distances from the zenith; a repeating theodolite of eight inches radius by the same artist, for observing azimuths and terrestrial angles; an English sextant of nine inches radius by Troughton, for taking corresponding altitudes, to regulate four chronometers, three constructed by Josiah Emery of London, and one by Louis Berthoud of Paris. With these he began his observations at the station of *Notre Dame des Anges*; and, by 874 altitudes, determined the true zenith distances of a great number of stars, all which was done between the 11th and 24th of July 1810.

The situation of this station did not allow the observation of stars on both sides of the zenith, as the mountain rose very perpendicularly to the north of the convent. Such stars might indeed have been observed with an instrument, like the sector, calculated for making observations near the zenith. The repeating circle has not that advantage; for its perpendicularity to the horizon not being very accurately ascertained, and the error arising from that source being greatest near the zenith, the instrument is ill adapted to the observations, which, in such a case as the present, would have been the most eligible. The altitudes, therefore, observed, were of stars considerably distant from the zenith, and all of them to the south. Indeed, though **BARON DE ZACH** appears to be well pleased with the advantages which both the locality already described, and the instruments that have been enumerated carried with them, we do not think that in either they were remarkable; and if the result, after all, has turned out favourable, it is more to be attributed to the skill, diligence and accuracy of the observer, than to the particular advantages which he enjoyed. In one thing, indeed, we cannot but admire the power which an astronomer derives from the fine climate of Marseilles, compared with that of our island. **Dr MASKELYNE**, in a residence on the side of Schehalien of four months, could hardly find the means of placing his sector in the meridian; and, with all that patience or industry could perform, could only make 337 observations. The **BARON DE ZACH**, in 13 days, on the shores of the Mediterranean, was able to make 874 observations. That Greenwich

should afford, nevertheless, a greater number of observations to be completely depended on, than any other observatory in Europe, is a strong instance how, on some occasions, the moral causes can control the physical.

The data necessary in this way to determine the attraction of Mimet, required observations to be made for finding the difference of latitude between the two extreme points already mentioned; and this must be done, as has been said, not only by celestial observation, but by terrestrial measurement. For these purposes, a great number of observations were made, which the Baron has given, not only in their original state, but also as reduced and prepared for the final calculation, with a degree of order and correctness altogether exemplary. We have never seen any work of the same kind, where there is more method and order in the arrangement, more accuracy in the detail, and more fairness in striking the mean, where there is any difference among the observations. It is a book, for these reasons, which no one engaged in similar pursuits can study with too much care.

In his discussion concerning the merit of the instruments employed in his observations, a fact occurs concerning the repeating circle, which is certainly of importance; and, to us who are but little acquainted with the nature of that instrument, seems difficult to be explained. It appears, that these circles are subject to certain variations or anomalies, which may extend to three or four seconds, from causes altogether unknown. Our author tells us, that he had formerly remarked, in a letter addressed to the Editors of the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, that one cannot answer, within three or four seconds, for latitudes inferred from a long series of observations agreeing well with one another, and made with the same repeating circle; for another circle will offer another series of observations, agreeing as well with one another, but differing constantly from the first series by 3" or 4". This remark, when first made by BARON DE ZACH, appears to have drawn upon him a good deal of animadversion, though the fact itself was not disputed.

'They have made it,' says the Baron, 'a kind of reproach, that I had not pointed out the precise source of these variations. My answer was not ready, but will appear in due time. In the meanwhile, I have the satisfaction to think, that I have awakened and directed the attention of astronomers and of artists, to an important point which requires their attention.'

He goes on to remark, that this defect, from whatever cause it may arise, had no chance of affecting the determination of the attraction of the mountain which was the present object of research. It was not the absolute latitude, either of *N. D. des*

Anges, or of *l'Isle de Planier*, that was now required; but it was the difference between them, which the constant error above described could have no tendency to affect.

The preceding remarks, however, cast a little uncertainty on the determinations made by these most commodious and useful instruments. We have certainly no right to offer any opinion about an anomaly, which those who are best acquainted with the subject seem hitherto at a loss to explain. It has always appeared to us, that the smallness of the telescopes with which instruments held in the hand must be provided, is a considerable defect, and may perhaps have given rise to the inconsistency just mentioned.

The second article in this Treatise, relates to the difference of longitude between the two stations, and contains several remarks of great value to those engaged in similar pursuits. Having regulated his time-keepers at *N. D. des Anges*, by a series of observations of equal altitudes of the sun, the BARON proposed to determine the difference of time at that point and *l'Isle de Planier*, by signals made at the one station, and observed at the other. He enumerates, however, before describing these, the various ways in which the problem of ascertaining the difference of longitude of places had been attempted to be resolved. One is, as is well known, the occultation of stars by the moon, which, of all the methods purely astronomical, is certainly to be considered as the best. Yet if the star is small, and if it disappears behind the enlightened part of the lunar disk, it is often lost sight of from the comparative weakness of its light, before it actually touch the limb of the moon; and so also, at the emersion, it has perhaps got to some distance from the moon, before it can be distinguished. It is also remarked, that, in occultations, it sometimes happens that the star, after having touched the luminous disk of the moon, still appears for some seconds upon the disk. At first it seems to advance, and afterwards disappears altogether. This is known to have been experienced by several of the most eminent observers; by CASSINI, DE LA HIRE, FEUILLEE, &c.

Another cause, he adds, which may render such observations defective, is the moon's parallax; in consequence of which, the immersions and emersions of stars are made at different points of the limb for observers placed in different situations. Now, it is certain that the surface of the moon is unequal, and that there are mountains on it which, according to the observations of Messrs HERSCHEL and SCHRÖDER, are not less than 4000 toises in height. With good telescopes, one may see the little apertures which their summits form on the limb of the moon.

'It was thus that, in observing an occultation of λ Piscium on the 8th of September 1786, the star appeared to sink in the interval between two of these summits on the moon's limb, and disappeared in the hollow or valley between them. An observer, in another place of the earth, might have seen it hid behind one of these summits; and the two occultations supposed to have been made by the same part of the moon might have differed by several seconds. A singular observation, made by M. KOCH, an astronomer of Dantzic, on the 7th of March 1794, on occasion of an occultation of Aldebaran, shows the effect which the mountains in the moon may produce in such cases. The star which just grazed as it were along the limb of the moon, was three times eclipsed by the mountains, before it totally disappeared behind the real disk. The immersion was near the superior horn; the star first disappeared, and in 10" appeared again in all its brightness; after some seconds, it disappeared, and re-appeared a second time. It was soon after concealed for the third time by a mountain, but appeared once more before the real immersion behind the true disk of the moon.'

However excellent, therefore, the method of occultations may be for great distances, it is insufficient for affording the necessary accuracy when the distances are small. An error of 1" or 2", which, on an arch of the meridian of several degrees, might be counted as nothing, would become very considerable for a difference of longitude which was only a few seconds. In such cases, the celestial signals must be abandoned, and we must have recourse to such as we can make ourselves on the surface of the earth. The first person who attempted this was *Picard*, in determining the difference of meridians between the observatory at Copenhagen, and the ruined observatory of Tycho Brahe in the island of *Huena*. He kindled a fire on the tower at Copenhagen; but he does not tell by what means he made it disappear suddenly. Other methods have been since followed. A trial of the method of finding the difference of time, by means of signals, was made near London in 1775 with great success. The signals were made by the explosion of rockets in the air, which were thrown up from Loampit hill, near London, where Mr AUBERT, a well-known lover of astronomy, had his observatory. Dr MASKELYNE observed the explosion from the Royal Observatory; Mr WOLLASTON from Chislehurst in Kent; Mr HERDEN from Pall-Mall in London; and Mr ELICOTT from Horseley Lane. The longitudes of these five places were thus determined with the greatest precision; the differences at any one place not exceeding a fraction of a second. The greatest distance, however, between these places, was not more than 6 English miles, or 3 French leagues. In the case of greater distances, the same method probably could not be practised with equal success.

‘ It seems singular,’ the Baron observes, ‘ that for making such signals they have not long since had recourse to the most natural and simple expedient, and the most easy of execution withal, that of kindling a small quantity of gunpowder in the open air. This signal is the most visible and the most instantaneous that can be conceived. It is seen at all seasons, and across rain and fog, even by the naked eye. The sudden flash of the gunpowder strikes the eye, though it be not directed precisely to the point from which the light comes, and even when the place from which the signal is made is under the horizon of the observer. It is not only during the night that these signals may be made, but they may be seen in broad day, with telescopes directed to the place where the signal is made, as I have often experienced; and have, by that means, been relieved from the necessity of passing the night in bevuac, in the open air, as I must otherwise have done. The first use that was made of this method was in the year 1740, by Cassini and La Caille, in measuring two degrees of longitude near Jet, in Languedoc, and Aix in Provence. These two stations are distant about 40 leagues. Towards the middle of that distance they took a station on the sea side, near the mouth of one of the branches of the Rhone. There, from a terrace on the roof of a church, they set fire, evening and morning, to 10 lib. of powder. The flashes were seen distinctly at both extremities of the line; and the difference of longitude concluded accordingly. Cassini proposed to do the same for determining the difference of meridians between Paris and Vienna; but his proposal has never been executed. The quantity of gunpowder which these academicians used, was much too great; and, beside the useless expense, the signals so made were more uncertain and less instantaneous. Even with a single pound of powder, I have observed that the flame lasted for 2" or 3"; and on that account I have never used above 6 or 8 ounces. In 1803, I made these signals on the Brocken, one of the highest mountains of the Harts, 535 toises above the level of the sea; and the signals were seen at the distance of more than 50 French leagues all round. What is most extraordinary is, that they were seen at the distance of nearly 55 French leagues on the small hill of Keylenberg, not more than 200 toises in height; and from which the Brocken itself could not be seen, on account of the curvature of the earth. The light therefore seen at Keylenberg was nothing but the repercussion of the light of the signal from the clouds, of which it is known that there are many instances.’

These remarks may be very useful to those who are engaged in similar operations, and particularly in the measurement of the degrees of longitude, or for the measurement of arches perpendicular to the meridian.

All this is followed by a table of the observations made by help of these signals, for determining the difference between the time at Notre Dame des Anges, and the Imperial Observatory

at Marseilles. The observations were made between the 11th and 21st of July, and amount to 64. The greatest difference among them hardly exceeds $1''$; and the mean of the whole is $29''.95$ of time, or $7'.29''.1'''$ in degrees.

The use of the observation of azimuths for the same purposes, is considered at great length. The system of triangles was *oriented*, that is, its position in respect of the meridian ascertained, by azimuths determined chiefly from the sun's passage over the meridian, or, such as are here called, circum-meridian azimuths. The BARON afterwards recommends the method of ascertaining the azimuths by the polar star, after the manner first employed by GENERAL ROY, and since followed by those who have succeeded him in the conduct of the trigonometrical survey of England. He says, that the excellent repeating theodolites constructed by *Reichenbach*, are well adapted to these observations; and he gives two examples from azimuths observed at Munich, where the angle was repeated a prodigious number of times with very small variations. It would seem, therefore, that this theodolite carries a telescope with a very accurate vertical motion, though less accurate than that of RAMSDEN'S great theodolite. If this advantage is conjoined with the power of repetition, it must no doubt render the theodolite the most perfect instrument that has yet been employed in such operations as we are now treating of.

The measurement of the base, which was to serve as the foundation of the trigonometrical survey, comes next; and occupies a considerable part of the first volume. In all the parts of this very essential work, the greatest care seems to have been taken, and no precaution omitted, that the skill and experience of this very ingenious astronomer could add to the methods invented and executed by those who had gone before him.

In the end of the volume, it appears that the difference of meridians between *N. D. des Anges* and *Planier*, determined astronomically, is $15' 35''.79$; and that the same determined geodetically, is $15' .46''$. There is a difference here of $10''.67$, which, however, does not at all affect the difference of latitude.

The result of the whole, after every possible check was introduced, is, that the astronomical observations at *N. D. des Anges* made the latitude of that station less by $2''$ and a small fraction, than when the same was ascertained by the intervention of terrestrial measurement from the latitude observed at *Planier*. The same difference of $2''$ was deduced from the latitudes of three other stations, all so distant as to be out of the reach of the attraction of the ridge of Mimet. No doubt could therefore remain, that these two seconds arose from the zenith of *N. D. des Anges*,

being carried that far south by the attraction of the mountain. It is thus very satisfactory to know, that, even with small instruments, so important a point can be settled as the determination of the attraction of a mountain—the most beautiful and most palpable verification of the law of gravitation which science has yet afforded. The farther researches, that lead to a comparison between the density of such a mountain and the density of the earth itself, require a number of additional data, which cannot be ascertained with tolerable accuracy, but in the case of mountains of considerable magnitude, and as much as possible insulated. This, accordingly, the *BARON DE ZACH* did not attempt; and the only investigation of the kind yet existing, is that which was founded on the experiments made at *Schehallien*.

Great as the skill and accuracy were with which those experiments were conducted, the attraction of mountains is a subject by no means exhausted; and it were greatly for the interest of science that these experiments should be repeated under as great a variety of circumstances as can easily be attained. The northern part of the island of Great Britain is well accommodated to such observations, and the continuation of the trigonometrical survey which is now extended to that country, affords the best opportunity for carrying such experiments into execution. They would indeed make but a small deviation from the general plan of the survey. Were the method to be followed that was pursued in the survey which is the subject of those remarks, any mountain, or chain of mountains, having a plane of considerable extent, either to the south or to the north, might very well be used for determining the attraction. The observations made in that way, though they do not double the effect, as was done in the case of *Schehallien*, are so much easier to be made, and may of course be executed in so many more instances, that on the whole they may be reckoned preferable. The survey of the mountainous tract, and the gauging, as we may call it, of the mountains, would require to be continued so far as to reach the limits beyond which no inequality of ground can be supposed to act sensibly on the plumb-line. The *Grampian* mountains would afford many situations well accommodated to observations of this sort. The opposite sides of a valley also, as, for instance, of *Loch Tay*, or *Loch Ness*, might be used in the same way. The two zeniths would there be made to approach one another; and the arch between them, found by celestial observation, would be less than the same concluded by trigonometrical measurement, by the sum of the attractions of the mountains on the south and north, minus that of the intervening water, which, as a lighter substance,

would have less action on the plummet than an equal volume of earth or rock. What related to the nature of the rocks, would be readily ascertained by the skilful mineralogist who is now so properly connected with the execution of the trigonometrical survey. It is a great additional argument in favour of what is here proposed, that a long series of similar operations has prepared observers admirably calculated for the présent purpose. Men accustomed to live in the open air, and encamped on the sides or the summits of mountains, to watch the motions of the stars for months together, and to endure all the suffering and disappointment which the vicissitudes of the weather inflict on none so severely as on the astronomer. Men trained in this manner are not often to be met with: so much experience and skill in the nicest observations of science, can but seldom be combined with the hardiness of rural, we might almost say, of savage life. It were therefore to let slip a most favourable occasion for promoting the interests of science, not to take this opportunity of inquiring farther into the attraction of mountains. The instruments are already on the spot, as well as the hardy, experienced and skilful observer who is to use them; so that the same thing can never be undertaken at so little expense to the public, and in a manner so truly economical, and so highly advantageous to science.

As an additional reason for including the inquiry into the attraction of mountains in the plan of the trigonometrical survey, we must be permitted farther to state, that there are several circumstances in the experiments at Schehallien, which should render the repetition of them extremely desirable.

Though nothing could easily be added to the accuracy of the astronomical part, of which we have just now seen the strongest and most impartial evidence, yet equal praise cannot be bestowed on the trigonometrical survey, by which the magnitude and figure of the mountain were determined. The theodolite employed was but an imperfect instrument; it gave the angles to minutes only; it was furnished with telescopes of a very moderate magnifying power; and, though the work of RAMSDEN, was in all respects inferior to the instruments now employed for like purposes. Mr BURROWES, into whose hands this part of the work was committed, was new in the employment; and, though skilled in mathematicks and astronomy, had no experience in the sort of work he was employed now to conduct. As to all, therefore, that relates to the density of the earth, and the conclusions grounded on the figure and magnitude of the mountain, it must not be supposed that the same precision is to be found as in the determinations purely astronomical.

We are enabled to state this with the more confidence, that circumstances have led us to study the detail of this survey with a more minute attention, than has probably ever been done by any one except Dr HUTTON, who has so ably conducted the computations grounded on it. In this examination we have remarked, that when the solid content of the mountain is reduced into columns of equal attraction, according to Dr HUTTON's method, owing to some imperfection in the survey, the lengths of those columns cannot always be accurately ascertained; and, particularly when they come nearly to the level of the observations, that it is often uncertain whether they rise above that level, or fall short of it, and, of consequence, whether a certain quantity is to be applied as an augmentation or a diminution of the whole attraction.

There were even faults in the plan, no less than in the execution of the experiments. The observatories were placed too high on the sides of the mountain; they were about half way up; so that between a sixth and a seventh of the total effect of the attraction was lost. The sections were vertical, and carried at random, some entirely, but many of them only partially across the mountain, instead of being conducted horizontally round it, and connected together by two vertical sections at right angles to one another.

In the distance to which the survey extended, no principle seems to have been adopted as a guide, except a very insecure one, that at the distance of a mile and a half, or two miles, the action of a mountain of ordinary size could not sensibly affect the direction of gravity. The knowledge obtained from the experiments at Schehallien afford a much better, and more secure principle for fixing the limits within which the attraction of a great mass of matter may be supposed to produce a sensible effect.

Add to this, that at the time of these experiments, no attention, or next to none, was bestowed on the structure of the mountain, and the distribution of the materials which compose it. This omission, accordingly, gave no inconsiderable degree of vagueness to the conclusions deduced concerning the density of the earth.

It is true, that two gentlemen, * zealous to contribute to the accuracy of this interesting inquiry, endeavoured, not long ago, by a mineral survey of Schehallien, to remedy this defect, and to ascertain, with some degree of precision, the specific gravity of the rocks which compose that mountain. They succeeded,

* The Right Hon. Lord Webb Seymour and Professor Playfair.

perhaps, as far as the nature of the thing will now admit; but certainly much less, than if a mountain of simpler structure had been the subject of examination, or if the mineral survey had been undertaken along with the trigonometrical, when the instruments of observation were on the spot, and all the stations distinctly recognized.

These circumstances, though they go no farther than to render the limits within which the accuracy of the results are contained more distant than they would otherwise have been, are certainly to be held as good grounds for wishing to have the same experiments repeated, with an attention to all the improvements that have been made since the time when they were instituted. The opportunity, then, that now presents itself, we hope will not be overlooked, when the instruments, as has been said, are prepared, and when observers are at hand, zealous to engage in the work, instructed in all the resources of their art, and accustomed to overcome all the difficulties of their situation. Such an enterprize would form a very noble conclusion of the present survey; and would distinguish it from all others yet made, as much for the variety and importance of the objects contained in the plan of it, as for the perfection of the execution. It is already infinitely to the credit of the country, and those entrusted with the government of it, that during the long and expensive war in which the nation has been involved, this great work of science has been carried on as in the midst of profound peace. We may therefore hope, that the termination of an arduous contest, and the restoration of tranquillity to the world, will permit this national work to be completed with an extent and accuracy worthy of the spirit with which it has been begun and carried on.

ART. III. *Popular Reflections on the Progress of the Principles of Toleration, and the Reasonableness of the Catholic Claims.*
By a PROTESTANT. Newcastle. 1814.

THE history of Toleration is still a desideratum, and an important one; for it affords very useful lessons both to Statesmen and Divines, as well as to private Christians of all denominations, besides some matter of curious speculation to philosophers. We shall therefore make no apology for offering a few observations on this subject, which have been suggested by the perusal of the work before us. We understand it to be the production of a learned clergyman in Northumberland, minister

of a Dissenting congregation in communion with the Established Church of Scotland. It was not published at any of the great marts of literature, and fell into our hands accidentally: but we think it entitled to public notice, on account of the justness and ingenuity, as well as the liberality of its general views. It is a short, but interesting and instructive account (which we hope will, in due time, be enlarged to a full history) of the slow progress of Toleration,—combined with a judicious defence of that equitable, humane, and politic system, which it is painful to think there should be any occasion for defending in the nineteenth century, and in England. This last subject we have no intention of discussing in the present article, but shall confine ourselves to a few observations on the history of Toleration—we should rather say, of Intolerance,—for intolerance is the positive, active principle,—and the suppression of Intolerance is the same thing with the establishment of Toleration.

Our author justly observes (p. 145.), that ‘persecution has not resulted from any particular system, but from the prevalence of ignorance, and the force of those illiberal prejudices which are natural to the mind of untutored man.’ In fact, it may be laid down as a fundamental principle, that Intolerance is natural to man in every state of society. Much training is required before we can listen with patience, or even behave with civility, to those who dissent from our own settled opinions upon any subject. Our own opinions we of course presume to be right, and, from long familiarity, we conceive them to be evident; so that we naturally ascribe all dissent from them to weakness or perversity,—but rather to perversity than weakness. Besides, it is irksome to change our habits of thinking; and he who applies his arguments to destroy the sentiments and judgments which nature or education has woven into our constitution, not only requires us to submit to a harsh operation, but also, which is incomparably worse, he mortifies our self-conceit. Hence the *eruditissimi et clarissimi viri*, who guide our way through the ancient classics, frequently betray their resentment of contradiction, and add a wonderful interest to their lucubrations, by the bitterness of their sarcasms against their philological adversaries. Even in philosophy, where we might look, if any where, for calm and amicable discussion, the controversies are too often enlivened with a rancour, altogether unnecessary for the discovery of truth: and many a doctrine which is now received as incontrovertible, was at first compelled to fight its way in opposition to the ridicule and anathemas of the reigning schools. Christian divines submitted for ages to Aristotle’s yoke, and would tolerate no murmurs against their hea-

then master. It was not till after vexatious controversies that the authority of Newton was established. None of Harvey's contemporaries, who had attained the age of forty at the time of his grand discovery, were able to perceive that he had demonstrated the circulation of the blood. Priestley, while he appeared to be so completely emancipated from prejudice,—while he treated with contempt so many doctrines which had been long and almost universally revered by the Christian world,—could not be persuaded, by all the evidence of Lavoisier's experiments, to renounce his faith in the mysteries of Phlogiston. And in the controversy, which has not yet ceased, between the Huttonians and the Wernerians, the vivacity with which the learned philosophers darted their pleasantries against each other, has been more remarkable than their cordial cooperation in their common Inquiry.

The greater the importance that we attach to our opinions, the greater of course will be our intolerance of contradiction. But when our estimation in society, or when our fortune and station have any dependence on the respect of the public for the principles which we profess, it is most natural that we should be diligent in their defence and propagation. And if we can persuade ourselves that they are of the utmost consequence both in this life and the next, our zeal must be wonderfully animated by this identification of our own ambition with the eternal interests of our fellow creatures. The propagation and protection of the orthodox faith will appear our paramount duty, dictated equally by piety and benevolence: and in the prosecution of this high design, the zealots will regard the end as sanctifying the means; they will address themselves, not to reason only,—but to the ignorance, to the passions, and, above all, to the terrors of the multitude; they will hold forth the heretic as the enemy of God and man; and, seeking at last for more powerful weapons than logic or even rhetoric can furnish, will call for the civil magistrate 'to execute justice, and to maintain truth.' The civil magistrate himself is subject to the same duplicity with the multitude;—he may be forced, like Pilate, to yield to the general frenzy against his better judgment;—or he may find it expedient to form an alliance with the popular priesthood;—one of the high contracting parties undertaking the suppression of heresy, the other the maintenance of loyalty. And it would be absurd to suppose that, in ignorant and barbarous times, gross delusions and cruelties will not be practised in so good a cause; delusions and cruelties which must be shocking, and almost incredible, to those who live in a period of knowledge and refinement. But although the hostility created by difference of opi-

nions appears in its worst forms in barbarous times, yet in every state of society it is natural to man, the natural result of our self-love and pride, two of our most natural principles of action ; and, in the case of religious opinions, it is too often sanctioned and inflamed by mistaken notions of piety and benevolence, by supernatural hopes and supernatural fears, till it burns with a zeal far exceeding the fury of speculative controversy in any other cause.

Many worthy persons, with the best intentions for the peace and union of these islands, have taken infinite pains to perpetuate the public hatred against their Catholic brethren, by detailing the persecutions inflicted by the Romish church ; and have thence inferred the necessity of perpetuating the present degradation of so large a proportion of our fellow-citizens, who are as good men and as good subjects as ourselves. But is it fair that the Catholics of this country, and of the present day, shall be judged, not by their own conduct, but by the conduct of other men in a very different situation ? And is it not manifest, from what we know of human nature, that if any of the Protestant churches had been established in the darker ages, its priests would, in like manner, have availed themselves of the general ignorance to extend their influence, and to stop the progress of heresy by the sacrifice of the heretics,—while the barbarous habits of persecution would have been transmitted from father to son, till they became the scandal of more civilized times ? Unfortunately, this is not matter of inference or speculation :—Let us attend to facts.

There are two doctrines, purely speculative, which both Newton and Locke, though sincere Christians, and diligent searchers of the Scripture, did not believe : and there is at this day an eminent Protestant church, which directs all its congregations, both minister and people, to sing or say, thirteen times every year, in the most unqualified terms, that unless a man believe these two doctrines, ‘ he cannot be saved,’ and, ‘ without doubt, shall perish everlastingly.’ In one of its public articles, the same church declares,—‘ They also are to be *had accursed*, that ‘ presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or ‘ sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his ‘ life according to that law and the light of nature.’ And to these articles is prefixed a declaration of the King, as supreme Head and Governor of the Church, in which we read the following words :—‘ Requiring *all* our loving subjects to continue ‘ in the uniform profession thereof [of the said articles], and ‘ prohibiting the least difference from the said articles, which, ‘ to that end, we command to be new printed, and this our declaration to be published therewith.’ Now, we leave it to

men of common sense to judge what the conduct of this church would have been in the darker ages, if it had been established without a rival in almost every nation of Europe. We are far, however, from meaning to insinuate, that these denunciations of divine wrath against the Antitrinitarians, and against the Heretics, who would save virtuous heathens from eternal misery, form any part of the faith of the great body of Christians who now compose this respectable Church: But nothing can be more manifest than the intolerant spirit of the Theologians by whom these denunciations were most unnecessarily introduced into its standards, where they are most unnecessarily retained, along with the Royal declaration, to this day. At all events, we know for certain, that time was when this Church brought heretics to the flames; that under the administration of its *Governess*, Queen Elizabeth (so she is styled in the statute enacting her ecclesiastical supremacy), not fewer than one hundred and eighty persons suffered death by the laws against Catholic priests and Catholic converts; that the same 'most religious and gracious Queen' (so she is styled in the Liturgy) instituted, with the advice of her clergy the English Inquisition, the notorious Court of High Commission; and that, from the first *establishment* of the Reformation in this island, whether we date it in the reign of Henry the Eighth or of his son, till the accession of William, a presbyterian King,—all toleration was expressly prohibited by law; and, although sometimes protected illegally by the Stuarts and by Cromwell, was uniformly opposed by the Church of England.

With regard to the Protestant Church, which was finally established at the Revolution in Scotland, where, from the first introduction of the Reformation, it had been fondly cherished by the majority of the nation, the vehemence of its intolerant spirit during a long period is well known. Its celebrated founder John Knox proclaimed the awful sentence, which was loudly reechoed by his disciples, that *the idolater should die the death*; in plain English, that every Catholic should be hanged. The bare toleration of Prelacy, of Protestant Prelacy, was the guilt of Soul-murder. It was this church that framed the Solemn League and Covenant for the extirpation of Prelacy by the sword, and enjoined it to be subscribed by all persons, under pain of excommunication. And during the negotiations for the Union, it was this Church, who, in a formal petition, besought the Parliament of Scotland, that, 'as they would not involve themselves and the Scots nation in guilt,' they should not consent to the establishment of the English hierarchy and ceremonies—where?—in Scotland?—that was perfectly understood—But no, not even in England!

It is but too easy to account for this extreme animosity of the Presbyterians. The Episcopalians had been astonished at their unpardonable obstinacy in separating from the English worship, which is so manifestly founded on the express word of Scripture, and conformable to the practice of the apostolic and purest ages. Accordingly, during the two reigns immediately previous to the Revolution, the Presbyterians in Scotland were persecuted most unmercifully, and to death, not by the Papists, but by their Protestant brethren of the Episcopal Church, which was then established in both kingdoms. What was the consequence?—Not the conversion of the Presbyterians; not the security of the Establishment; but the reverse:—The schism became incurable; the former animosities were embittered and perpetuated; absurd fanatics were changed into desperate rebels; those who perished in the cause were revered as martyrs; the contagion became more general and inveterate; the great mass of the people united in the most invincible zeal for their own worship, hatred to the civil government, and abhorrence of Prelacy; till at last it was found necessary, in the settlement at the Revolution, to change the Establishment from the Episcopal to the Presbyterian Church.

Whence does it happen that these fierce animosities are now so greatly allayed? Each of the two churches retains at this day the same doctrines, the same worship, and the same hierarchy; and is as much or as little conformable to Scripture as formerly. The churches are the same, at least externally; but the nation is wiser and more tolerant. The Episcopalians and Presbyterians of the present times, do not resemble the bigots who conducted the inquisitorial tyranny of the High Commission, or who imposed the test of the Covenant;—who visited the west of Scotland with the free quarters of the military, or who triumphed so brutally over the gallant Montrose. Episcopalians and Presbyterians now sit together in the Privy Council, and in Parliament; two Presbyterians in our own days have been Chancellors of England, Episcopalians are Judges and Commanders-in-Chief in Scotland, and yet this strange medley has never interrupted the prosperity or peace of Britain; and the clergy of both countries have enjoyed, what they could not boast of formerly, the undisturbed and secure possession of their temporalities.

Towards our Catholic countrymen, we act with a very different spirit. We still withhold from them the full restitution of their civil rights; we still exclude their nobility and gentry, their men of fortune and education, from eligibility to Parliament, and the higher offices of the State, although they have

given a security for their allegiance, with which our greatest statesmen of the most opposite parties, Pitt and Burke, as well as Fox and Grattan, were perfectly satisfied; we still mark as a degraded and hostile people, that great and respectable body, who amount to nearly *one-fifth* of our whole population, and who compose more than the *half* of our army and navy.† Other nations, where it was less to have been expected than in England, have acted more generously; we should rather say, more justly and more prudently. In Prussia and in Hungary there is no political difference between the Catholics and the Protestants; all the offices of the State are equally open to both parties:—and thus both parties are equally well affected to a Government, by which both are equally protected and encouraged, and the public peace is no longer disturbed by the disgraceful and dangerous animosities of religion. In the United States of America no inconvenience whatever has arisen from opening all the public honours and emoluments to citizens of every sect. And it must not be forgotten, that we have never had reason to regret our liberal treatment of Canada, where the Church of Rome is established by the British Parliament. On the contrary, we experienced the good effect of it on a most memorable occasion, when all our Protestant colonies in America formed an alliance with a Catholic kingdom, and declared their independence,—while Canada alone remained faithful to England. May we not hope, then, that the time is not distant, when we shall do justice to our Catholic fellow-subjects in Britain and Ireland? They are at least as interesting as the Canadians; their feelings and comforts are at least as much entitled to our attention; and their friendship is of infinitely greater importance.

We are encouraged in this hope, when we attend to the manner in which the spirit of intolerance is gradually moderated in the course of human affairs. Religious intolerance is the result of selfishness and pride, and mistaken notions of duty. But it may be expected, that civilization will restrain our selfishness and pride, and direct them to proper objects, while increasing knowledge corrects our false notions of duty, and opens more distinct and enlarged views of the real interests of nations. It must be observed, however, that although refined and profound reasonings may produce a due impression on superior minds, and although they may be employed even by a person who does not understand them, in support of principles which he has already adopted, yet they are extremely feeble weapons when op-

† See the article on Sir John Hippisley's Speech, in the 17th volume of this Journal, p. 1.

posed to inveterate habits, to adverse passions, and adverse interests : And it is in a more homely way that the progress of civilization and knowledge subdues the spirit of intolerance, both in the people and in their rulers. In fact, we conceive, that the first great check to religious intolerance, a check which continues to operate to this day, is the experience or apprehension of the evil consequences of persecution, when employed against a numerous party. A vigorous Prince may sometimes, without much difficulty, though seldom or never without much cruelty, suppress a sect in its first rise, particularly before it has planted itself in different parts of his dominions. But, when it has become organized and numerous, neither its extermination nor conversion are possible ; persecution both inflames its zeal, and multiplies its numbers, and, moreover, is pernicious to the nation, and perilous to Government. It was by an obstinate perseverance in the design of suppressing all dissent from the established church, that Philip the Second lost the Low Countries, and that France bled so long and so miserably under the civil wars of the League. The persecutor finding it impossible, or unsafe, to discharge his sacred duty in its full extent, is constrained to adopt less decisive but more practicable measures for the support of orthodoxy, if it cannot be rendered universally triumphant, and for the discouragement of error, if it cannot be completely extirpated. Perhaps the secret conventicles of the heretics or schismatics, though prohibited by law, are connived at by Government ; but they are kept in awe by the occasional martyrdoms of obnoxious individuals ; or, if it be hazardous to shed blood, the more lenient punishments of exile, fine and imprisonment, and the pillory, are substituted for the stake or the gibbet. Perhaps Government may find it necessary, for the public peace and its own safety, to indulge the sectaries with the exercise of their offensive worship ; but all the honours and emoluments of the State are reserved for the orthodox, while the sectaries, perhaps, are not allowed to educate their own children, and may even be liable to be stript of their inheritance by the nearest relation who chuses to conform to the Established Church. In short, the friends of the truth, that is to say, of the predominant faith, conceiving themselves under the highest obligations to guard this most precious of all possessions, will make as hard a bargain as possible with its enemies : But the most despotic governments, and the most bigotted ecclesiastics, will be constrained to abate the fury of their intolerance, when they have to struggle against a numerous party.

We have a remarkable instance of this respect to the numbers of a religious party, in the establishment of the Presbyte-

rian Church in Scotland at the Revolution. There is also at present another notable and extremely curious instance, in the distinction which has been made between the Catholics of Ireland and of Great Britain. The Catholic Clergy of Ireland have received certain temporal endowments from Government: The Catholic Laity of Ireland are now admitted to all civil and military offices, with the exception of little more than forty of the higher stations; and yet, by the Corporation and Test acts, the Catholics of England are still excluded from every public honour and emolument.

But the fury of persecution has been allayed, not only by the prudence, but also by the humanity of modern times. The mitigation of cruelty in the legal punishments which were devised by barbarous ages, is a natural consequence of civilization; and accordingly, even in the case of those heresies where the professors were too few to be formidable, it has come to pass that the horrible statutes of the good old times were first left unexecuted, but retained *in terrorem*, and at last repealed and replaced by laws which were not so very shocking to the lukewarm habits of less savage Christians. The Church of England was established in its present form in the reign of Edward the Sixth; and in this reign, and by the pious vigilance of this Protestant Church, a Dutchman was burned in England for Arianism, and Joanna Bocher was condemned to the same death for maintaining a new Theory of the Incarnation, which was unintelligible indeed, but perfectly harmless, and if not exactly the true Theory, nor supported by Scripture, yet was not visibly inconsistent either with Scripture or with the orthodox faith. Every body knows that the warrant for this execution was extorted from the young and reluctant prince by the urgent remonstrances of Cranmer, the Protestant Primate, who by a just retribution suffered martyrdom himself as a heretic in the succeeding reign. It ought also to be remembered, that the law which condemned heretics to the flames was retained by the Protestant Church of England during one hundred and thirty years. Two Arians in the reign of James the First, seem to be the last persons who suffered under it; but though these barbarities had become so odious to Englishmen that it was not thought expedient to execute the law, yet it was not till the year 1677 that it ceased to disgrace the code of a civilized people. And although the zealous Churchmen were no longer allowed to inflict on the Antitrinitarians the punishment which they deserved, yet these heretics were by no means left at liberty to publish tenets, which though perfectly consistent both with good morals and the public peace, were directly contradictory to the standards of the

Church. These tenets were regarded as blasphemous, in which light they are still considered by the learned Dr Burges the present bishop of St David's, * and consequently were liable to be checked by the existing laws. But to make so important a business surer and easier, the Legislature, in King William's reign, thought proper, in its wisdom, to enact (9th and 10th of William III.) that an Antitrinitarian Christian, upon the first conviction of professing his peculiar doctrines, should be disqualified from enjoying any office civil or military, as well as ecclesiastical; and that upon a second conviction, he should moreover be put out of the protection of the law, by being 'disabled to sue, prosecute, plead or use any action or information;' He was also upon this second conviction disabled from being 'guardian of any child; or executor or administrator of any person, or capable of any legacy or deed of gift;'—and, lastly, (which could hardly fail to convince him of his errors, if he was not a perfect reprobate), he was to 'suffer imprisonment for the space of three years.' But Englishmen became so effeminate, that even this mild law could not well be executed, and was only retained *in terrorem*, till at last it was repealed in the year 1813, to the regret of the worthy prelate already mentioned. * And unless the Antitrinitarians are punishable as blasphemers, there remains nothing to check these daring heretics but the disqualifications of the Corporation and Test acts, which with admirable political sagacity are still kept in reserve for the support of the truth, ready to spring forth at a occasion may require, whenever the country is so far regenerated as to call for their execution.* If, however, such times should return, there is a fact which may deserve the attention of the most zealous churchmen; namely, that under the weight of far severer laws, and under the never ceasing anathemas of the Established Church, the Antitrinitarians have grown into a sect considerable both for their numbers and their learning.

Here we cannot help remarking, that the struggle between the zeal of Highchurch-men and the general civilization of the country, has produced a curious enough inconsistency between our laws and our practice. By the laws, the Irish Catholics are in a better situation than any of the Protestant Dissenters; for these last are legally excluded from all civil and military offices; whereas the Irish Catholics are now legally eligible to all these offices, with the exception of about forty of the higher stations. But the practice is extremely different. In fact, all the offices

* * See his Lordship's Brief Memorial on the Repeal of the 9th and 10th of William III.

of the State, civil and military, even the highest, are open to Presbyterians, to Independents, to Anabaptists, to Methodists, to Arians, to Socinians, and even to the avowed disbelievers of Christianity. It is our Catholic countrymen alone who suffer from the intolerant statutes; the Catholics are the only subjects of this realm who are actually molested and degraded on account of their religion.

While this ungenerous treatment of our Catholic fellow-subjects in the present state of civilization, is naturally disgusting even to those who dislike their peculiar tenets, there is also another effect produced by civilization, extremely unfavourable to intolerance, namely, the familiar intercourse between all the different sects.—That any person of decent conduct, and inoffensive behaviour, should be banished from the courtesies of social life, because he attends the Mass or the Dissenting Chapel instead of the Established Church, would be a specimen of barbarous manners, which cannot subsist in humaner times. We know the abhorrence which the Catholics and Protestants, the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, nourished against each other in the days of intolerance; but it is impossible for us now to shut our eyes, or our hearts, to the virtues which we find very equally diffused among all denominations of Christians. Fools and knaves, and tiresome proselytists, spring up in every sect, but ought not to be considered as a fair sample of any. A person, who has been confined in the choice of his companions to a particular church, may be brought to conceive, that whatever is best and most amiable, can be found only among those who are happy enough to believe its peculiar doctrines; but such notions appear ridiculous to any body who lives, and in this country almost every body lives, in a friendly intercourse with persons of different persuasions. Catholic bigots may reserve salvation for their own church exclusively, and Protestant bigots may consign Catholics to perdition as idolaters; but a Protestant and Catholic, who live happily together as husband and wife, entertain far other sentiments; and so do the young Protestants and Catholics, who are equally cherished by both their parents. An eloquent Unitarian preacher, of Priestley's school, has very lately declared his persuasion, that the doctrine of the Trinity 'is the parent stock of all that system of error which has branched out into the various forms of reputed orthodoxy, darkening with its deadly shade the brightness of the Divine character, and shedding its poisonous influence upon the best-charities of human nature.'* Another eminent Divine,

* Madge's Sermon, on Wednesday, May 17, 1815, before the Supporters of the Unitarian Fund, p. 13.

of the same Church, has very lately told us, that ‘Arianism and Unitarianism [and *a fortiori* we presume Trinitarianism and Unitarianism] can no more unite than fire and water; than light and darkness; than *Christ and Belial*.’ † And we all know the dreadful sentence denounced by a great College of Unitarian Divines, against every denomination of Antitrinitarians. But while the different sects are connected by the bonds of affection, or even simply by the offices of good neighbourhood, or by esteem and confidence in the transactions of business, the *Laity* learn to appreciate very justly the angry anathemas and rhetorical flourishes of their teachers; and will not be induced by them, so easily as in times past, to disturb either the public peace or the cordialities of social life.

One instance of the amicable intercourse of all the different sects deserves to be particularly remarked, we mean the Bible Society, with its various branches extending through the whole empire, and comprehending not only all the Protestant sects, but the Catholics also. Such an association, we believe, to be unexampled in history; and its magnitude naturally excites some degree of apprehension. But whatever opinion may be entertained of this Society in other respects; and however, in the uncertain fluctuation of human affairs, it may eventually be turned by subtle politicians, or bold agitators, to purposes different from that which it is now pursuing; yet, in the first instance at least, the cause of religious freedom must be promoted by this union of the Established Church with the Dissenters, and of Catholics with Protestants, in one great work of piety and benevolence.

While civilization goes far to mitigate the spirit of intolerance, much also is effected by the general diffusion of knowledge. The time is long past, when learning was almost exclusively confined to the clergy, when consequently the clergy had the principal share in the direction of the civil government, and when of course the civil government restrained the propagation of opinions, which had any appearance of inconsistency with the established faith. The laity are now as learned, and as inquisitive as the clergy; and in religion, they are evidently more impartial judges. Hence it has come to pass, that their habits of implicit submission to their spiritual guides have been much relaxed, by discovering how often, and how cruelly, the public peace has been disturbed by controversies the most frivolous and nonsensical;—how often the world has been set on fire, in the attempts to enforce uniformity of opinion, where it

† Mr T. Belsham's Letter in the Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature for July 1816, p. 416.

was perfectly indifferent to good morals, whichever way the question were decided, or whether it were ever decided at all;—how often the foundations, on which the weightiest conclusions have been supported, are found, upon nearer inspection, to be extremely frail,—reasonings of doubtful, or worse than doubtful, solidity,—texts of doubtful interpretation, and sometimes even of doubtful authenticity.

But, in order to discover the folly of intolerance, it is not necessary to be proficient in theology. This accomplishment is incompatible with the leisure, the abilities, and the scholarship of ordinary men. There is one thing, however, which every body knows, that our teachers are divided against themselves; and hence, from the acknowledged virtues and talents and learning of our teachers, the laity of every sect very naturally deduce an obvious apology for tolerating the errors of their heterodox friends. The apology we know to be very familiar to the laity; and, on that account at least, it may deserve the consideration of divines, more especially as the violence so usual in theological discussions renders the apology more obvious and more impressive. The matter stands thus. There are some doctrines about which there never has been any dispute among Christians. But there are several others, and some of them relating to subjects of the highest nature, which have given rise to bitter controversies and cruel persecutions. In this country, all the sects are now allowed to speak and write with equal freedom; and hence it cannot be concealed, that the greatest theologians, good and learned and able men, after spending their lives in laborious investigations, come at last to conclusions, all of them perfectly positive and indubitable, but yet contradictory to each other. Now, whatever may be the case with the individuals who have soured their temper, or compromised their credit, by taking an active part in these never-ending controversies, it is natural for every other person to feel, that he ought neither to despise the understanding of his neighbours, nor to suspect their virtue; nor to abate one jot of good will or kindness for them, although they happen to differ from him upon subjects where the greatest doctors themselves disagree.

Another beneficial effect produced by the diffusion of knowledge, is the gradual conviction of Government, that it has no interest in any degree of persecution or intolerance. The importance of the clergy in society, rises in proportion to the number of those who adhere to their ministry; and something is always wanting to their dignity, so long as any heresy or schism remains. The clergy of every sect have a palpable interest in the suppression of every sect but their own. But, with the na-

tion at large, and with Government also, the case is widely different. To a layman, the religion of his neighbours is of no consequence, if their moral conduct is good; to Government, the religion of its subjects is of no consequence, if they live like good subjects; and it is notorious, that good moral and good citizenship are not monopolized by any sect whatever. We grant, that it is proper for the Legislature, in its paternal care for the people, to provide for them the benefits of religious instruction and public worship, by the establishment of a national church; and that an ample provision ought to be made for the clergy who devote themselves to this important service. But, if any persons, after having contributed the share which the law requires from them for the support of the established clergy, choose to provide other ministers for themselves, Government has no interest to prevent them, or to molest them in the least on that account. It cannot be the interest of Government to exclude any of its subjects, on account of their religion, from those civil and military offices, to which men of every religion are equally competent. It cannot be the interest of Government to limit itself in the selection of those who are qualified by their station and talents for the service of the State. It cannot be the interest of Government to narrow, to any of its subjects, the field of industry and ambition; or to degrade them below the level of their countrymen, in the same rank of life with themselves. It cannot be the interest of Government to make its children its enemies.

All this will be more manifest, if we attend to a very important circumstance, namely, the great number of the Dissenters. The Dissenters are no longer an inconsiderable body, whose feelings may be disregarded or insulted with safety. They cannot fall much short of half the population. It cannot now be wise to retain the Corporation and Test acts, which may put it into the power of a monarch, as bigotted as Charles the First, to exclude from the service of their country, all those who do not conform to the Church of England. It is acknowledged by Government itself, that these laws are unfit to be executed; and they are only retained to overawe the Dissenters. But of all things in the world, men hate to be overawed; so that if these statutes have any effect at all, it is to render a vast portion of the country dissatisfied both with Church and State, which cannot contribute much to the peace or safety of either. Our Catholic countrymen are nearly one-fifth of our population, and compose the half of our army and navy. Now, let the members of the Church of England consider for a moment what their own feelings would be, if they were treated in the same way in which they themselves treat the Catholics;—if they were treated as the

children of the bond woman, and not of the free,—and then say if it can be the interest of Government to keep alive such feelings in so many of its subjects. It may be true, that we are still powerful enough to subdue their insurrections, if they attempt to rebel. But is it not distressing, that there should still be persons, who, in opposition to the decided opinions of our greatest Statesmen, and even of our greatest Churchmen, * urge us most unnecessarily to persevere in measures which give any degree of excitement or plausibility to such insurrections?—insurrections which cannot be quashed without a world of misery, which, even when quashed, leave the seeds of future and worse insurrections; and where, even in victory, there is no heart for triumph—*bellum plus quam civilia — bellum nullos habitura triumphos*. We trust, however, that from our dear-bought experience of the mischiefs of intolerance; from the humanity and justice, as well as prudence of civilized times; from the amicable intercourse between the different sects; from a general sense of the unimportance or uncertainty of the theological controversies by which the Clergy endeavour to set Christian against Christian; from the conviction, how little it can be the interest of Government to make any political distinction between its subjects on account of their religion, more especially when so great a proportion of our countrymen are Dissenters, and even Catholics;—we trust that, from these and other causes, all our fellow-subjects shall henceforth be treated as Englishmen, and all the various sects feel an equal interest in the peace and prosperity of England.

These are the observations which have occurred to us on the perusal of this interesting performance. To the author and to his cause, we heartily wish success; and shall conclude with his own eloquent peroration. p. 147.

* All ranks and descriptions of men now profess to abjure the principles of persecution, whether negative or positive, in as far as this can be accomplished in consistency with the principles of self-defence, against the influence of any foreign jurisdiction. Even many of the established clergy, whom the *esprit de corps* might naturally render favourable to religious disabilities, have evinced themselves equally tolerant as the most enlightened of the laity. We have lately heard the Supreme Court of an Established Church, which, in the days of Queen Anne, acted upon the most illiberal principles, address the Throne, in the genuine spirit of Christianity, towards their Catholic brethren. † We have also had every proof which it was possible for the Catholics of this country to afford us, that they have

* See the first Article in the 17th volume of this Journal, *ut supra*.

† *Vide* Addresses of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland in 1813.

[at least] kept pace with the members of the Church of England in improvement and liberality of sentiment.'

' Experience has demonstrated that pains and penalties and disabilities irritate and inflame; whilst lenient and liberal measures conciliate, and unite in the social charities and public duties of life, the members of every different religious communion. We have a striking illustration of this in the blessings which have resulted from the union of Scotland and England. Before that happy event, it was dreaded, not only by the shortsighted, but by many of the wise among the Scotch, as destructive of their Church establishment. An immense majority of Episcopalians, who they had every reason to believe were at that time implacably hostile to Presbytery, were to legislate for their country. It was therefore deemed reasonable to suspect, that although Policy might lead them to avoid any open attempt, Zeal would dispose them to adopt indirect means to substitute the splendid forms of the Hierarchy for the simple rites of Presbyterian government. They had formerly made the attempt; and it was natural to imagine, that, under more auspicious circumstances, they would endeavour to accomplish their favourite project. The objection, to say the least of it, was specious and plausible; and time might perhaps have verified their fears, if the same degree of ignorance, with its concomitant illiberality, had continued to exist. But, although it has not lessened their attachment to their respective modes of ecclesiastical discipline, the progress of knowledge has rendered them more tolerant to each other, and induced them to overlook those things in which they disagree, and value each other for those pleasing and useful qualifications which adorn the characters of the good in every community.

' When we contemplate such happy consequences in this case, why should we dread such opposite effects from the *eligibility* of a very few Catholic gentlemen to our national legislative assembly? Is the dislike of the Catholics to our Protestant system more deeply rooted than the hatred which the Episcopalians manifested in the reign of Anne towards the Presbyterians of the North? Is it blended with one half of the contempt which was then displayed? Is it now connected with more, or even so much, bigotry and intolerance? Is the Catholic Church, upon the whole, so far removed as the Presbyterian community from a resemblance to the Church of England? Is it in consequence more able and willing to subvert the ecclesiastical establishment, and undermine the Protestant ascendancy in the British realm, than were the Episcopalians of former times to extirpate the Presbyterians? Truth, reason, policy and generosity, answer in the negative; and call upon us to concede their claim to our Catholic fellow-subjects. The concession will allay the animosities of every religious denomination. It will strengthen and perpetuate their union as a political body. It will evince the wisdom of universal religious liberty; and for ever confirm the rights of conscience, as not controllable by human laws, nor amenable to human tribunals.'

ART. IV. *Lectures on Dramatic Literature.* By W. A. SCHLEGEL. Translated from the German, by JOHN BLACK Esq. 2 vol. Baldwin & Co. 1815.

THIS work is German; and is to be received with the allowances which that school of literature generally requires. With these, however, it will be found a good work: and as we should be sorry to begin our account of it with an unmeaning sneer, we will explain at once what appears to us to be the weak side of German literature. In all that they do, it is evident that they are much more influenced by a desire of distinction than by any impulse of the imagination, or the consciousness of extraordinary qualifications. They write, not because they are full of a subject, but because they think it is a subject upon which, with due pains and labour, something striking may be written. So they read and meditate,—and having, at length, devised some strange and paradoxical view of the matter, they set about establishing it with all their might and main. The consequence is, that they have no shades of opinion, but are always straining at a grand systematic conclusion. They have done a great deal, no doubt, and in various departments; but their pretensions have always much exceeded their performance. They are universal undertakers, and complete encyclopedists, in all moral and critical science. No question can come before them but they have a large apparatus of logical and metaphysical principles ready to play off upon it; and the less they know of the subject, the more formidable is the use they make of their apparatus. In poetry, they have at one time gone to the utmost lengths of violent effect,—and then turned round, with equal extravagance, to the laborious production of no effect at all. The truth is, that they are naturally a slow, heavy people; and can only be put in motion by some violent and often repeated impulse, under the operation of which they lose all control over themselves—and nothing can stop them short of the last absurdity. Truth, in their view of it, is never what *is*, but what, according to their system, *ought to be*. Though they have dug deeply in the mine of knowledge, they have too often confounded the dross and the ore, and counted their gains rather by their weight than their quality. They are a little apt, we suspect, literally to take the will for the deed,—and are not always capable of distinguishing between effort and success. They are most at home, accordingly, in matters of fact, and learned inquiries. In art they are hard, forced, and mechanical; and, generally, they may be said to have all that depends on strength of understanding and persevering exertion,—but to

want ease, quickness and flexibility. We should not have made these remarks, if the work before us had formed an absolute exception to them.

William Schlegel has long been celebrated on the Continent as a philosophical critic, and as the admirable translator of Shakespear and Calderon into his native tongue. Madame de Staël acknowledges her obligations to him, for the insight which he had given her into the discriminating features of German genius: And M. Sismondi, in his work on Southern literature, bears the most honourable testimony to his talents and learning. The present work contains a critical and historical account of the ancient and modern drama,—the Greek, the Latin, the Italian, the French, the English, the Spanish, and the German. The view which the author has taken of the standard productions, whether tragic or comic, in these different languages, is in general ingenious and just; and his speculative reasonings on the principles of taste, are often as satisfactory as they are profound. But he sometimes carries the love of theory, and the spirit of partisanship, farther than is at all allowable. His account of Shakespear is admirably characteristic, and must be highly gratifying to the English reader. It is indeed by far the best account which has been given of the plays of that great genius by any writer, either among ourselves, or abroad. It is only liable to one exception—he will allow Shakespear to have had no faults. Now, we think he had a great many, and that he could afford to have had as many more. It shows a distrust of his genius, to be tenacious of his defects.

Our author thus explains the object of his work—

‘ Before I proceed farther, I wish to say a few words respecting the spirit of my criticism—a study to which I have devoted a great part of my life. We see numbers of men, and even whole nations, so much fettered by the habits of their education and modes of living, that nothing appears natural, proper, or beautiful, which is foreign to their language, their manners, and their social relations. In this exclusive mode of seeing and feeling, it is no doubt possible, by means of cultivation, to attain a great nicety of discrimination in the narrow circle within which they are circumscribed. But no man can be a true critic or connoisseur, who does not possess a universality of mind,—who does not possess that flexibility which, throwing aside all personal predilections and blind habits, enables him to transport himself into the peculiarities of other ages and nations,—to feel them as it were from their proper central point,—and to recognize and respect whatever is beautiful and grand under those external circumstances which are necessary to their existence, and which sometimes even seem to disguise them. There is no monopoly of poetry for certain ages and nations; and consequently, that

despotism in taste, by which it is attempted to make those rules universal, which were at first perhaps arbitrarily established, is a pretension which ought never to be allowed. Poetry, taken in its widest acceptation, as the power of creating what is beautiful, and representing it to the eye or ear, is a universal gift of Heaven; which is even shared to a certain extent by those whom we call barbarians and savages. Internal excellence is alone decisive; and where this exists, we must not allow ourselves to be repelled by external circumstances.

‘ It is well known, that, three centuries and a half ago, the study of ancient literature, by the diffusion of the Greek language (for the Latin was never extinct) received a new life: The classical authors were sought after with avidity, and made accessible by means of the press; and the monuments of ancient art were carefully dug up, and preserved. All this excited the human mind in a powerful manner, and formed a decided epoch in the history of our cultivation: the fruits have extended to our times, and will extend to a period beyond the power of our calculation. But the study of the ancients was immediately carried to a most pernicious excess. The learned, who were chiefly in possession of this knowledge, and who were incapable of distinguishing themselves by their own productions, yielded an unlimited deference to the ancients,—and with great appearance of reason, as they are models in their kind. They maintained, that nothing could be hoped for the human mind, but in the imitation of the ancients; and they only esteemed, in the works of the moderns, whatever resembled, or seemed to bear a resemblance, to those of antiquity. Every thing else was rejected by them as barbarous and unnatural. It was quite otherwise with the great poets and artists. However strong their enthusiasm for the ancients, and however determined their purpose of entering into competition with them, they were compelled by the characteristic peculiarity of their minds to proceed in a track of their own,—and to impress upon their productions the stamp of their own genius. Such was the case with Dante among the Italians, the father of modern poetry: he acknowledged Virgil for his instructor; but produced a work, which of all others differs the most from the *Æneid*, and *far excels it, in our opinion, in strength, truth, depth, and comprehension*. It was the same afterwards with Ariosto, who has been most unaccountably compared to Homer; for nothing can be more unlike. It was the same in the fine arts with Michael Angelo and Raphael, who were without doubt well acquainted with the antique. When we ground our judgment of modern painters merely on their resemblance to the ancients, we must necessarily be unjust towards them. As the poets for the most part acquiesced in the doctrines of the learned, we may observe a curious struggle in them between their natural inclination and their imagined duty. When they sacrificed to the latter, they were praised by the learned; but, by yielding to their own inclinations, they became the favourites of the people. What preserves the heroic poems of a Tasso or a Camoens to this day alive, in the hearts and

on the lips of their countrymen, is by no means their imperfect resemblance to Virgil or even to Homer,—but, in Tasso, the tender feeling of chivalrous love and honour, and in Camoens the glowing inspiration of patriotic heroism.'

The author next proceeds to unfold that which is the nucleus of the prevailing system of German criticism, and the foundation of his whole work, namely, the essential distinction between the peculiar spirit of the modern or *romantic* style of art, and the antique or *classical*. There is in this part of the work a singular mixture of learning, acuteness and mysticism. We have certain profound suggestions and distant openings to the light; but, every now and then, we are suddenly left in the dark, and obliged to grope our way by ourselves. We cannot promise to find a clue out of the labyrinth; but we will at least attempt it. The most obvious distinction between the two styles, the classical and the romantic, is, that the one is conversant with objects that are grand or beautiful in themselves, or in consequence of obvious and universal associations; the other, with those that are interesting only by the force of circumstances and imagination. A Grecian temple, for instance, is a classical object: it is beautiful in itself, and excites immediate admiration. But the ruins of a Gothic castle have no beauty or symmetry to attract the eye; and yet they excite a more powerful and romantic interest from the ideas with which they are habitually associated. If, in addition to this, we are told that this is Macbeth's castle, the scene of the murder of Duncan, the interest will be instantly heightened to a sort of pleasing horror. The classical idea or form of any thing, it may also be observed, remains always the same, and suggests nearly the same impressions; but the associations of ideas belonging to the romantic character, may vary infinitely, and take in the whole range of nature and accident. Antigone, in Sophocles, waiting near the grove of the Furies—Electra, in Æschylus, offering sacrifice at the tomb of Agamemnon—are classical subjects, because the circumstances and the characters have a correspondent dignity, and an immediate interest, from their mere designation. Florimel, in Spenser, where she is described sitting on the ground in the Witch's hut, is not classical, though in the highest degree poetical and romantic: for the incidents and situation are in themselves mean and disagreeable, till they are redeemed by the genius of the poet, and converted, by the very contrast, into a source of the utmost pathos and elevation of sentiment. Othello's handkerchief is not classical, though 'there was magic in the web;'—it is only a powerful instrument of passion and imagination. Even Lear is not classical; for he is a poor crazy old man, who has nothing sublime about him but his afflictions, and who dies of a broken heart.

Schlegel somewhere compares the Furies of Æschylus to the Witches of Shakespear—we think without much reason. Perhaps Shakespear has surrounded the Weird Sisters with associations as terrible, and even more mysterious, strange, and fantastic than the Furies of Æschylus; but the traditionary beings themselves are not so petrific. These are of marble,—their look alone must blast the beholder;—those are of air, bubbles; and though ‘so withered and so wild in their attire,’ it is their spells alone which are fatal. They owe their power to ‘metaphysical aid:’ but the others contain all that is dreadful in their corporal figures. In this we see the distinct spirit of the classical and the romantic mythology. The serpents that twine round the head of the Furies are not to be trifled with, though they implied no preternatural power: The bearded Witches in Macbeth are in themselves grotesque and ludicrous, except as this strange deviation from nature staggers our imagination, and leads us to expect and to believe in all incredible things. They appal the faculties by what they say or do;—the others are intolerable, even to sight.

Our author is right in affirming, that the true way to understand the plays of Sophocles and Æschylus, is to study them before the groupes of the Niobe or the Laocoon. If we can succeed in explaining this analogy, we shall have solved nearly the whole difficulty. For it is certain, that there are exactly the same powers of mind displayed in the poetry of the Greeks as in their statues. Their poetry is exactly what their sculptors might have written. Both are exquisite imitations of nature; the one in marble, the other in words. It is evident, that the Greek poets had the same perfect idea of the subjects they described, as the Greek sculptors had of the objects they represented; and they give as much of this absolute truth of imitation, as can be given by words. But, in this direct and simple imitation of nature, as in describing the form of a beautiful woman, the poet is greatly inferior to the sculptor: It is in the power of illustration, in comparing it to other things, and suggesting other ideas of beauty or love, that he has an entirely new source of imagination opened to him; and of this power, the moderns have made at least a bolder and more frequent use than the ancients. The description of Helen in Homer, is a description of what might have happened and been seen, as ‘that she moved with grace, and that the old men rose up with reverence as she passed;’ the description of Belphebe in Spenser, is a description of what was only visible to the eye of the poet.

‘Upon her eyelids many graces sat,

Under the shadow of her even brows.”

The description of the soldiers going to battle in Shakespear,

‘ all plumed like estriches, like eagles newly bathed, wanton as goats, wild as young bulls, ’ is too bold, figurative, and profuse of dazzling images, for the mild, equable tone of classical poetry, which never loses sight of the object in the illustration. The ideas of the ancients were too exact and definite, too much attached to the material form or vehicle in which they were conveyed, to admit of those rapid combinations, those unrestrained flights of fancy, which, glancing from heaven to earth, unite the most opposite extremes, and draw the happiest illustrations from things the most remote. The two principles of imitation and imagination indeed, are not only distinct, but almost opposite. For the imagination is that power which represents objects, not as they are, but as they are moulded according to our fancies and feelings. Let an object be presented to the senses in a state of agitation and fear—and the imagination will magnify the object, and convert it into whatever is most proper to encourage the fear. It is the same in all other cases in which poetry speaks the language of the imagination. This language is not the less true to nature because it is false in point of fact; but so much the more true and natural, if it conveys the impression which the object under the influence of passion makes on the mind. We compare a man of gigantic stature to a tower; not that he is any thing like so large, but because the excess of his size, beyond what we are accustomed to expect, produces a greater feeling of magnitude and ponderous strength than an object of ten times the same dimensions. Things, in short, are equal in the imagination, which have the power of affecting the mind with an equal degree of terror, admiration, delight or love. When Lear calls upon the Heavens to avenge his cause, ‘ for they are old like him, ’ there is nothing extravagant or impious in this sublime identification of his age with theirs; for there is no other image which could do justice to the agonizing sense of his wrongs and his despair!

The great difference, then, which we find between the classical and the romantic style, between ancient and modern poetry, is, that the one more frequently describes things as they are interesting in themselves,—the other for the sake of the associations of ideas connected with them; that the one dwells more on the immediate impressions of objects on the senses—the other on the ideas which they suggest to the imagination. The one is the poetry of form, the other of effect. The one gives only what is necessarily implied in the subject; the other all that can possibly arise out of it. The one seeks to identify the imitation with an external object,—clings to it,—is inseparable from it,—is for that or nothing; the other seeks to identify the original impression with whatever else, within the range of thought or

feeling, can strengthen, relieve, adorn or elevate it. Hence the severity and simplicity of the Greek tragedy, which excluded every thing foreign or unnecessary to the subject. Hence the unities: for, in order to identify the imitation as much as possible with the reality, and leave nothing to mere imagination, it was necessary to give the same coherence and consistency to the different parts of a story, as to the different limbs of a statue. Hence the beauty and grandeur of their materials; for, deriving their power over the mind from the truth of the imitation, it was necessary that the subject which they made choice of, and from which they could not depart, should be in itself grand and beautiful. Hence the perfection of their execution; which consisted in giving the utmost harmony, delicacy, and refinement to the details of a given subject. Now, the characteristic excellence of the moderns is the reverse of all this. As, according to our author, the poetry of the Greeks is the same as their sculpture; so, he says, our own more nearly resembles painting,—where the artist can relieve and throw back his figures at pleasure,—use a greater variety of contrasts,—and where light and shade, like the colours of fancy, are reflected on the different objects. The Muse of classical poetry should be represented as a beautiful naked figure: the Muse of modern poetry should be represented clothed, and with wings. The first has the advantage in point of form; the last in colour and motion.

Perhaps we may trace this difference to something analogous in physical organization, situation, religion and manners. First, the natural organization of the Greeks seems to have been more perfect, more susceptible of external impressions, and more in harmony with external nature than ours, who have not the same advantages of climate and constitution. Born of a beautiful and vigorous race, with quick senses and a clear understanding, and placed under a mild heaven, they gave the fullest development to their external faculties: and where all is perceived easily, every thing is perceived in harmony and proportion. It is the stern genius of the North which drives men back upon their own resources, which makes them slow to perceive, and averse to feel, and which, by rendering them insensible to the single, successive impressions of things, requires their collective and combined force to rouse the imagination violently and unequally. It should be remarked, however, that the early poetry of some of the Eastern nations has even more of that irregularity, wild enthusiasm, and disproportioned grandeur, which has been considered as the distinguishing character of the Northern nations.

Again, a good deal may be attributed to the state of manners and political institutions. The ancient Greeks were warlike tribes encamped in cities. They had no other country than that which

was enclosed within the walls of the town in which they lived. Each individual belonged, in the first instance, to the State; and his relations to it were so close, as to take away, in a great measure, all personal independence and free-will. Every one was mortised to his place in society, and had his station assigned him as part of the political machine, which could only subsist by strict subordination and regularity. Every man was as it were perpetually on duty, and his faculties kept constant watch and ward. Energy of purpose, and intensity of observation, became the necessary characteristics of such a state of society; and the general principle communicated itself from this ruling concern for the public, to morals, to art, to language, to every thing.—The tragic poets of Greece were among her best soldiers; and it is no wonder that they were as severe in their poetry as in their discipline. Their swords and their styles carved out their way with equal sharpness. This state of things was afterwards continued under the Roman empire. In the ages of chivalry and romance, which, after a considerable interval, succeeded its dissolution, and which have stamped their character on modern genius and literature, all was reversed. Society was again resolved into its component parts; and the world was, in a manner, to begin anew. The ties which bound the citizen and the soldier to the State being loosened, each person was thrown back, as it were, into the circle of the domestic affections, or left to pursue his doubtful way to fame and fortune alone. This interval of time might be accordingly supposed to give birth to all that was constant in attachment, adventurous in action, strange, wild and extravagant in invention. Human life took the shape of a busy, voluptuous dream, where the imagination was now lost amidst ‘antres vast and deserts idle;’ or, suddenly transported to stately palaces, echoing with dance and song. In this uncertainty of events, this fluctuation of hopes and fears, all objects became dim, confused and vague. Magicians, dwarfs, giants, followed in the train of romance; and Orlando’s enchanted sword, the horn which he carried with him, and which he blew thrice at Roncesvalles, and Rogero’s winged horse, were not sufficient to protect them in their unheard-of encounters, or deliver them from their inextricable difficulties. It was a return to the period of the early heroic ages; but tempered by the difference of domestic manners, and the spirit of religion. The marked difference in the relation of the sexes, arose from the freedom of choice in women, which, from being the slaves of the will and passions of men, converted them into the arbiters of their fate, which introduced the modern system of gallantry, and first made love a feeling of the heart, founded on mutual affection and esteem. The leading virtues of the Christian religion

self-denial and generosity, assisted in producing the same effect. — Hence the spirit of chivalry, of romantic love, and honour!

The mythology of the romantic poetry differed from the received religion: both differed essentially from the classical. The religion, or mythology of the Greeks, was nearly allied to their poetry: it was material and definite. The Pagan system reduced the Gods to the human form, and elevated the powers of inanimate nature to the same standard. Statues carved out of the finest marble, represented the objects of their religious worship in airy porticos, in solemn temples and consecrated groves. Mercury was seen ‘new-lighted on some heaven-kissing hill;’ and the Naiad or Dryad came gracefully forth as the personified genius of the stream or wood. All was subjected to the senses. The Christian religion, on the contrary, is essentially spiritual and abstract; it is ‘the evidence of things unseen.’ In the Heathen mythology, form is everywhere predominant; in the Christian, we find only unlimited, undefined power. The imagination alone ‘broods over the immense abyss, and makes it pregnant.’ There is, in the habitual belief of an universal, invisible Principle of all things, a vastness and obscurity which confounds our perceptions, while it exalts our piety. A mysterious awe surrounds the doctrines of the Christian faith: the Infinite is everywhere before us, whether we turn to reflect on what is revealed to us of the Divine nature or our own.

History, as well as religion, has contributed to enlarge the bounds of imagination; and both together, by showing past and future objects at an interminable distance, have accustomed the mind to contemplate and take an interest in the obscure and shadowy. The ancients were more circumscribed within ‘the ignorant present time,’—spoke only their own language,—were conversant only with their own customs,—were acquainted only with the events of their own history. The mere lapse of time then, aided by the art of printing, has served to accumulate for us an endless mass of mixed and contradictory materials; and, by extending our knowledge to a greater number of things, has made our particular ideas less perfect and distinct. The constant reference to a former state of manners and literature, is a marked feature in modern poetry. We are always talking of the Greeks and Romans;—*they* never said any thing of us. This circumstance has tended to give a certain abstract elevation, and ethereal refinement to the mind, without strengthening it. We are lost in wonder at what has been done, and dare not think of emulating it. The earliest modern poets, accordingly, may be conceived to hail the glories of the antique world, dawning through the dark abyss of time; while revelation, on the other hand, opened its

path to the skies : As Dante represents himself as conducted by Virgil to the shades below ; while Beatrice welcomes him to the abodes of the blest.

We must now return, however, to our author, whose sketch of the rise and progress of the Drama, will be interesting to our readers.

‘ The invention of the dramatic art, and of a theatre, seem to lie very near one another. Man has a great disposition to mimicry. When he enters vividly into the situation, sentiments and passions of others, he even involuntarily puts on a resemblance to them in his gestures. Children are perpetually going out of themselves : it is one of their chief amusements to represent those grown people whom they have had an opportunity of observing, or whatever comes in their way : And with the happy flexibility of their imagination, they can exhibit all the characteristics of assumed dignity in a father, a schoolmaster, or a king. The sole step which is requisite for the invention of a drama, namely, the separating and extracting the mimetic elements and fragments from social life, and representing them collected together into one mass, has not, however, been taken in many nations. In the very minute description of ancient Egypt in Herodotus and other writers, I do not recollect observing the smallest trace of it. The Etrurians, again, who in many respects resembled the Egyptians, had their theatrical representations ; and, what is singular enough, the Etruscan name for an actor, *histrio*, is preserved in living languages down to the present day. The Arabians and Persians, though possessed of a rich poetical literature, are unacquainted with any sort of drama. It was the same with Europe in the middle ages. On the introduction of Christianity, the plays handed down among the Greeks and Romans were abolished, partly from their reference to Heathen ideas, and partly because they had degenerated into the most impudent and indecent immorality ; and they were not again revived till after the lapse of nearly a thousand years. Even in the fourteenth century, we do not find in Boccaccio, who, however, gives us a most accurate picture of the whole constitution of social life, the smallest trace of plays. In place of them, they had then only story-tellers, minstrels, and jugglers. On the other hand, we are by no means entitled to assume, that the invention of the drama has only once taken place in the world, or that it has always been borrowed by one people from another. The English navigators mention, that among the islanders of the South Seas, who, in every mental acquirement, are in such a low scale of civilization, they yet observed a rude drama, in which a common event in life was imitated for the sake of diversion. And to go to the other extreme :—Among the Indians, the people from whom, perhaps, all the cultivation of the human race has been derived, plays were known long before they could have experienced any foreign influence. It has lately been made known to Europe, that they have a rich dramatic literature, which ascends back for more than two thousand years. The only specimen of their

plays (*nataks*) hitherto known to us, is the delightful *sakontala*, which, notwithstanding the colouring of a foreign climate, bears, in its general structure, such a striking resemblance to our romantic drama, that we might be inclined to suspect we owe this resemblance to the predilection for Shakespear entertained by Jones the English translator, if his fidelity were not confirmed by other learned Orientalists. In the golden times of India, the representation of this *natak* served to delight the splendid imperial court of Delhi; but it would appear that, from the misery of numberless oppressions, the dramatic art in that country is now entirely at an end. The Chinese, again, have their standing national theatre, stationary perhaps in every sense of the word; and I do not doubt that, in the establishment of arbitrary rules, and the delicate observance of insignificant points of decorum, they leave the most correct Europeans very far behind them. When the new European stage, in the fifteenth century, had its origin in the allegorical and spiritual pieces called Moralities and Mysteries, this origin was not owing to the influence of the ancient dramatists, who did not come into circulation till some time afterwards. In those rude beginnings lay the germ of the romantic drama as a peculiar invention.' p. 28.

The fault of this book is to have too much of every thing, but especially of Greece; and we cannot help feeling, that the bold and independent judgment which the author has applied to all other nations, is somewhat suborned or overawed by his excessive veneration for those ancient classics. There is a glow and a force, however, in all that he says upon the subject, that almost persuades us that he is in the right,—and that there was something incomparably more lofty in the conceptions of those early times, than the present undignified and degenerate age can imagine. This imposing and enthusiastic tone discloses itself in his introductory remarks on the Grecian theatre.

'When we hear the word theatre,' he says, 'we naturally think of what with us bears the same name; and yet nothing can be more different from our theatre than the Grecian, in every part of its construction. If, in reading the Greek pieces, we associate our own stage with them, the light in which we shall view them must be false in every respect.—The theatres of the Greeks were quite open above, and their dramas were always acted in open day, and beneath the canopy of heaven. The Romans, at an after period, endeavoured by a covering to shelter the audience from the rays of the sun; but this degree of luxury was hardly ever enjoyed by the Greeks. Such a state of things appears very inconvenient to us: But the Greeks had nothing of effeminacy about them; and we must not forget, too, the beauty of their climate. When they were overtaken by a storm or a shower, the play was of course interrupted; and they would much rather expose themselves to an accidental inconvenience, than, by shutting themselves up in a close and crowded house, entirely destroy the serenity of a religious solemnity, which their plays certain-

ly were. To have covered in the scene itself, and imprisoned gods and heroes in dark and gloomy apartments, imperfectly lighted up, would have appeared 'still more ridiculous to them. An action which so nobly served to establish the belief of the relation with heaven, could only be exhibited under an unobstructed sky, and under the very eyes of the gods, as it were, for whom, according to Seneca, the sight of a brave man struggling with adversity is an attractive spectacle. The theatres of the ancients were, in comparison with the small scale of ours, of a colossal magnitude, partly for the sake of containing the whole of the people, with the concourse of strangers who flocked to the festivals, and partly to correspond with the majesty of the dramas represented in them, which required to be seen at a respectful distance.'

One of the most elaborate and interesting parts of this work, is the account of the Greek tragedians, which is given in the fourth Lecture. Our extracts from it will be copious, both on account of the importance of the subject, and the ability with which it is treated.

'Of the inexhaustible stores possessed by the Greeks in the department of tragedy, which the public competition at the Athenian festivals called into being, as the rival poets always contended for a prize, very little indeed has come down to us. We only possess works of three of their numerous tragedians, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*; and these in no proportion to the number of their compositions. The three authors in question were selected by the Alexandrian critics as the foundation for the study of ancient Greek literature, not because they alone were deserving of estimation, but because they afforded the best illustration of the various styles of tragedy. Of each of the two oldest poets, we have seven remaining pieces; in these, however, we have, according to the testimony of the ancients, several of their most distinguished productions. Of *Euripides*, we have a much greater number, and we might well exchange many of them for other works which are now lost; for example, the Satirical Dramas of *Actæus*, *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*; several pieces of *Phrynichus*, for the sake of comparison with *Æschylus*; ~~or~~ of *Agathon*, whom *Plato* describes as effeminate, but sweet and affecting, and who was a contemporary of *Euripides*, though somewhat younger.

'The tragic style of *Æschylus* is grand, severe, and not unfrequently hard. In the style of *Sophocles*, we observe the most complete proportion and harmonious sweetness. The style of *Euripides* is soft and luxuriant: Extravagant in his easy fulness, he sacrifices the general effect to brilliant passages.

'*Æschylus* is to be considered as the creator of Tragedy, which sprung from him completely armed, like *Pallas* from the head of *Jupiter*. He clothed it in a state of suitable dignity, and gave it an appropriate place of exhibition. He was the inventor of scenic pomp; and not only instructed the chorus in singing and dancing, but appeared himself in the character of a player. He was the first

who gave development to the dialogue, and limits to the lyrical part of the tragedy, which still however occupies too much space in his pieces. He draws his characters with a few bold and strongly marked features. The plans are simple in the extreme. He did not understand the art of enriching and varying an action, and dividing its development and catastrophe into parts, bearing a due proportion to each other. Hence his action often stands still; and this circumstance becomes still more apparent, from the undue extension of his choral songs. But all his poetry betrays a sublime and serious mind. Terror is his element, and not the softer affections: he holds up the head of Medusa to his astonished spectators. His manner of treating Fate is austere in the extreme; he suspends it over the heads of mortals in all its gloomy majesty. The Cothurnus of Æschylus has, as it were, an iron weight; gigantic figures alone stalk before our eyes. It seems as if it required an effort in him to condescend to paint mere men to us: he abounds most in the representation of gods, and seems to dwell with particular delight in exhibiting the Titans, those ancient gods who typify the dark powers of primitive nature, and who had long been driven into Tartarus, beneath a better regulated world. He endeavours to swell out his language to a gigantic sublimity, corresponding with the standard of his characters. Hence he abounds in harsh combinations and overstrained epithets; and the lyrical parts of his pieces are often obscure in the extreme, from the involved nature of the construction. He resembles Dante and Shakespeare in the very singular cast of his images and expressions. These images are nowise deficient in the terrible graces, which almost all the writers of antiquity celebrate in Æschylus. He flourished in the very first vigour of the Grecian freedom; was an eyewitness of the overthrow and annihilation of the Persian hosts under Darius and Xerxes; and, in one of his pieces—the Persians—describes in the most vivid and glowing colours the battle of Salamis.' p. 94.

Such is the general account of Æschylus given by our author. He then proceeds to give a distinct sketch of each of his tragedies. This, we will acknowledge, appears to us considerably too rapturous and too long;—but we must give our readers a specimen of what is perhaps the most elaborate, if not the most impressive part of the whole publication. We shall select his account of the Eumenides or Furies, the most terrible of all this poet's compositions.

'The fable of the Eumenides is the justification and absolution of Orestes from his bloody crime, the murder of Clytemnestra his mother. It is a trial, but a trial where the gods are accusers and defenders and judges; and the manner in which the subject is treated, corresponds with its majesty and importance. The scene itself brought before the eyes of the Greeks the highest objects of veneration which were known to them. It opens before the celebrated temple at Delphi, which occupies the back-ground. The aged Pythia

enters in sacerdotal pomp, addresses her prayers to the gods who preside over the oracle, harangues the assembled people, and goes into the temple to seat herself on the tripod. She returns full of consternation, and describes what she has seen in the temple; a man stained with blood, supplicating protection, surrounded by sleeping women with serpent hair. She then makes her exit by the same entrance. Apollo now appears with Orestes in his traveller's garb, and a sword and olive branch in his hands. He promises him his farther protection, commands him to fly to Athens, and recommends him to the care of the present but invisible Mercury, to whom travellers, and especially those who were under the necessity of concealing their journey, were usually consigned. Orestes goes off at the side allotted to strangers; Apollo re-enters the temple, which remains open, and the Furies are seen in the interior sleeping on their seats. Clytemnestra now ascends through the orchestra, and appears on the stage. We are not to suppose her a haggard skeleton, but a figure with the appearance of life, though paler, still bearing her wounds in her breast, and shrouded in ethereal-coloured vestments. She calls repeatedly to the Furies in the language of vehement reproach; and then disappears. The Furies awake; and when they no longer find Orestes, they dance in wild commotion round the stage during the choral song. Apollo returns from the temple, and expels them from his sanctuary as profanatory beings. *We may here suppose him appearing with the sublime displeasure of the Apollo of the Vatican, with bow and quiver, or clothed in his sacred tunic and chlamys.* The scene now changes; but the back-ground probably remained unchanged, and had now to represent the temple of Minerva on the hill of Mars; and the lateral decorations would be converted into Athens and the surrounding landscape. Orestes comes as from another land, and embraces as a suppliant the statue of Pallas placed before the temple. The chorus (who were clothed in black, with purple girdles, and serpents in their hair), follow him on foot to this place, but remain throughout the rest of the piece beneath in the orchestra. The Furies had at first exhibited the rage of beasts of prey at the escape of their victim; but they now sing with tranquil dignity their high and terrible office among mortals, claim the head of Orestes as forfeited to them, and consecrate it with mysterious charms of endless pain. Pallas, the warlike virgin, appears in a chariot and four at the intercession of the suppliant. She listens with calm dignity to the mutual complaints of Orestes and his adversaries, and finally undertakes the office of umpire at the solicitation of the two parties. The assembled judges take their seats on the steps of the temple; the herald commands silence among the people by sound of trumpet, as at an actual tribunal. Apollo advances to advocate the cause of the youth; the Furies in vain oppose his interference; and the arguments for and against the deed are gone through in short speeches. The judges throw their calculi into the urn; Pallas throws in a white one; all are wrought up to the highest pitch of expectation; Orestes calls out, full of anguish, to his protector

"*O Phæbus Apollo, how is the cause decided?*"—The Furies on the other hand, exclaim—"O Black Night, mother of all things, dost thou behold this?" In the enumeration of the black and white pebbles, they are found equal in number, and the accused is therefore declared by Pallas acquitted of the charge. He breaks out into joyful expressions of thanks, while the Furies declaim against the arrogance of the younger gods, who take such liberties with the race of Titan. Pallas bears their rage with equanimity; addresses them in the language of kindness, and even of veneration; and these beings, so untractable in their general disposition, are unable to withstand the power of her mild and convincing eloquence. They promise to bless the land over which she has dominion; while Pallas assigns them a sanctuary in the Attic territory, where they are to be called the Eumenides, that is, the Benevolent. The whole ends with a solemn procession round the theatre, with songs of invocation; while bands of children, women, and old men, in purple robes and with torches in their hands, accompany the Furies in their exit.' p. 104.

The situation of Orestes at the opening of this tragedy, with the Furies lying asleep on the floor, like aged women, with serpent hair, is perhaps the most terrible that can be conceived. But yet, in this situation, dreadful as it is—the sense of power; the representation of preternatural forms; the sacredness of the place; the momentary suspense of the action; the death-like stillness; the expectation of what is to come, subdue the spirit to a tone of awful tranquillity, and, from the depth of despair, produce a lofty grandeur and collectedness of mind.

If this extraordinary play be the most terrible of Æschylus's works, the Chained Prometheus is the grandest. It is less a tragedy than an ode. It does not describe a series of actions, but a succession of visions. Prometheus, chained to a rock on the verge of the world, holds parley with the original powers and oldest forms of Nature, with Strength and Violence, and Oceanus and the race of the Titans. Compared with the personages introduced in this poem, Jupiter and Mercury, and the rest of that class, appear mere modern deities; we are thrown back into the first rude chaos of Nature, where the universe itself seems to rock like the sea, and the empire of heaven was not yet fixed.

'Prometheus,' says our author, 'is an image of human nature itself; endowed with a miserable foresight, and bound down to a narrow existence, without an ally, and with nothing to oppose to the combined and inexorable powers of Nature, but an unshaken will, and the consciousness of elevated claims. The other poems of the Greek tragedians are single tragedies; but this may be called tragedy itself; its purest spirit is revealed with all the overpowering influence of its first unmitigated austerity.'

We agree with M. Schlegel, when he says, that 'there is

little external action in this piece: Prometheus merely suffers and resolves from the beginning to the end.' But we cannot assent to his assertion, that 'the poet has contrived, in a masterly manner, to introduce variety into that which was in itself determinate.' All that is fine in it, is the abstract conception of the characters: The story is as uninteresting, as it is inartificial and improbable.

The Seven before Thebes has also a very imperfect dramatic form. It is for the most part only a narrative or descriptive dialogue passing between two persons, the King and the Messenger. 'The description of the attack with which the city is threatened,' says our critic, 'and of the seven leaders who have sworn its destruction, and who display their arrogance in the symbols borne on their shields, is an epic subject, clothed in the pomp of tragedy.' The Agamemnon and Electra are the two tragedies of Æschylus, which approach the nearest to the perfection of the dramatic form, and which will bear an immediate comparison with those of Sophocles on the same subjects. M. Schlegel has drawn a detailed and very admirable parallel between the two poets. Sophocles, he observes, is the more elegant painter of outward forms and manners; but Æschylus catches most of the enthusiasm of the passion he describes, and communicates to the reader the lofty impulses of his own mind. In giving a poetical colouring to objects from the suggestions of his own genius—in describing not so much things themselves, as the impression which they make on the imagination in a state of strong excitement, he more nearly resembles some of the modern poets, than any of his countrymen. The magnificent opening of the Agamemnon, in which the watchman describes the appearance of the fires for which he had watched ten long years, as the signal of the destruction of Troy, might be cited as an instance of that rich and varied style, which gives something over the bare description of the subject, and luxuriates in the display of its own powers. The Ajax of Sophocles comes the nearest to the general style of Æschylus, both in the nakedness of the subject, and the poetical interest given to the character.

The account of Sophocles, which is next in order, is one of the most finished and interesting parts of this work: though it is disfigured by one extraordinary piece of rhodomontade, too characteristic to be omitted. After observing that Sophocles lived to be upwards of ninety years of age, our philosophical German breaks out into the following mystic strain.

'It would seem as if the Gods, in return for his dedicating himself at an early age to Bacchus as the giver of all joy, and the author of the cultivation of the human race, by the representation of tragical dramas for his festivals, had wished to confer immortality

on him, so long did they delay the hour of his death; but, as this was impossible, they extinguished his life at least as gently as possible, that he might imperceptibly change one immortality for another—the long duration of his earthly existence for an imperishable name!’ p. 117.

We cannot afford to enter into the detailed critique which M. Schlegel has here offered upon the several plays of this celebrated author. The following passage exhibits a more summary view of them. After mentioning the native sweetness for which he was so celebrated among his contemporaries, he observes—

‘Whoever is thoroughly imbued with the feeling of this property, may flatter himself that a sense for ancient art has arisen within him: for the lovers of the affected sentimentality of the present day would, both in the representation of bodily sufferings, and in the language and economy of the tragedies of Sophocles, find much of an insupportable austerity. When we consider the great fertility of Sophocles, for, according to some, he wrote a hundred and thirty pieces, and eighty according to the most moderate account, we cannot help wondering that seven only should have come down to us. Chance, however, has so far favoured us, that, in these seven pieces, we find several which were held by the ancients as his greatest works, *Antigone*, for example, *Electra*, and the two *Œdipuses*; and these have also come down to us tolerably free from mutilation and corruption in the text. The first *Œdipus* and *Philoctetes* have been generally, without any good reason, preferred to all the others by the modern critics: the first, on account of the artifice of the plot, in which the dreadful catastrophe, powerfully calculated to excite our curiosity (a rare case in the Greek tragedies), is brought about inevitably, by a succession of causes, all dependent on one another: the latter, on account of the masterly display of character, the beautiful contrast observable in the three leading individuals, and the simple structure of the piece, in which, with so few persons, every thing proceeds from the truest motives. But the whole of the tragedies of Sophocles are conspicuous for their separate excellences. In *Antigone* we have the purest display of female heroism; in *Ajax* the manly feeling of honour in its whole force; in the *Trachiniae*, the female levity of *Dejanira* is beautifully atoned for by her death; and the sufferings of *Hercules* are portrayed with suitable dignity. *Electra* is distinguished for energy and pathos; in *Œdipus Coloneus* there prevails the mildest emotion, and over the whole piece there is diffused the utmost sweetness. I will not undertake to weigh the respective merits of these pieces against each other; but I am free to confess that I entertain a singular predilection for the last of them, as it appears to me the most expressive of the personal feelings of the poet himself. As this piece was written for the very purpose of throwing a lustre upon Athens, and the spot of his birth more particularly, he appears to have laboured it with a remarkable degree of fondness.’ p. 123.

In describing the *Œdipus Coloneus*, M. Schlegel has strikingly, and, we think, beautifully, exemplified the distinct genius of Sophocles and *Æschylus*, in the use these two poets make of the Furies.

‘In *Æschylus*,’ he says, ‘before the victim of persecution can be saved, the hellish horror of the Furies must congeal the blood of the spectator, and make his hair stand on end; and the whole rancour of these goddesses of rage must be exhausted. The transition to their peaceful retreat is therefore the more astonishing: It seems as if the whole human race were redeemed from their power. In Sophocles, however, they do not even once make their appearance, but are altogether kept in the back-ground; and they are not called by their proper name, but made known to us by descriptions, in which they are a good deal spared. But even this obscurity and distance, so suitable to these daughters of Night, is calculated to excite in us a still dread, in which the bodily senses have no part. The clothing the grove of the Furies with all the charms of a southern spring, completes the sweetness of the poem: and were I to select an emblem of the poetry of Sophocles from his tragedies, I should describe it as a sacred grove of the dark goddesses of Fate, in which the laurel, the olive, and the vine, display their luxuriant vegetation, and the song of the nightingale is for ever heard.’ p. 128.

After all, however, the tragedies of Sophocles, which are the perfection of the classical style, are hardly tragedies in our sense of the word. They do not exhibit the extremity of human passion and suffering. The object of modern tragedy is to represent the soul utterly subdued as it were, or at least convulsed and overthrown by passion or misfortune. That of the ancients was to show how the greatest crimes could be perpetrated with the least remorse, and the greatest calamities borne with the least emotion. Firmness of purpose, and calmness of sentiment, are their leading characteristics. Their heroes and heroines act and suffer as if they were always in the presence of a higher power, or as if human life itself were a religious ceremony, performed in honour of the Gods and of the State. The mind is not shaken to its centre; the whole being is not crushed or broken down. Contradictory motives are not accumulated; the utmost force of imagination and passion is not exhausted to overcome the repugnance of the will to crime; the contrast and combination of outward accidents are not called in to overwhelm the mind with the whole weight of unexpected calamity. The dire conflict of the feelings, the desperate struggle with fortune, are seldom there. All is conducted with a fatal composure. All is prepared and submitted to with inflexible constancy, as if Nature were only an instrument in the hands of Fate.

It is for deviating from this ideal standard, and for a nearer approximation to the frailty of human passion, that our author

falls foul of Euripides without mercy. There is a great deal of affectation and mysticism in what he says on this subject. Allowing that the excellences of Euripides are not the same as those of *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*, or even that they are excellences of an inferior order, yet it does not follow that they are defects. The luxuriance and effeminacy with which he reproaches the style of Euripides might have been defects in those writers; but they are essential parts of his system. In fact, as *Æschylus* differs from *Sophocles* in giving greater scope to the impulses of the imagination, so Euripides differs from him in giving greater indulgence to the feelings of the heart. The heart is the seat of pure affection,—of involuntary emotion,—of feelings brooding over and nourished by themselves. In the dramas of *Sophocles*, there is no want of these feelings; but they are suppressed or suspended by the constant operation of the senses and the will. Beneath the rigid muscles by which the heart is there braced, there is no room left for those bursts of uncontrollable feeling, which dissolve it in tenderness, or plunge it into the deepest woe. In the heroic tragedy, no one dies of a broken heart,—scarcely a sigh is heaved, or a tear shed. Euripides has relaxed considerably from this extreme self-possession; and it is on that account that our critic cannot forgive him. The death of *Alcestes* alone might have disarmed his severity.

This play, which is the most beautiful of them all,—the *Iphigenia*, which is the next to it,—the *Phædra* and *Medea*, which are more objectionable, both from the nature of the subject, and the inferiority of the execution, are instances of the occasional use which Euripides made of the conflict of different passions. Though *Antigone*, in *Sophocles*, is in love with *Hæmon*, and though there was here an evident opportunity, and almost a necessity, for introducing a struggle between this passion, which was an additional motive to attach her to life, and her affection to the memory of her brother, which led her to sacrifice it, the poet has carefully avoided taking any advantage of the circumstance. Such is the spirit of the heroic tragedy, which suffers no other motives to interfere with the calm determination of the will, and which admits of nothing complicated in the development, either of the passions or the story! M. Schlegel decidedly prefers the *Hippolytus* of Euripides to the *Phædra* of *Racine*. His reasons he gives in another work, which we have not seen; but we are not at a loss to guess at them. His taste for poetry is just the reverse of the popular: He has a horror of whatever obtrudes itself violently on the notice, or tells at first sight; and is only disposed to admire those retired and recondite beauties which hide themselves from all but the eye of deep discernment. He relishes most

those qualities in an author which require the greatest sagacity in the critic to find them out,—as none but connoisseurs are fond of the taste of olives. We shall say nothing here of the choice of the subject; but such as it is, Racine has met it more fully and directly: Euripides exhibits it, for the most part, in the back-ground. The *Hippolytus* is a dramatic fragment in which the principal events are given in a narrative form. The additions which Racine has chiefly borrowed from Seneca to fill up the outline, are, we think, unquestionable improvements. The declaration of love, to which our author particularly objects, is, however, much more gross and unqualified in Racine than in Seneca. The modern additions to the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, by Racine, as the love between Achilles and Iphigenia, and the jealousy of Eriphile, certainly destroy the propriety of costume, as M. Schlegel has observed, without heightening the tragic interest. In other respects, the French play is little more than an elegant, flowing, and somewhat diffuse paraphrase of the Greek. The most striking example of pathos in it is the ‘*Tu y seras, ma fille,*’ addressed by Agamemnon to his daughter, in answer to her wish to be present at the sacrifice, of which she is herself the destined victim.

Euripides was the model of Racine among the French, as he was of Seneca among the Romans. The remarks which Schlegel makes on this last mentioned author are exceedingly harsh, dogmatical, and intolerant. They are as bad, and worse, than the sentence pronounced by Cowley on

——‘the dry chips of short-lung’d Seneca.’

Hear what he says of him.

‘But whatever period may have given birth to the tragedies of Seneca, they are beyond description bombastical and frigid, unnatural in character and action—revolting, from their violation of every propriety—and so destitute of every thing like theatrical effect—that I am inclined to believe they were never destined to leave the rhetorical schools for the stage. Every tragical commonplace is spun out to the very last; all is phrase; and even the most common remark is delivered in stilted language. The most complete poverty of sentiment is dressed out with wit and acuteness. There is even a display of fancy in them, or at least a phantom of it; for they contain an example of the misapplication of every mental faculty. The author or authors have found out the secret of being diffuse, even to wearisomeness; and at the same time so epigrammatically laconic, as to be often obscure and unintelligible. Their characters are neither ideal nor actual beings, but gigantic puppets, who are at one time put in motion by the string of an unnatural heroism, and, at another, by that of passions equally unnatural, which no guilt nor enormity can appal.’—‘Yet not merely learned men, without a feeling for art, have judged fa-

vourably of them, nay preferred them to the Greek tragedies, but even poets have accounted them deserving of their study and imitation. The influence of Seneca on Corneille's idea of tragedy cannot be mistaken: Racine, too, in his *Phædra*, has condescended to borrow a good deal from him; and, among other things, nearly the whole of the declaration of love, of all which we have an enumeration in *Brumoy*.

The distaste of our learned critic to Euripides is sanctioned, no doubt, by the ridicule of Aristophanes, from whom he gives a whole scene, in which a buffoon comes to the tragic poet, to beg his rags, his alms-basket, and his water-pitcher, in allusion to the homeliness of costume, and the outward signs of distress which are sometimes exhibited in his tragedies. Aristophanes, of course, is an immense favourite with Schlegel—though it requires all his ingenuity to gloss over and allegorize his extravagance and indecency.

'The plays of *Peace*, the *Acharnæ* and *Lysistrata*, will be found to recommend peace. In the *Clouds*, he laughs at the metaphysics of the sophists; in the *Wasps*, at the rage of the Athenians for hearing and determining lawsuits. The subject of the *Frogs* is the decline of the tragic art; and *Plutus* is an allegory on the unjust distribution of wealth. The *Birds* are, of all his pieces, the one of which the aim is the least apparent; and it is on that very account one of the most diverting.' p. 213.

The comedies of Aristophanes, we confess, put the *archaism* of our taste, and the soundness of our classic faith to a most severe test. The great difficulty is not so much to understand their meaning, as to comprehend their species—to know to what possible class to assign them—of what nondescript productions of nature or art they are to be considered as anomalies. According to Schlegel, who might be styled the *Oedipus* of criticism, they are the perfection of *the old comedy*. There is much virtue, we are aware, in that appellation: But to us, we confess, they appear to be neither comedies, nor farces, nor satires—but monstrous allegorical pantomimes—enormous practical jokes—far-fetched puns, represented by ponderous machinery, which staggers the imagination at its first appearance, and breaks down before it has answered its purpose. They show, in a more striking point of view than any thing else, the extreme subtlety of understanding of the ancients, and their appetite for the gross, the material, and the sensible. Compared with Aristophanes, Rabelais himself is plain and literal. For example—

'*Peace* begins in the most spirited and lively manner: The tranquilly-disposed Trygæus rides on a dunghill beetle to heaven, in the manner of Bellerophon: War, a desolating giant, with Tumult his companion, in place of all the other gods, inhabits Olympus, and pounds the cities in a great mortar, making use of the cele-

brated generals as pestles; Peace lies bound in a deep well, and is dragged up by a rope, through the united efforts of all the Greek states,' &c.

Again—

'It is said of a man addicted to unintelligible reveries,¹ that he is up in the clouds:—accordingly Socrates, in the play of the *Clouds*, is actually let down in a basket at his first appearance.'

The comic machinery in Aristophanes, is, for the most part, a parody on the Greek mythology, and his wit a travestie on Euripides. Whatever we may think of his talent in this way, the art itself of making sense into nonsense, and of letting down the sublime into the ludicrous, in general is rather a cheap one, and implies much more a want of feeling than an excess of wit.

The account which is given of the *old*, the *middle*, and the *new comedy*, is very learned and dogmatical. The different styles and authors rise in value with the critic, in proportion as he knows nothing of them. He likes that, which some old commentator has praised, better than what he has read himself; and that still better, which neither he himself, nor any one else, has read. Diphilus, Philemon, Apollodorus, Menander, Sophron, and the Sicilian Epicharmus, whose works are lost, are prodigiously great men; and the author 'tries conclusions infinite' respecting their different possible merits. On the contrary, Terence is only half a Menander, and Plautus a coarse buffoon. In spite, however, of this fastidiousness, he cannot deny the elegant humanity of the one, nor the strong native humour of the other. The style of these writers, particularly that of Terence, is admirable for a certain conversational ease, and correct simplicity, exactly in the mid-way between carelessness and affectation. But M. Schlegel has a mode of doing away this merit, by observing, that

—'Plautus and Terence were among the most ancient Roman writers, and belonged to a time when the language of books was hardly yet in existence, and when every thing was drawn fresh from life. This *naïve* simplicity had its charms in the eyes of those Romans, who belonged to the period of learned cultivation; but it was much more a natural gift, than the fruit of poetical art.'

We shall conclude this part of the subject, with his observations on the nature and range of the characters introduced into the ancient Comedy.

'Athens, where the fictitious, as well as the actual scenes, were generally placed, was the centre of a small territory; and in nowise to be compared with our great cities, either in extent or population. The republican equality admitted no marked distinction of ranks: There were no proper nobility; all were alike citizens, richer or poorer; and, for the most part, had no other occupation, than that of managing their properties. Hence the Attic comedy could not

well admit of the contrasts arising from diversity of tone and conversation; it generally continues in a sort of middle state, and has something citizen-like; nay, if I may so say, something of the manners of a small town about it, which we do not see in those comedies, in which the manners of a court, and the refinement or corruption of monarchical capitals, are pourtrayed.

‘ From what has been premised, we may at once see nearly the whole circle of characters; nay, those which perpetually occur, are so few, that they may almost all of them be here enumerated. The austere and frugal, or the mild and yielding father, the latter not unfrequently under the dominion of his wife, and making common cause with his son; the housewife, either loving and sensible, or obstinate and domineering, and proud of the accession brought by her to the family-property; the giddy and extravagant, but open and amiable, young man, who, even in a passion, sensual at its very commencement, is capable of true attachment; the vivacious girl, who is either thoroughly depraved, vain, cunning and selfish—or well-disposed, and susceptible of higher emotions; the simple and boorish, or the cunning slave, who assists his young master to deceive his old father, and obtain money for the gratification of his passions by all manner of tricks; the flatterer, or accommodating parasite, who, for the sake of a good meal, is ready to say or do any thing that may be required of him; the sycophant, a man whose business it was to set quietly-disposed people by the ears, and stir up lawsuits, for which he offered his services; the braggart soldier, who returns from foreign service, generally cowardly and simple, but who assumes airs from the fame of the deeds performed by him abroad; and, lastly, a servant, or pretended mother, who preaches up a bad system of morals to the young girl entrusted to her guidance; and the slave-dealer, who speculates on the extravagant passions of young people, and knows no other object than the furtherance of his own selfish views. The two last characters are to our feelings a blemish in the new Grecian comedy; but it was impossible, from the manner in which it was constituted, to dispense with them.’ p. 263.

We must now pass on to modern literature.—Of the Italian drama, which is the least prolific part of their literature, we shall shortly have to speak with reference to another work; and shall at present proceed to our author’s account of the French Theatre, which forms a class by itself, and which is here most ably analyzed.

‘ With respect to the earlier tragical attempts of the French in the last half of the sixteenth, and the first part of the seventeenth century, we refer to Fontenelle, La Harpe, the *Melanges Littéraires* of Suard and Andrieu. Our chief object is an examination of the system of tragic art, practically followed by their later poets; and by them partly, but by the French critics universally, considered as alone entitled to any authority, and every deviation from it viewed as a sin against good taste. If the system is in itself the best, we shall be

compelled to allow that its execution is masterly, perhaps not to be surpassed. But the great question here is, how far the French tragedy is, in spirit and inward essence, related to the Greek, and whether it deserves to be considered as an improvement upon it.

‘ Of their first attempts, it is only necessary to observe, that the endeavour to imitate the ancients displayed itself at a very early period in France; and that they conceived that the surest method of succeeding in this endeavour, was to observe the strictest outward regularity of form, of which they derived their ideas more from Aristotle, and especially from Seneca, than from an intimate acquaintance with the Greek models themselves. In the first tragedies which were represented, the *Cleopatra* and *Dido* of Jodelle, a prologue and chorus were introduced; Jean de la Peruse translated the *Medea* of Seneca; Garnier’s pieces are all taken from the Greek tragedies, or from Seneca; but, in the execution, they bear a much closer examination to the latter. The writers of that day employed themselves also diligently on the *Sophonisba* of Trissino, from a regard for its classic appearance. Whoever is acquainted with the mode of proceeding of real genius, which is impelled by the almost unconscious and immediate contemplation of great and important truths, will be extremely suspicious of all activity in art, which originates in an abstract theory. But Corneille did not, like an antiquary, execute his dramas as so many learned school exercises, on the model of the ancients. Seneca, it is true, led him astray; but he knew and loved the Spanish theatre; and it had a great influence on his mind. The first of his pieces with which it is generally allowed that the classical epoch of French tragedy begins, and which is certainly one of his best, the *Cid*, is well known to have been borrowed from the Spanish. It violates, considerably, the unity of place, if not also that of time, and it is animated throughout by the spirit of chivalrous love and honour. But the opinion of his contemporaries, that a tragedy must be framed accurately according to the rules of Aristotle, was so universally prevalent, that it bore down all opposition. Corneille, almost at the close of his dramatic career, began to entertain scruples of conscience; and endeavoured, in a separate treatise, to prove, that his pieces, in the composition of which he had never even thought of Aristotle, were, however, all accurately written according to his rules.

✱ It is quite otherwise with Racine: of all the French poets he was, without doubt, the best acquainted with the ancients, and he did not merely study them as a scholar; he felt them as a poet. He found, however, the practice of the theatre already firmly established, and he did not undertake to deviate from it for the sake of approaching these models. He only therefore appropriated the separate beauties of the Greek poets; but, whether from respect for the taste of his age, or from inclination, he remained faithful to the

prevailing gallantry, so foreign to the Greek tragedy, and for the most part made it the foundation of the intrigues of his pieces.

‘ Such was nearly the state of the French theatre till Voltaire made his appearance. He possessed but a moderate knowledge of the Greeks, of whom, however, he now and then spoke with enthusiasm, that on other occasions he might rank them below the more modern masters of his own nation, including himself; but yet he always considered himself bound to preach up the grand severity and simplicity of the Greeks as essential to tragedy. He censured the deviations of his predecessors as errors, and insisted on purifying and at the same time enlarging the stage, as, in his opinion, from the constraint of court manners, it had been almost straitened to the dimensions of an antichamber. He at first spoke of the bursts of genius in Shakespear, and borrowed many things from this poet, at that time altogether unknown to his countrymen; he insisted too on greater depth in the delineation of passion, on a more powerful theatrical effect; he demanded a scene ornamented in a more majestic manner; and lastly, he not unfrequently endeavoured to give to his pieces a political or philosophical interest altogether foreign to poetry. His labours have unquestionably been of utility to the French stage, although it is now the fashion to attack this idol of the last age, on every point, with the most unrelenting hostility.’ p. 323.

M. Schlegel very ably exposes the incongruities which have arisen from engrafting modern style and sentiments on mythological and classical subjects in the French writers.

‘ In *Phædra*,’ he says, ‘ this princess is to be declared regent for her son till he comes of age, after the supposed death of Theseus. How could this be compatible with the relations of the Grecian women of that day?—It brings us down to the times of a Cleopatra.—When the way of thinking of two nations is so totally opposite, why will they torment themselves with attempts to fashion a subject, formed on the manners of the one to suit the manners of the other?—How unlike the Achilles in Racine’s *Iphigenia* to the Achilles of Homer! The gallantry ascribed to him is not merely a sin against Homer, but it renders the whole story improbable. Are human sacrifices conceivable among a people, whose chiefs and heroes are so susceptible of the most tender feelings?’

‘ Corneille was in the best way in the world when he brought his *Cid* on the stage; a story of the middle ages, which belonged to a kindred people; a story characterized by chivalrous love and honour, and in which the principal characters are not even of princely rank. Had this example been followed, a number of prejudices respecting tragical ceremony would of themselves have disappeared; tragedy, from its greater truth, from deriving its motives from a way of thinking still current and intelligible, would have been less foreign to the heart; the quality of the objects would of themselves have turned them from the stiff observation of the rules of the ancients, which they did not understand; in one word, the French tragedy would have become national and truly romantic. But I know not

what unfortunate star had the ascendant. Notwithstanding the extraordinary success of his *Cid*, Corneille did not go one step farther; and the attempt which he made had no imitators. In the time of Louis XIV. it was considered as beyond dispute, that the French, and in general the modern European history was not adapted for tragedy. They had recourse therefore to the ancient universal history. Besides the Greeks and Romans, they frequently hunted about among the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, and Egyptians, for events, which, however obscure they might often be, they could dress out for the tragic stage. Racine made, according to his own confession, a hazardous attempt with the Turks: It was successful; and since that time, the necessary tragical dignity has been allowed to this barbarous people. But it was merely the modern, and more particularly the French names, which could not be tolerated as untragical and unpoetical; for the heroes of antiquity are, with them, Frenchmen in every thing but the name; and antiquity was merely used as a thin veil under which the modern French character could be distinctly recognized. Racine's Alexander is certainly not the Alexander of history: but if, under this name, we imagine to ourselves the great Condé, the whole will appear tolerably natural.—And who does not suppose Louis XIV. and the Dutchess de la Valliere represented under Titus and Berenice? Voltaire expresses himself somewhat strongly, when he says, that, in the tragedies which succeeded those of Racine, we imagine we are reading the romances of Mademoiselle Scuderi, which paint citizens of Paris under the names of heroes of antiquity. He alluded here more particularly to Crebillon. However much Corneille and Racine were tainted with the way of thinking of their own nation, they were still at times penetrated with the spirit of true *objective* exhibition. Corneille gives us a masterly picture of the Spaniards in the *Cid*; and this is conceivable—for he drew his materials from them. With the exception of the original sin of gallantry, he succeeded also pretty well with the Romans: Of one part of their character at least, he had a tolerable conception, their predominating patriotism, and unyielding pride of liberty, and the magnanimity of their political sentiments. All this, it is true, is nearly the same as we find it in Lucan, varnished over with a certain inflation and self-conscious pomp. The simple republican austerity, the humility of religion, he could not attain. Racine (in *Britannicus*) has admirably painted the corrupt manners of the Romans under the Emperors, and the timid and dastardly manner in which the tyranny of Nero first began to display itself. He had Tacitus indeed for a model, as he himself gratefully acknowledges; but still it is a great merit to translate history in such an able manner into poetry. He has also shown a just conception of the general spirit of Hebrew history. He was less successful with the Turks: Bajazet makes love wholly in the European manner: The blood-thirsty policy of Eastern despotism is very well portrayed in the Vizier; but the whole resembles Turkey turned upside down, where the women, instead of being slaves, have con-

trived to get possession of the government; and the result is so very revolting, that we might be inclined to infer, from it, the Turks are really not so much to blame in keeping their women under lock and key. Neither has Voltaire, in my opinion, succeeded much better in his *Mahomet* and *Zaire*: the glowing colours of an oriental fancy are no where to be found. Voltaire has, however, this great merit, that he insisted on treating subjects with more historical truth; and further, that he again elevated to the dignity of the tragical stage the chivalrous and christian characters of modern Europe, which, since the time of the *Cid*, had been altogether excluded from it. His *Lusignan* and *Nerestan* are among his most true, affecting, and noble creations; his *Tancred*, although the invention as a whole is defective in strength, will always gain upon every heart, like his namesake in *Tasso*.' p. 369.

Our author prefers Racine to Corneille, and even seems to think Voltaire more natural: But he has exhausted all that can be said of French tragedy in his account of Corneille; and all that he adds upon Racine and Voltaire, is only a modification of the same general principles. He has been able to give no general character of either, as distinct from the original founder of the French dramatic school; Corneille had more pomp, Racine more tenderness; Voltaire aimed at a stronger effect: But the essential qualities are the same in all of them; the style is always French, as much as the language in which they write.

'It has been often remarked, that, in French tragedy, the poet is always too easily seen through the discourses of the different personages; that he communicates to them his own presence of mind; his cool reflection on their situation; and his desire to shine upon all occasions. When we accurately examine the most of their tragical speeches, we shall find that they are seldom such as would be delivered by persons, speaking or acting by themselves without any restraint; we shall generally discover in them something which betrays a reference, more or less perceptible, to the spectator. Rhetoric, and rhetoric in a court dress, prevails but too much in many French tragedies, especially in those of Corneille, instead of the suggestions of a noble, but simple and artless nature: Racine and Voltaire have approximated much nearer to the true conception of a mind carried away by its sufferings. Whenever the tragic hero is able to express his pain in antitheses and ingenious allusions, we may safely dispense with our pity. This sort of conventional dignity is, as it were, a coat of mail, to prevent the blow from reaching the inward parts. On account of their retaining this festal pomp, in situations where the most complete self-forgetfulness would be natural, Schiller has wittily enough compared the heroes in French tragedy to the kings in old copperplates, who are seen lying in bed with their mantle, crown, and sceptre.' p. 373, &c.

Racine is deservedly the favourite of the French nation; for,

besides the perfection of his style, and a complete mastery over his art, according to the rules prescribed by the national taste, there is a certain tenderness of sentiment, a movement of the heart, under all the artificial pomp by which it is disguised, which cannot fail to interest the reader. His *Athalie* is perhaps the most perfect of all his pieces. Some of the lyrical descriptions are equally delightful, from the beauty of the rhythm and the imagery. We might mention the chorus in which the infant Joaz is compared to a young lily on the side of a stream. Poetry is the union of imagery with sentiment; and yet nothing can be more rare than this union in French tragedy. Another passage in Racine, which might be quoted as an exception to their general style, is the speech of Phædra describing her descent into the other world, which is, however, a good deal made up from Seneca; and indeed it is the fault of this author, that he leans too constantly for support on others, and is rather the accomplished imitator than the original inventor. There is but one thing wanting to his plays—that they should have been his own. He can no more be considered as the author of the *Iphigenia*, for instance, than La Fontaine can be considered as the inventor of Æsop's fables. Voltaire is more original in the choice of his subjects. But the means by which he seeks to give an interest to them, are of the most harsh and violent kind; and, even in the variety of his materials, he shows the monotony of his invention. Four of his principal tragedies turn entirely on the question of religious apostasy, or on the conflict between the attachment of supposed orphans to their newly discovered parents, and their obligations to their old benefactors. As a relief, however, the scene of these four tragedies is laid in the four opposite quarters of the globe.

M. Schlegel speaks highly of Racine's comedy, '*Les Plaideurs*,' and thinks that if he had cultivated his talents for comedy, he would have proved a formidable rival of Moliere. He might very probably have succeeded in imitating the long speeches which Moliere too often imitated from Racine; but nothing can (we think) be more unlike, than the real genius of the two writers. In fact, Moliere is almost as much an English as a French author,—quite a *barbare*, in all in which he particularly excels. He was unquestionably one of the greatest comic geniuses that ever lived; a man of infinite wit, gaiety, and invention,—full of life, laughter, and observation. But it cannot be denied that his plays are in general mere farces, without nature, refinement of character, or common probability. Several of them could not be carried on for a moment without a perfect collusion between the parties to wink at impossibilities, and act in defiance of all common sense. For instance, take the *Mede-*

ein malgre lui, in which a common wood-cutter takes upon himself, and is made to support, through a whole play, the character of a learned physician, without exciting the least suspicion; and yet, notwithstanding the absurdity of the plot, it is one of the most laughable, and truly comic productions, that can well be imagined. The rest of his lighter pieces, the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, *Monsieur Pourceaugnac*, &c. are of the same description, —gratuitous fictions, and fanciful caricatures of nature. He indulges in the utmost license of burlesque exaggeration; and gives a loose to the intoxication of his animal spirits. With respect to his two most laboured comedies, the *Tartuffe* and *Misanthrope*, we confess that we find them rather hard to get through. They have the improbability and extravagance of the rest, united with the endless common-place prosing of French declamation. What can exceed the absurdity of the *Misanthrope*, who leaves his mistress, after every proof of her attachment and constancy, for no other reason than that she will not submit to the *technical formality* of going to live with him in a desert? The characters which Celimene gives of her friends, near the opening of the play, are admirable satires, (as good as Pope's characters of women), but not comedy. The same remarks apply in a greater degree to the *Tartuffe*. The long speeches and reasonings in this play may be very good logic, or rhetoric, or philosophy, or any thing but comedy. If each of the parties had retained a special pleader to speak his sentiments, they could not have appeared more tiresome or intricate. The improbability of the character of Orgon is wonderful. The *Ecole des Femmes*, from which Wycherley has borrowed the *Country Wife*, with the true spirit of original genius, is, in our judgement, the masterpiece of Moliere. The set speeches in the original play would not be borne on the English stage, nor indeed on the French, but that they are carried off by the verse. The *Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes*, the dialogue of which is prose, is written in a very different style.

Our author attributes the ambitious loquacity of the French drama to their characteristic vanity, and the general desire of this nation to shine on all occasions. But this principle seems itself to require a prior cause, namely, a facility of shining on all occasions, and a disposition to admire every thing. It has been remarked, as a general rule, that the theatrical amusements of a people, which are intended as a relaxation from their ordinary pursuits and habits, are by no means a test of the national character; and it is a confirmation of this opinion, that the French, who are naturally a lively and impatient people, should be able to sit and hear with such delight their own dramatic pieces, which abound, for the most part, in sententious maxims

and solemn declamation, and would appear quite insupportable to an English audience, though the latter are considered as a dull, phlegmatic people, much more likely to be tolerant of formal descriptions and grave reflections.

Extremes meet. This is the only way of accounting for that enigma, the French character. It has often been remarked, indeed, that this ingenious nation exhibits more striking contradictions in its general deportment than any other that ever existed. They are the gayest of the gay, and the gravest of the grave. Their very faces pass at once from an expression of the most lively animation, when they are in conversation or action, to a melancholy blank. They are one moment the slaves of the most contemptible prejudices, and the next launch out into all the extravagance of the most dangerous speculations. In matters of taste they are as inexorable as they are lax in questions of morality: they judge of the one by rules, of the other by their inclinations. It seems at times as if nothing could shock them, and yet they are offended at the merest trifles. The smallest things make the greatest impression on them. From the facility with which they can accommodate themselves to circumstances, they have no fixed principles or real character. They are always that which gives them least pain, or costs them least trouble. They can easily disentangle their thoughts from whatever gives them the slightest uneasiness, and direct their sensibility to flow in any channels they think proper. Their whole existence is more theatrical than real—their sentiments put on or off like the dress of an actor. Words are with them equivalent to things. They say what is agreeable, and believe what they say. Virtue and vice, good and evil, liberty or slavery, are matters almost of indifference. They are the only people who were ever vain of being cuckolded, or being conquered. Their natural self-complacency stands them instead of all other advantages!

The same almost inexplicable contradictions appear in their writings as in their characters. They excel in all that depends on lightness and grace of style, on familiar gaiety, on delicate irony, on quickness of observation, on nicety of tact—in all those things which are done best with the least effort. Their sallies, their points, their traits, turns of expression, their tales, their letters, are unrivalled. Witness the writings of Voltaire, Fontaine, Le Sage. Whence then the long speeches, the pompous verbosity, the systematic arrangement of their dramatic productions? It would seem as if they took refuge in this excessive formality, as a defence against their natural lightness and frivolity: and that they admitted of no mixed style in poetry, because the least interruption of their assumed gravity would destroy the whole effect. The impression has no na-

tural hold of their minds. It is only by repeated efforts that they work themselves up to the tragic tone, and their feelings let go their hold with the first opportunity. They conform, in the most rigid manner, to established rules, because they have not steadiness to go alone, nor confidence to trust to the strength of their immediate impulses. The French have no style of their own in serious art, because they have no real force of character. Their tragedies are imitations of the Greek dramas, and their historical pictures a still more servile and misapplied imitation of the Greek statues. For the same reason, the expression which their artists give to their faces is affected and mechanical; and the description which their poets give of the passions, the most laboured, overt and explicit possible. Nothing is left to be *understood*. Nothing obscure, distant, imperfect—nothing that is not distinctly made out—nothing that does not stand, as it were, in the foreground, is admitted in their works of art.

The dark and doubtful views of things, the irregular flights of fancy, the silent workings of the heart—all these require some effort to enter into them: They are therefore excluded from French poetry, the language of which must, above all things, be clear and defined, and not only intelligible, but intelligible by its previous application. It is therefore essentially conventional and commonplace. It rejects every thing that is not cast in a given mould—that is not stamped by custom—that is not sanctioned by authority;—every thing that is not French. The French, indeed, can conceive of nothing that is not French. There is something that prevents them from entering into any views which do not perfectly fall in with their habitual prejudices. In a word, they are not a people of imagination. They receive their impressions without trouble or effort, and retain no more of them than they can help. They are the creatures either of sensation or abstraction. The images of things, when the objects are no longer present, throw off all their complexity and distinctions, and are lost in the general class, or name; so that the words *charming*, *delicious*, *superb*, &c. convey just the same meaning, and excite just the same emotion in the mind of a Frenchman, as the most vivid description of real objects and feelings could do. Hence their poetry is the poetry of abstraction. Yet poetry is properly the embodying general ideas in individual forms and circumstances. But the French style excludes all individuality. The true poet identifies the reader with the characters he represents; the French poet only identifies him with himself. There is scarcely a single page of their tragedy which fairly throws nature open to you. It is tragedy

in masquerade. We never get beyond conjecture and reasoning—beyond the general impression of the situation of the persons—beyond general reflections on their passions—beyond general descriptions of objects. We never get at that something more, which is what we are in search of, namely, what we ourselves should feel in the same situations. The true poet transports you to the scene—you see and hear what is passing—you catch, from the lips of the persons concerned, what lies nearest to their hearts;—the French poet takes you into his closet, and reads you a lecture upon it. The *chef-d'œuvres* of their stage, then, are, after all, only ingenious paraphrases of nature. The dialogue is a tissue of commonplaces, of laboured declamations on human life, of learned casuistry on the passions, on virtue and vice, which any one else might make just as well as the person speaking; and yet, what the persons themselves would say, is all we want to know, and all for which the poet puts them into those situations. It is what constitutes the difference between the dramatic and the didactic.

All this is differently managed in Shakespear: And accordingly, the French translations of that author uniformly leave out all the poetry, or what we consider as such. They generalize the passion, the character, the thoughts, the images, every thing;—they reduce it to a common topic. It is then perfect—for it is French. It would be in vain to look, in these unmeaning paraphrases, where all is made unobjectionable, and smooth as the palm of one's hand, for the 'Not a jot, not a jot,' in Othello,—for the 'Light thickens,' of Macbeth,—or the picture which the exclamation of the witches gives us of him, 'Why stands Macbeth thus amazedly?' When Othello kills himself, after that noble characteristic speech at the end, in which he makes us feel all that passes in his soul, and runs over the objects and events of his whole life, the blow strikes not only at him but at us: When Orosman in Zaire, after a speech which Voltaire has copied from the English poet, does the same thing, he falls—like a commonplace personified. We do not here insist on the preference to be given to one or other of these two styles; we only say they are quite different. The French critics contend, we think without reason, that their own is exclusively good, and all others barbarous.

Not so our author. If Shakespear never found a thorough partisan before, he has found one now. We have not room for half of his praise. He defends him at all points. His puns, his conceits, his anachronisms, his broad allusions, all go, not indeed for nothing, but for so many beauties. They are not something to be excused by the age, or atoned for by other

qualities; but they are worthy of all acceptance in themselves. This we do not think it necessary to say. It is no part of our poetical creed, that genius can do no wrong. As the French show their allegiance to their kings by crying *Quand meme!*—so we think we show our respect for Shakespear by loving him in spite of his faults. Take the whole of these faults, throw them into one scale, heap them up double, and then double that, and we will throw into the opposite scale single excellences, single characters, or even single passages, that shall outweigh them all! All his faults have not prevented him from showing as much knowledge of human nature, in all possible shapes, as is to be found in all other poets put together; and that, we conceive, is quite enough for one writer. Compared with this magical power, his faults are of just as much consequence as his bad spelling, and to be accounted for in the same way: In speaking of Shakespear, we do not mean to make any general comparison between the French and English stage. There is no other acknowledged English school of tragedy,—or it is merely a bad imitation of the French. We give them up Addison; but we must keep Shakespear to ourselves. He had even the advantage of the Greek tragedians in this respect, that, with all their genius, they seem to have described only Greek manners and sentiments: whereas he describes all the people that ever lived. That which distinguishes his dramatic productions from all others, is this wonderful variety and perfect individuality. Each of his characters is as much itself, and as absolutely independent of the rest, as if they were living persons, not fictions of the mind. The poet appears, for the time, to identify himself with the character he wishes to represent, and to pass from one to the other, like the same soul successively animating different bodies. By an art like that of the ventriloquist, he throws his imagination out of himself; and makes every word appear to proceed from the mouth of the person in whose name it is spoken. His plays alone are expressions of the passions, not descriptions of them. His characters are real beings of flesh and blood: they speak like men, not like authors. One might suppose that he had stood by at the time, and overheard all that passed. As, in our dreams, we hold conversations with ourselves, make remarks or communicate intelligence, and have no idea of the answer which we shall receive, and which we ourselves are to make, till we hear it; so, the dialogues in Shakespear are carried on without any consciousness of what is to follow, without any appearance of preparation or premeditation. The gusts of passion come and go like sounds of music borne on the wind: Nothing is made out by inference and analogy, by climax and

antithesis; all comes immediately from nature. Each object and circumstance seems to exist in his mind, as it existed in nature; each several train of thought and feeling goes on of itself without confusion or effort: In the world of his imagination, every thing has a life, a place, and being of its own! *

'The distinguishing property,' says our author, 'of the dramatic poet, is the capability of transporting himself so completely into every situation, even the most unusual, that he is enabled, as plenipotentiary of the whole human race, without particular instructions for each separate case, to act and speak in the name of every individual. It is the power of endowing the creatures of his imagination with such self-existent energy, that they afterwards act in each conjuncture according to general laws of nature: the poet institutes, as it were, experiments, which are received with as much authority as if they had been made on real objects. Never, perhaps, was there so comprehensive a talent for the delineation of character as Shakespear's. It not only grasps the diversities of rank, sex, and age; down to the dawnings of infancy; not only do the king and the beggar, the hero and the pickpocket, the sage and the idiot, speak and act with equal truth; not only does he transport himself to distant ages and foreign nations, and portray in the most accurate manner, with only a few apparent violations of costume, the spirit of the ancient Romans, of the French in their wars with the English, of the English themselves during a great part of their history, of the Southern Europeans (in the serious part of many comedies), the cultivated society of that time, and the former rude and barbarous state of the North; his human characters have not only such depth and precision that they cannot be arranged under classes, and are inexhaustible, even in conception:—no—This Prometheus not merely forms men, he opens the gates of the magical world of spirits; calls up the midnight ghost; exhibits before us his witches amidst their unhallowed mysteries; peoples the air with sportive fairies and sylphs:—and, these beings existing only in imagination, possess such truth and consistency, that, even when deformed monsters like Caliban, he extorts the conviction, that if there should be such beings, they would so conduct themselves. In a word, as he carries with him the most fruitful and daring fancy into the kingdom of nature, —on the other hand, he carries nature into the regions of fancy, lying beyond the confines of reality. We are lost in astonishment at seeing the extraordinary, the wonderful, and the unheard of, in such intimate nearness.

* The universality of Shakespear's genius has, perhaps, been a disadvantage to his single works: the variety of his resources has prevented him from giving that intense concentration of interest to some of them which they might have had. He is in earnest only in *Lear* and *Timon*. He combined the powers of *Æschylus* and *Aristophanes*, of *Dante* and *Rabelais*, in his own mind. If he had been only half what he was, he might have seemed greater.

‘ If Shakespear deserves our admiration for his characters, he is equally deserving it for his exhibition of passion, taking this word in its widest signification, as including every mental condition, every tone from indifference or familiar mirth to the wildest rage and despair. He gives us the history of minds ; he lays open to us, in a single word, a whole series of preceding conditions. His passions do not at first stand displayed to us in all their height, as is the case with so many tragic poets, who, in the language of Lessing, are thorough masters of the legal style of love. He paints in a most inimitable manner, the gradual progress from the first origin. “ He gives,” as Lessing says, “ a living picture of all the most minute and secret artifices by which a feeling steals into our souls ; of all the imperceptible advantages which it there gains ; of all the stratagems by which every other passion is made subservient to it, till it becomes the sole tyrant of our desires and our aversions.” Of all poets, perhaps, he alone has portrayed the mental diseases, melancholy, delirium, lunacy, with such inexpressible, and, in every respect, definite truth, that the physician may enrich his observations from them in the same manner as from real cases.

‘ And yet Johnson has objected to Shakespear, that his pathos is not always natural and free from affectation. There are, it is true, passages, though, comparatively speaking, very few, where his poetry exceeds the bounds of true dialogue, where a too soaring imagination, a too luxuriant wit, rendered the complete dramatic forgetfulness of himself impossible. With this exception, the censure originates only in a fanciless way of thinking, to which every thing appears unnatural that does not suit its own tame insipidity. Hence, an idea has been formed of simple and natural pathos, which consists in exclamations destitute of imagery, and nowise elevated above every-day life. But energetical passions electrify the whole of the mental powers, and will, consequently, in highly-favoured natures, express themselves in an ingenious and figurative manner. It has been often remarked, that indignation gives wit ; and, as despair occasionally breaks out into laughter, it may sometimes also give vent to itself in antithetical comparisons.

‘ Besides, the rights of the poetical form have not been duly weighed. Shakespear, who was always sure of his object, to move in a sufficiently powerful manner when he wished to do so, has occasionally, by indulging in a freer play, purposely moderated the impressions when too painful, and immediately introduced a musical alleviation of our sympathy. He had not those rude ideas of his art which many moderns seem to have, as if the poet, like the clown in the proverb, must strike twice on the same place. An ancient rhetorician delivered a caution against dwelling too long on the excitation of pity ; for nothing, he said, dries so soon as tears ; and Shakespear acted conformably to this ingenious maxim, without knowing it.

‘ The objection, that Shakespear wounds our feelings by the open display of the most disgusting moral odiousness, harrows up the

mind unmercifully, and tortures even our minds by the exhibition of the most insupportable and hateful spectacles, is one of much greater importance. He has never, in fact, varnished over wild and blood-thirsty passions with a pleasing exterior,—never clothed crime and want of principle with a false show of greatness of soul; and in that respect he is every way deserving of praise. Twice he has portrayed downright villains; and the masterly way in which he has contrived to elude impressions of too painful a nature, may be seen in Iago and Richard the Third. The constant reference to a petty and puny race must cripple the boldness of the poet. Fortunately for his art, Shakspear lived in an age extremely susceptible of noble and tender impressions, but which had still enough of the firmness inherited from a vigorous olden time, not to shrink back with dismay from every strong and violent picture. We have lived to see tragedies of which the catastrophe consists in the swoon of an enamoured princess. If Shakspeare falls occasionally into the opposite extreme, it is a noble error, originating in the fulness of a gigantic strength: And yet this tragical Titan, who storms the heavens, and threatens to tear the world from off its hinges; who, more fruitful than Æschylus, makes our hair stand on end, and congeals our blood with horror, possessed, at the same time, the insinuating loveliness of the sweetest poetry. He plays with love like a child; and his songs are breathed out like melting sighs. He unites in his genius the utmost elevation and the utmost depth; and the most foreign, and even apparently irreconcilable properties, subsist in him peaceably together. The world of spirits and nature have laid all their treasures at his feet. In strength a demi-god, in profundity of view a prophet, in all-seeing wisdom a protecting spirit of a higher order, he lowers himself to mortals, as if unconscious of his superiority; and is as open and unassuming as a child.

Shakspeare's comic talent is equally wonderful with that which he has shown in the pathetic and tragic: it stands on an equal elevation, and possesses equal extent and profundity. All that I before wished was, not to admit that the former preponderated. He is highly inventive in comic situations and motives. It will be hardly possible to show whence he has taken any of them; whereas in the serious part of his drama, he has generally laid hold of something already known. His comic characters are equally true, various and profound, with his serious. So little is he disposed to caricature, that we may rather say many of his traits are almost too nice and delicate for the stage, that they can only be properly seized by a great actor, and fully understood by a very acute audience. Not only has he delineated many kinds of folly; he has also contrived to exhibit mere stupidity in a most diverting and entertaining manner. II. 145.

The observations on Shakspeare's language and versification which follow, are excellent. We cannot, however, agree with the author in thinking his rhyme superior to Spenser's: His excellence is confined to his blank verse; and in that he is unri-

valled by any dramatic writer. Milton's alone is equally fine in its way. The objection to Shakespear's mixed metaphors is not here fairly got over. They give us no pain from long-custom. They have, in fact, become idioms in the language. We take the meaning and effect of a well known passage entire, and no more stop to scan and spell out the particular words and phrases than the syllables of which they are composed. If our critic's general observations on Shakespear are excellent, he has shown still greater acuteness and knowledge of his author in those which he makes on the particular plays. They ought, in future, to be annexed to every edition of Shakespear, to correct the errors of preceding critics. In his analysis of the historical plays,—of those founded on the Roman history,—of the romantic comedies, and the fanciful productions of Shakespear, such as, the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, the *Tempest*, &c. he has shown the most thorough insight into the spirit of the poet. His contrast between Ariel and Caliban; the one made up of all that is gross and earthly, the other of all that is airy and refined, 'ethereal mould, sky-tinctured,'—is equally happy and profound. He does not, however, confound Caliban with the coarseness of common low life. He says of him with perfect truth—'Caliban is malicious, cowardly, false and base in his inclinations; and yet he is essentially different from the vulgar knaves of a civilized world, as they are occasionally portrayed by Shakespear. He is rude, but not vulgar. He never falls into the prosaical and low familiarity of his drunken associates, for he is a poetical being in his way; he always, too, speaks in verse. But he has picked up every thing dissonant and thorny in language, of which he has composed his vocabulary.'

In his account of *Cymbeline* and other plays, he has done justice to the sweetness of Shakespear's female characters, and refuted the idle assertion made by a critic, who was also a poet and a man of genius, that

—'stronger Shakespear felt for man alone.'

Who, indeed, in recalling the names of *Imogen*, of *Miranda*, of *Juliet*, of *Desdemona*, of *Ophelia* and *Perdita*, does not feel that Shakespear has expressed the very perfection of the feminine character, existing only for others, and leaning for support on the strength of its affections? The only objection to his female characters is, that he has not made them masculine. They are indeed the very reverse of ordinary tragedy-queens. In speaking of *Romeo and Juliet*, he says, 'It was reserved for Shakespear to unite purity of heart, and the glow of imagination, sweetness and dignity of manners, and passionate violence, in one ideal picture.' The character of *Juliet* was not to be mistaken by our author. It is one of perfect

unconsciousness. It has nothing forward, nothing coy, nothing affected, nothing coquettish about it:—It is a pure effusion of nature.

‘Whatever,’ says our critic, ‘is most intoxicating in the odour of a southern spring, languishing in the song of the nightingale, or voluptuous on the first opening of the rose, is breathed in this poem. But, even more rapidly than the earliest blossoms of youth and beauty decay, it hurries on from the first timid declaration of love and modest return, to the most unlimited passion—to an irrevocable union; then, amidst alternating storms of rapture and despair, to the death of the two lovers, who still appear enviable as their love survives them, and as, by their death, they have obtained a triumph over every separating power. The sweetest and the bitterest; love and hatred; festivity and dark forebodings; tender embraces and sepulchres; the fulness of life and self-annihilation—are all here brought close to each other: And all these contrasts are so blended in the harmonious and wonderful work into a unity of impression, that the echo which the whole leaves behind in the mind resembles a single but endless sigh.’

In treating of the four principal tragedies, Othello, Macbeth, Hamlet and Lear, he goes deeper into the poetry and philosophy of those plays than any of the commentators. But we dare not now encroach on the patience of our readers with any farther citations.

The remarks on the doubtful pieces of Shakespear are most liable to objection. We cannot agree, for instance, that Titus Andronicus is in the spirit of Lear, because in his dotage he mistakes a fly which he has killed for his black enemy the Moor. Thomas Lord Cromwell, and Sir John Oldcastle, which he praises highly, are very indifferent. Pericles, prince of Tyre, is not much to our taste. There is one fine scene in it, where Marina rouses the prince from his lethargy, by the proofs of her being his daughter. Yet this is not like Shakespear. The Yorkshire Tragedy is very good; but decidedly in the manner of Heywood. The account given by Schlegel, of the contemporaries and immediate successors of Shakespear, is good, though it might have been better. That of Ben Jonson is particularly happy. He says, that he described not characters, but ‘humours,’ that is, particular modes of expression, dress and behaviour in fashion at the time, which have since become obsolete, and the imitation of them dry and unintelligible. The finest thing in Ben Jonson, (not that it is by any means the only one), is the scene between Surly and Sir Epicure Mammon, where the latter proves his possession of the philosopher’s stone, by a pompous display of the riches, luxuries and pleasures he is to derive from it; and, by a happy perversion of logic, satisfies himself, though not his hearer, of the existence

of the cause, by a strong imagination of the effects which are to follow from it. He is also very successful in his character of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher. They describe the passions at their height, not in their progress—the extremes, not the gradations of feeling. Their plays, however, have great power and great beauty. The Faithful Shepherdess is the origin of Milton's Comus. 'Rule a Wife and Have a Wife' is one of the very best comedies that ever was written; and holds, to this day, undisputed possession of the stage. Yet, as our critic observes, there is in the general tone of their writings a certain crudeness and precocity, a heat, a violence of fermentation, a disposition to carry every thing to excess, which is not pleasant. Their plays are very much what young noblemen of genius might be supposed to write in the heyday of youthful blood, the sunshine of fortune, and all the petulance of self-opinion. They have completely anticipated the German paradoxes. Schlegel has no mercy on the writers of the age of Charles II. He compares Dryden himself to 'a man walking upon stilts in a morass.' He justly prefers Otway to Rowe; but we think he is wrong in supposing, that if Otway had lived longer he would have done better. His plays are only the ebullitions of a fine, enthusiastic, sanguine temperament: and his genius would no more have improved with age, than the beauty of his person. Of our comic writers, Congreve, Wycherley, Vanburgh, &c. M. Schlegel speaks very contemptuously and superficially. It is plain that he knows nothing about them, or he would not prefer Farquhar to all the rest. If, after our earlier dramatists, we have any class of writers who are excellent, it is our comic writers.

We cannot go into our author's account of the Spanish drama. The principal names in it are Cervantes, Calderon, and Lope de Vega. Neither can we agree in the praises which he lavishes on the dramatic productions of these authors. They are too flowery, lyrical, and descriptive. They are pastorals, not tragedies. They have warmth; but they want vigour.

Our author may be supposed to be at home in German literature; but his doctrines appear to us to be more questionable there, than upon any other subject. What the German dramatists really excel in, is the production of effect: but this is the very thing which their fastidious countryman most despises and abhors. They really excel all others in mere effect; and there is no nation that can excel all others in more than one thing. Werter is, in our opinion, the best of all Goethe's works; but because it is the most popular, our author takes an opportunity to express his contempt for it. Count Egmont, which is here spoken highly of, seems to us a most insipid and preposterous

composition. The effect of the pathos which is said to lie concealed in it, is utterly lost upon us. Nathan the Wise, by Lessing, is also a great favourite of Schlegel; because it is unintelligible except to the wise. As the French plays are composed of a tissue of common-places, the German plays of this stamp are a tissue of paradoxes, which have no foundation in nature or common opinion,—the pure offspring of the author's fantastic brain. For the same reason, Schiller's Wallenstein is here preferred to his Robbers. But we cannot so readily give up our old attachment to the Robbers. The first reading of that play is an event in every one's life, which is not to be forgotten.

Madame de Staël has very happily ridiculed this pedantic taste in criticism.

‘ By a singular vicissitude in taste, it has happened, that the Germans at first attacked our dramatic writers, as converting all their heroes into Frenchmen. They have, with reason, insisted on historic truth as necessary to contrast the colours, and give life to the poetry. But then, all at once, they have been weary of their own success in this way, and have produced abstract representations, in which the relations of mankind were expressed in a general manner, and in which time, place and circumstance, passed for nothing. In a drama of this kind by Goethe, the author calls the different characters the Duke, the King, the Father, the Daughter, &c. without any other designation.

‘ Such a tragedy is only calculated to be acted in the palace of Odin, where the dead still continue their different occupations on earth; where the hunter, himself a shade, eagerly pursues the shade of a stag; and fantastic warriors combat together in the clouds. It should appear, that Goethe at one period conceived an absolute disgust to all interest in dramatic compositions. It was sometimes to be met with in bad works; and he concluded, that it ought to be banished from good ones. Nevertheless, a man of superior mind ought not to disdain what gives universal pleasure; he cannot relinquish his resemblance with his kind, if he wishes to make others feel his own value. Granting that the tyranny of custom often introduces an artificial air into the best French tragedies, it cannot be denied that there is the same want of natural expression in the systematic and theoretical productions of the German muse. If exaggerated declamation is affected, there is a certain kind of intellectual calm which is not less so. It is a kind of arrogated superiority over the affections of the soul, which may accord very well with philosophy, but is totally out of character in the dramatic art. Goethe's works are composed according to different principles and systems. In the Tasso and Iphigenia, he conceives of tragedy as a lofty relic of the monuments of antiquity. These works have all the beauty of form, the splendour and glossy smoothness of marble;—but they are as cold and as motionless.

We have, we trust, said enough of this work, to recommend it to the reader: We ought to add, that the translation appears to be very respectable.

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ART. V. *Culloden Papers; comprising an Extensive and Interesting Correspondence, from the Year 1625 to 1748.* London, 1815. 1 vol. 4to. pp. 479.

THE Culloden Papers are a collection of documents, consisting chiefly of letters of correspondence, which were lately found in Culloden House, belonging to the family of Forbes, in the vicinity of Inverness. That family has long been distinguished as the head, or principal member (it is now indifferent which) of one of the great Highland clans, and was formerly still more conspicuous by the share which it took in all the public transactions of its native land. But the most brilliant and honourable part of its history, is that which records the life of DUNCAN FORBES, who died President of the Court of Session in the year 1747. This eminent man raised himself to that high station by the unassisted excellence of a noble character, by the force of which he had previously won and adorned all the subordinate gradations of office. He took the lead in all affairs touching Scotland for nearly half of the last century—was particularly active during the two rebellions—maintained a constant intercourse with all the great men of his day, both Scotch and English—and died, leaving behind him a bright and unenvied reputation, of which the recollection is scarcely yet effaced in this country—and a mass of papers, which were thrown, without arrangement or explanation, into cellars or other such places, where it was thought they would be safe or out of the way.

These documents, though often suspected to exist, and anxiously searched for, lay undisturbed in their fastnesses till the year 1812, when two large chests and three sacks full of them were discovered. A selection was instantly made and prepared for the press, with as much order and connexion as was attainable. This was not much; but it was rather diminished than increased, by the discovery of another mass, after the printing of the first had commenced. For, instead of beginning the work anew, it was thought better to go on with the original plan, and to throw such of the other papers as were meant for publication into the form of Addenda. This resolution may have been recommended by immediate convenience, but it was certainly very unfortunate; for the separation of papers relating to the same events, and intended as parts of the same series of communications, has greatly increased the distraction and confusion of the

whole. It is to be regretted, too, that although there is an ill written and feeble life at the beginning of the work, there is scarcely any explanatory narrative or observation interspersed throughout its different parts. That there should be letters without answers, and answers without the previous letters, was a misfortune for which the editor was not responsible. But a very little diligence might easily have procured a great deal of information with respect to the persons and the events referred to in the correspondence; whereas the writers are brought forward with as little introduction as if they were all personally known to us; and the transactions, as if they had just happened in the neighbouring parish. This creates a constant glimmering and shifting of the light, which renders the perusal of the collection singularly painful and unsatisfactory; and, as we profess to know little or nothing of the details to which it relates, except what we can catch here and there from this work, it is probable that our conceptions of most of them are imperfect or erroneous.

Still, however, there are some circumstances which render the publication extremely interesting. It exhibits a view, taken on the spot, of a period of Scottish history and manners which is fast receding from our sight, but of which the features are well worthy of being retained. Between the birth and the death of Forbes, this country passed from the fire of the most cruel religious and political persecution, into nearly its present state of freedom and toleration. It was the chief scene of the two last struggles made by the Stuarts for the recovery of what they termed their rights: The foundations of its subsequent growth in agriculture—trade and manufactures—were laid; the great men of the last century, to whom it owes its literary and philosophical splendour, were beginning to appear; and, above all, Forbes himself displays one of those characters which are sometimes to be found in what Hume calls ‘the corners of history,’ but which deserve to be blazoned at large on its broadest page. He is in every situation so full of honour, of gentleness, of true wisdom, of kindness and intrepidity, that we doubt if there be any one public man of this part of the Empire, or of the age that is gone, whose qualities ought to be so strongly recommended to the contemplation of all those who wish truly to serve their country.

As there is nothing very particular in the letters until he appears, nor any connexion between the different parts of the work after this, except what arises from their reference to him, the best way in which we can exhibit a view of its contents is by mentioning a few of the principal events and objects of his life.

He was born in the year 1685, of parents who transmitted their estate to his elder brother, and to all their children an hereditary aversion to the house of Stuart, which they appear to

have resisted from the very commencement of the civil wars, and upon the true grounds on which that resistance ought to have been made. After learning to read and write at the parish school of Inverness, he came to Edinburgh when a youth. He distinguished himself at the University here for three years; and then, in 1705, according to the custom of the age, was sent to a foreign seminary, which, in his case, happened to be Leyden. He remained there two years, deeply engaged in study, chiefly of law and languages;—of the latter of which he was somewhat extravagantly fond for a man of business, and especially of the Eastern tongues,—insomuch, that before he died he had read the bible eight times over in Hebrew. He returned to Scotland about the time that the Union between the two kingdoms was settled; and in July 1709 was called to the bar.

The very first step of his public life, was an earnest of the firmness of his character, and the independence of his principles. He was solicited by the Duke of Argyll, then by far the most eminent person in Scotland, to take charge, as legal adviser, of the management of his magnificent estates. He agreed to do so; but considering the employment, which was not in the regular line of his profession, as one which nothing but its being disinterested, could dignify, he rejected the remuneration that was offered of about six hundred pounds a year—being a sum at that time equal to the salary of the highest law officer of the crown. He was soon appointed Sheriff of Mid-Lothian; and discharged the duties of that office in a manner which showed that he was secretly forming himself for those higher judicial functions in which his best fame was destined to be reaped. His professional progress, though rapid from the very first, which in no line is favourable to steady or to high attainments, continued extensive and brilliant. It carried him frequently to the House of Lords—a circumstance which is now only remarkable, as it led to the formation of friendships in London, which ever afterwards connected him with all the eminent men of the age. Hence this Collection is enriched by letters from Sir Robert Walpole, the Dukes of Newcastle and Argyll, Lords Hardwicke and Mansfield, Mr Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, Speaker Onslow, General Oglethorpe, and many others in England—besides all the famous men in Scotland without exception. He married early, but soon lost his wife, and ever after remained a widower. He had a turn for the lighter kinds of poetry; and there were lately old people in existence, by whom “a grey rock in the wood,” where he composed a song, still current, on his lady, was held in veneration.

When the Pretender made his attempt in 1715, the whole family of Culloden exerted itself to put down an usurper who claimed the throne as his inheritance, and not as the people's

gift. The eldest son spent (and was never repaid) about 3000*l.* in the service of Government; the family castle was besieged by the rebels, and successfully defended by the heroic wife of the owner, who happened to be absent; and Duncan's zeal was rewarded by the bitterest hatred of the Jacobites, and by public thanks from the reigning party. When the storm had blown over, it was thought right to reward him by making him Advocate-Depute,—an office which renders the holder a sort of subaltern Lord Advocate. This was the first occasion on which he was directly set up as an adherent of the ministry for the day; and therefore it is worth while observing his behaviour.

In matters of duty, he seems always to have had a commendable partiality for his own opinion. On the 20th of March 1716, he writes to the Lord Advocate—

'Yesterday I was qualified, the Lord knows how, as your depute. The Justice Clerk' (the highest criminal Judge in Scotland) 'shows a grim sort of civility towards me, because he finds me *plaguy stubborn*. I waited upon him, however, and on the other Lords, to the end they might fix a dyet for the tryall of the Episcopall clergy. The Justice Clerk does not smile on their prosecution, because it is not his own contrivance; and declared it could not come on sooner than the first of June; but I told him, that if, as I understood was designed, the May circuit were suspended this year by act of Parliament, I would require his Lordship to assign a dyet sooner.'

This plaguy stubbornness broke out still more remarkably a few months afterwards. Many of the Scots rebels were about to be tried in England, and it was thought expedient to send this Depute there as a prosecutor. Upon this he writes, '*I am determined to refuse that employment.*' Nor did he content himself with barely declining a task which most other men would have eagerly undertaken as the high road to advancement; but appears to have gone the length of composing and transmitting a Memorial to Sir Robert Walpole, remonstrating firmly against the injustice and impolicy of treating the rebels as ministry were about to do;—for a sort of exterminating bill was then in contemplation. We can scarcely conceive a more magnanimous act, than the transmission of this remonstrance by a younger brother, then standing on the lowest step of the glittering ladder of preferment. The style of it is concise, clear, and very manly; evincing complete knowledge of Scotland, and of the great principle of reclaiming a deluded people by time and lenient firmness, instead of vainly attempting to subdue their turbulence by breaking their spirit. We have only room for the following extract.

'Every man concerned in that odious work, certainly deserved death, and the punishment due by law; but humanity and prudence forbade it. It was not fit to dispeople a country, nor prudent to grieve the King's best friends, who mostly had some concern in those unfer-

fortunate men; or expedient to give too just grounds of clamour to the disaffected. '——' It will be agreed on all hands, that the proper rule in this case would have been, to have punished only as many as was necessary for terror, and for weakening the strength of the rebels for the future; and to extend mercy to as many as it could conveniently be indulged to, with the security of the Government; and this maxim every thinking Whig had then in his mouth, however offended at the insolences of the rebels. In place of a course of this kind, the method followed was, 1st, To try all the criminals in England, &c. 'The necessary consequences of this procedure, in general, are two; first, It makes all those who had the misfortune to be seduced into the rebellion, with their children, relations, and such as depend upon them, for ever desperate; and it's hard to tell what occasions may offer for venting their rage. We see that want and hard circumstances lead men daily into follies, without any other temptations; but when those circumstances are brought on by adherence to any principle or opinion, it's certain the sufferers will not quit their attempts to better their condition, but with their lives. 2d, As there are none of the rebels who have not friends among the King's faithful subjects, it is not easy to guess how far a severity of this kind, unnecessarily pushed, may alienate the affections, even of those, from Government.'

'If all the rebels, with their wives, children and immediate dependants, could be at once rooted out of the earth, the shock would be astonishing; but time would commit it to oblivion; and the danger would be less to the Constitution, than when thousands of innocents, punished with misery and want for the offences of their friends, are suffered to wander about the country, sighing out their complaints to Heaven, and drawing at once the compassion, and moving the indignation, of every human creature.'

Notwithstanding these very obvious truths, the system that had been resolved on was adopted. Every family trembled for a prosecution; suspicion, however slight, was a ground of imprisonment; and those who were destined for trial were either sent into the foreign country of England, or else subjected in Scotland to the ignorant and vindictive zeal of English judges and English prosecutors, who were sent here no doubt for the purpose of administering justice, but who, from their very situation, could only do so in a form as revolting to true justice as the rebellion itself. Forbes, seeing he could not prevent this, did what he could to relieve his misguided countrymen, by actively promoting subscriptions for their relief; and, with this view, he writes as follows to his brother at Culloden, who, as well as himself, had been a personal sufferer from the very men of whom he speaks so gently.

'The design of this is to acquaint you, that a contribution is carrying on, for the relief of the poor prisoners at Carlisle from their necessitous condition. It is certainly christian, and by no means disloyal, to sustain them in their indigent state, untill they are found

guilty. The law has brought them to England, to be tryed by foreign juries; so far is well. But no law can hinder a Scotsman to wish that his countrymen, not hitherto condemned, should not be a derision to strangers, or perish for want of necessary defence or sustenance out of their own country. Therefore, if any contribution is carried on for the above purpose with you, it is fit you should give it all the countenance you can, by exhortation and example.'

In spite of all this, his character made him too powerful to be resisted; and, in 1722, he, with the acquiescence of ministry, obtained a seat in Parliament, to which, in 1725, was added the office of Lord Advocate. Both these situations he retained till 1735, when he was appointed a Judge. The discharge of these official duties, by withdrawing him from the ordinary toils of his profession, and carrying him often to London, opened up new views and opportunities of increased usefulness to his country. A great part of the volume before us is filled with his correspondence during this period; but its details are too minute to admit of our giving examples of his principles or proceedings as a public officer, except by a reference to the general character of the whole. When we contemplate the condition of Scotland in those days, we scarcely know whether to wonder most at the good which he did, or the means by which he accomplished it. It is difficult for any person who lives now, to carry himself back by reading or conversation, into the prospects and feelings of the people of this country about a hundred years ago. The religious persecution of the Stuarts had given a darker hue to the old austerity of their Calvinism. The expectation of change constantly held out by that family, divided the nation into two parties, differing on a point which necessarily made each of them rebels in the eyes of the other; and thus the whole kingdom was racked by jealousies, heart-burnings and suspicions. The removal, by the Union, of all the patronage and show of royalty, spread a gloom and discontent, not only over the lower, but over the higher ranks. The commencement of a strict system of general taxation was new; while the miserable poverty of the country rendered it unproductive and unpopular. The great families still lorded it over their dependants, and exercised legal jurisdiction within their own domains; by which the general police of the kingdom was crippled, and the grossest local oppression practised. The remedy adopted for all these evils, which was, to abate nothing, and to enforce every thing, under the direction of English counsels or of Englishmen, completed the national wretchedness, and infused its bitterest ingredient into the brim-full cup. How Forbes got his views or his character amidst such a scene, from the very heart of the very worst part of which he came, it is difficult to conceive; for, with only one or two occasional exceptions, this collection seems to prove that he had scarcely an as-

sociate either in his patriotic toils or enjoyments. However, it is sometimes true in the political, as it generally is in the commercial world, that supply is created by demand ;—and the very degradation of the country held out an immense reward to the man who should raise it up. No man, especially the hired servant of a disputed monarchy, could have achieved this work, except one whose heart was as amiable as his judgment was sound, and whose patriotism was as pure as it was strong. Forbes cultivated all these qualities ; and not only directed the spirit of the nation, but conciliated its discordant members with a degree of skill that was truly astonishing.

The leading objects of his official and parliamentary life were suggested to him by the necessities of the country, and seem to have been three-fold.

1. To extinguish the embers of rebellion, by gaining over the Jacobites. He did not try to win them, however, in the ordinary way in which alleged rebels are won ; but by showing them what he called the *folly* of their designs, by seeking their society, by excluding them from no place for which their characters or talents gave them a fair claim, and, above all, by protecting them from proscription. It is delightful to perceive how much this policy, equally the dictate of his heart and of his head, made him be consulted and revered even by his enemies ; and how purely he kept his private affections open to good men, and especially to old friends, in spite of all political acrimony or alienation. He derived from this habit one satisfaction, which seems to have greatly diverted him, that of being occasionally abused by both sides, and sometimes suspected of secret Jacobitism by his own party.

2. Having thus, by commanding universal esteem as an upright and liberal man, enabled himself to do something for the country at large, his next object seems to have been, to habituate the people to the equal and regular control of the laws. It may appear at first sight unnecessary or inglorious to have been reduced to labour for an end so essential and obvious in all communities as this. But the state of Scotland must be recollected. The provincial despotism of the Barons was common and horrid. Old Lovat, for example, more than once writes to him, as Lord Advocate, not to trouble himself about certain acts of violence done in his neighbourhood, because he was very soon to take vengeance with his own hands.

‘ I beg, my Lord, that you may not be in the least apprehensive, that any of those rogues, or any in my country, go and disturb your tenants ; for I solemnly swear to Gortuleg, that if any villian or rascal of my country durst presume to hurt or disturb any of your

Lordship's tenants, I will go personally, though carried in a litter, and see them seized and hanged.'

Nor was this insubordination confined to individuals or to the provinces, for it seems to have extended to the capital, and to have touched the seats of Justice. There is a letter from Forbes to Mr Scroope, in the year 1732, in which he complains 'that it would surely provoke any man living, as it did me, to see the last day of our term in Exchequer. The effect of every verdict we recovered from the Crown, stopt upon the triflingest pretences that false popularity and want of sense could suggest. If some remedy be not found for this evil we must shut up shop. It's a pity, that when we have argued the juries out of their mistaken notions of popularity, the behaviour of the Court should give any handle to their relapsing.' He persevered to prevent this by argument, and by endeavouring to get the laws, especially those concerning the revenue, altered, so as to be less unacceptable to the people.

It is chiefly on account of his adherence to this principle, that it is important to notice this object as a distinct part of his system. If he had been disposed to govern, as is usual in turbulent times, by mere force, he had pretences enough to have made scarlet uniforms deform every hamlet in the kingdom.—But, except when rebellion or riot were raging, we cannot discover, from this Collection, that he ever, on any one occasion, required any other assistance, except the ordinary authority of which law is always possessed, when administered fairly. He rigidly investigated, though he did not severely punish, popular outrages; but he was unsparing in his prosecution of the provincial injustice, by which the people were generally oppressed. The consequence of this was, that he not only introduced a comparative state of good order, but made his name a sanction, that whatever he proposed was right—and that in him the injured was sure to find a friend. When Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman, who was engaged in a mining concern in Glengarry, (and who by the by is said to have been the first person who introduced the phillibeg into the Highlands), had two of his servants murdered by the natives there, the Lord Advocate was the only individual to whom it ever occurred to him to apply for protection. But his power in thus taming the people, can only be fairly estimated, by perceiving how universally he was feared by the higher ranks, as the certain foe of all sorts of partial, sinister, unfair, or illiberal projects. Few men ever wrote, or were written to, with less idea of publication, than he. His correspondence has only come accidentally to light about seventy years after his death. Yet we have not been able to detect a single one of his advices or proceedings, by the ex-

posure of which, even a private gentleman, of the most delicate honour, and the most reasonable views, would have cause to feel a moment's uneasiness. On the contrary, though living in ferocious times—in public life—the avowed organ of a party—and obliged to sway his country, by managing its greatest and greediest families, he uniformly maintains that native gentleness and fairness of mind with which it is probable that most of the men, who are afterwards hardened into corruption, begin, and resolve to continue, their career. How many other public men are there, of whose general correspondence above 500 letters could be published indiscriminately, without alarming themselves if they were alive, or their friends if they were dead?

3. Having thus freed hims^{lf} from the shackles of party, and impressed all ranks with a conviction of the necessity of sinking their subordinate contests in a common respect for the law, his next great view seems to have been, to turn this state of security to its proper account, in improving the trade and agriculture of the kingdom.—Of these two sources of national wealth, the last seems to have engaged the smallest portion of his attention; and it was perhaps natural that it should do so. For though agriculture precedes manufactures in the order of things, yet, for this very reason, that the cultivation of the land has gone on for ages, it is only in a more advanced era of refinement, that the attention of legislators is called to the resources it supplies, and the virtues it inspires. But projectors are immediately attracted towards improvements in manufactures, which are directly convenient by employing industry, and highly captivating, because their commencement and growth can be distinctly traced; so that they appear more the result of preparation and design than agriculture does; as to which, one generation seems only to follow the example of another, in passively taking what the scarcely assisted powers of nature give. Several efforts at trade had been made by Scotland before Forbes appeared; but it was both the cause, and the evidence of the national poverty, that, slender as they were, they had failed, and that their failure almost extinguished the commercial hopes of the people. He was no sooner called into public life, than he saw what trade, chiefly internal, could do, by giving employment to the hordes of idlers who infested the country, by interesting proprietors in the improvement of their estates, and by furnishing the means both of paying and of levying taxes, and thereby consolidating the whole island into one compact body, instead of keeping the north part a burden on the southern.

His exertions, in prosecution of this great object, were long and unceasing. We cannot enter here into any details; and therefore, we shall only state, in general, that he appears to have

made himself master of the nature and history of almost every manufacture, and to have corresponded largely, both with the statesmen, the philosophers, and the merchants of his day, about the means of introducing them into Scotland. The result was, that he not only planted the roots of those establishments which are now flourishing all over the country, but had the pleasure (as he states in a Memorial to Government) of seeing ‘a commendable spirit of launching out into new branches,’ excited. He was so successful in this way, that the manufactures of Scotland are called by more than one of his correspondents—‘his ain bairns;’—an expression which he himself uses in one of his letters to Mr Scrope (p. 115), in which he says that one of his proposals ‘was disliked by certain chiefs, from its being a child of mine.’

Notwithstanding the immense good which he thus accomplished, and the great judgment and forbearance he evinced in pushing his improvements, it is amusing to observe the errors into which he fell, with respect to what are now some of the clearest principles of taxation, and of political economy. These, in general, were the common errors of too much regulation;—errors, which it requires the firmest hold of the latest discoveries in these sciences to resist, and which were peculiarly liable to beset a man, who had been obliged to do so much himself in the way of direction and planning. One example may suffice—being the strongest we have been able to find. In order to encourage agriculture, by promoting the use of malt, he presented to Government a long detailed scheme, for preventing, or rather punishing, the use of tea.

‘The cause’ (says he) ‘of the mischief we complain of, is evidently the excessive use of tea; which is now become so common, that the meanest families, even of labouring people, particularly in burroughs, make their morning’s meal of it, and thereby wholly disuse the ale, which heretofore was their accustomed drink; and the same drug supplies all the labouring women with their afternoon’s entertainments, to the exclusion of the twopenny.’

The remedy for this, is, to impose a prohibitory duty on tea, and a penalty on those who shall use this seducing poison, ‘if they belong to that class of mankind in this country, whose circumstances do not permit them to come at tea that pays the duty.’ The obvious difficulty attending this scheme, strikes him at once; and he removes it, by a series of provisions, calculated to describe those who are within the tea line, and those who are beyond it. The essence of the system is, that when any person is suspected, ‘the *onus probandi* of the extent of his yearly income may be laid on him;’ and that his own oath may be demanded, and that of the prosecutor taken.—

‘ These provisions, ’ the worthy author acknowledges, ‘ are pretty severe ; ’ and most of his readers may be inclined to think them pretty absurd. But it must be recollected, that he is not the only person, (especially about his own time, when the first duty of a statesman was to promote the malt-tax), who has been eloquent and vituperative on the subject of this famous plant. Its progress, on the contrary, has been something like the progress of truth ; suspected at first, though very palatable to those who had courage to taste it ; resisted as it encroached ; abused as its popularity seemed to spread ; and establishing its triumph at last, in cheering the whole land, from the palace to the cottage, only by the slow and resistless efforts of time, and its own virtues. Nor are the provisions for enforcing his scheme so extraordinary as may at first sight appear. The object of one half of our existing commercial regulations, is to ensure the use of our own produce, and the encouragement of our own industry ; and his personal restrictions, and domiciliary visits, are utterly harmless, when compared with many excise regulations of the present day ; and still more so, when contrasted with certain parts of the recent system for levying the tax upon property. We have noticed this example, chiefly for the sake of showing that Forbes’s views were as sound upon these subjects as those of the persons by whom he has been succeeded ; and that, if we could oftener withdraw our eyes from the objects of their habitual contemplation, we should oftener see the folly of many things which appear to us correct, merely because they are common.

In 1737 he was appointed President of the Court of Session. His diffidence in accepting of this situation forms a pleasing, and, we are sorry to say, remarkable contrast, to the sordid and indecent presumptuousness with which the judicial chair is sometimes claimed as a matter of right from seniority, or party favour. He threatened to shrink back into private life, and would certainly have done so, had it not been for the remonstrances of the most eminent men of the time ; among whom, Mansfield told him, that ‘ it was like a General forsaking the fight in the hottest of the fire. ’ He required no call, however, except what he felt within himself, how to discharge the task, after he did undertake it. The Court seems to have been in a lamentable state when he joined it ; but this rendered the difficulty of reformation the greater. Yet he did reform it so thoroughly, as to change even the manners of the judges ; as to whom, it is said, ‘ that the warmth with which they sometimes differed from each other, may be cited as a proof of the sincerity with which they delivered their opinions. ’ The law’s delay—the complaint of all ages and of all countries—was a peculiar reproach to Scot-

land ; and therefore it is a fair subject of congratulation, to be able to say, as he does to one of his friends, (1740), that—

—‘ when the term ended this day, no cause ripe for judgement remained undetermined ; none that, within the rules of the Court, could possibly have been decided, was laid over to the next term ; a circumstance that has not happened within any man’s memory, and of which the mob are very fond. ’

His success, however, may be better appreciated, from the opinions of more competent judges than any man can be of his own performances. Mr Murray, (Lord Mansfield), writing to him about a piece of private business, says, (1737–8)—

‘ You have undertaken a great work ; and, by all the accounts here, you have already succeeded beyond what any man could have thought possible in so short a time. The best argument I can use to you to manage your health is, to desire you to consider of what importance it is to the public. ’

Lord Hardwicke, too, writes to him—

‘ I rejoice much to hear that your Lordship hath turned your thoughts towards the improvement of the laws of your country. Such hands as your’s are fitted for such undertakings ; whereas others, not so well informed, or not so well intentioned, often spoil what they pretend to amend. ’

There is a letter of his to Lord Hardwicke, which evinces the good humour and good sense with which he was accustomed to conciliate, even when treating of matters which invariably inflame ordinary minds. In the course of certain communications with the House of Lords, about the public records, the Peers had addressed the Court, by a letter to one of the clerks. Their Lordships took this violently amiss, and insisted that the President should remonstrate formally with the Chancellor. This he refused to do ; and, instead of bristling up into a high, stiff, offended, official dignity, he sits down in his private capacity, and writes a long, plain, powerful letter to Lord Hardwicke, in which he disarms all opposition, by beginning—‘ But what I chiefly presume to give you trouble on, is a matter merely of form, which alarms some of us, and in which I, *as your old friend Duncan Forbes*, and not as President of the Court, beg your advice. We are, you must know, when we are seated, very high and mighty. ’

He then states the difficulty with such distinctness and irresistible good nature, that instead of provoking a foolish quarrel of etiquette, he gets a very full, friendly, and satisfactory explanation from Hardwicke ;—and so the matter ends quietly.

While he was thus peacefully engaged in the highest function of civil life, news suddenly arrived that the Pretender had landed again. This called him into a new scene of action ; for the court was shut by act of Parliament, and he plunged himself in-

to the very midst of the most disaffected district. His whole behaviour, during this disturbance, was admirable. There never was a cause which was more calculated to excite and to justify the utmost virulence of party. It was a season of insurrection and civil war; and the rebels were composed of men of the first rank, almost every one of whom must have often before induced their associates of the opposite side to believe that they had renounced, or at least were indifferent to the house of Stuart. The ties of private friendship were therefore broken, as well as those of public principle; and the duty of extinguishing the rebellion was inflamed by the disgust which every honest mind must have felt at the multiplied examples of perfidy which appeared in almost every family. So, many of the king's friends thought. But Forbes possessed his soul in patience; and behaved with such consummate judgment and magnanimity, that we doubt if any one, even of the rebels, ever felt any sentiment towards him but that of inferiority and reverence.

Some attempt by the Pretender had been expected several years before, when Forbes was Lord Advocate; and, on this occasion, he had been warned by Government to be on his guard. Wishing to see with his own eyes, he took a journey through the Highlands, and informed ministry of the result (p. 108-110), which was, that there was no symptom of preparation or disaffection. A personal visit from Lord Advocates and Attorneys General is not the common way in which much truth is to be expected to be attained with respect to popular opinion. But how rare is it for such persons to deserve confidence like Forbes, who, having found in this survey a General Gordon of high family, and who had been obliged to go into exile on account of his share in the former rebellion, *recommends* him to Government as a person 'whose intention it was to live his remaining days peaceably at home;' and 'who has lived inoffensive, so far as I can hear, at his house in the country.' The tranquillity of sixteen years after this journey, was the best evidence of the correctness of the opinion he had formed.

On account of 'the military abilities' which he had evinced in 1715, part of a regiment was put under his orders; and having got twenty blank commissions for independent companies, he established himself at Culloden, to which estate he had succeeded by the death of his brother. He here exerted himself incessantly, and with signal success, in deterring the doubtful, confirming the faithful, and reclaiming those who had committed themselves by open rebellion. Though his advice was in many points fatally neglected, he was consulted by every body, by Government in particular; and was the soul of all the public measures. His situation is thus described by himself, in a letter to

Sir Andrew Mitchell, who is said to have been a friend of Montesquieu, and an associate of Frederic the Second.

‘ I have much more business on my hands at present, to disturb my attention, than I should have had, if the rebels had permitted me to go throw the course of the Session at Edinburgh. When I came first into this country, though I was not just treading in the path of a Chief Justice, the prospect was very flattering, and the errand I came on had no appearance of difficulty; but the rebels’ successes at Edinburgh and Prestonpans soon changed the scene. All Jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad; all doubtful people became Jacobites, and all bankrupts became heroes, and talked of nothing but hereditary rights and victory; and, what was more grievous to men of gallantry, and, if you will believe me, much more mischievous to the public, all the fine ladies, if you will except one or two, became passionately fond of the young Adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner. Under these circumstances, I found myself almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credit; provided with no means to prevent extreme folly, except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation; and, if you will except MacLeod, whom I sent for from the isle of Sky, supported by nobody of common sense or courage.’

It is neither necessary nor possible to say more in exposition or in praise of the ability which he displayed in this scene, than that there was not a decided blunder committed, but what is followed, in this Collection, by a string of letters from the men in power, lamenting that they had not sooner adopted his advice. His virtues are equally well known in the gross; but we cannot resist bringing to light a few of those minute traits of liberality and honour, which nothing but a correspondence such as this could have revealed. These, it will be observed, can only be judged of by recollecting the feelings and language in which it is usual for most men to indulge when engaged in crushing a rebellion. One of his common phrases for the rebel leaders is—‘ The unhappy gentlemen in arms.’ (214). At another time, he begs one of them who had not declared, ‘ to preserve his people from *folly*;’—and thus remonstrates with another, among whose people some disaffection had appeared—

‘ I do assure you it gave me no small pain to learn that your friends, many of whom I know, and had a great regard for, chose the party in which they are now engaged. I wish, with all my heart, they had consulted your honour and their own safety more than they have done.’

Even Glenbucket, a person who was in open arms with all his dependants, he does not utterly renounce his former opinion of; but when the Magistrates of Elgin beg him to protect them against an expected attack from that chieftain, he quietens them by assurances,

—‘ that Glenbucket must, in all appearance, quickly follow his friends who are gone from Perth, without amusing himself with marches which can be of no real service. Besides, I should imagine that common prudence would hinder him, *whom I know to be a good-natured man*, from committing any outrages, and prevent any excess of zeal in his friends; since these things could only tend to justify severities, by way of reprisal, which, in a very few days it will be in our power, however little in our inclination, to exercise.’

His love of his poor countrymen was such, that though his duty obliged him to defeat their project, he could not help regretting to one of his associates against them, that

—‘ they may easily guess, by the temper of the English part of this island, that lenity is not to be expected at this time; *I pray God it may*; and I hope it will be in the power of such of us as have upon this occasion shown a favourable disposition to the Government, to prevent angry resolutions, that might, if the flame were universal, bear hard on the whole of this unhappy country.’

But the most characteristic view of him is displayed in his conduct to ‘ young Pitcalnie,’ *his own nephew*. This youth, misled by ‘ Chistanry,’ and clearly trusting that his uncle the President would protect him if the rebellion failed, joined the Pretender. Upon this, Forbes writes to his father as follows—

‘ I never was more astonished, and but seldom more afflicted, in my life, than I was when I heard of the madness of your son. I cannot conceive by what magick he has been prevailed on to forfeit utterly his own honour; in a signall manner to affront and dishonour me, whom you made answerable for him; to risk a halter, which, if he do not succeed, must be his doom, without any other tryall than that of a Court-martial; and to break the heart of an indulgent father, as you are; which I am perswaded must be the case, unless he is reclaim’d. The villians who seduced him, profiting of his tender years and want of experience, though I hope I am a Christian, I never will forgive; though him I will, if he return quickly to his duty, without committing further folly. But if, trusting to indulgence on account of our relation, he persist in the course in which I am told he is at present engaged, I think it but fair to declare to you, in the most solemn manner, that the very relation and connection to which he may trust, will determine me to pursue him with the utmost rigour, to that end which his conduct will most undoubtedly deserve; and when I have said this, I can take God to witness, that he is the only person concerned in the present unhappy commotions for whom my heart would not lead me to be a solicitor, when things will have the issue which, I believe, they will soon have. In justice and friendship to you, and in hopes he may repent before it is too late, I give you the trouble of this letter, and have desired your friend Mr Baillie to deliver it to you; not doubting that, to save a son, and to prevent my dishonour, you will do all that is in your power.’

Mr Baillie delivered the letter, and wrote to the President, that old Pitcalnie was in the deepest sorrow. To this his Lordship answer —

‘ I truly compassionate poor Pitcalnie’s case ; but if his son shall, after what has been said to him, persist in his course, he will discover that degree of obstinacy and perverseness which will soon cancel that concern for him that has hitherto possessed my mind, and suffer resentment and just indignation to take its place.’

To prevent matters coming to this height, his Lordship appears to have proposed a personal conference with the youth ; which the latter was about to decline, because he was afraid he would be detained. To this the President answered, with the grief and indignation that became him on the expression of such a fear —

‘ I have your’s of the 3d, expressing your distrust of the messages sent to you by Don. Ross ; together with your apprehensions, that if you came to see me you would be detained, unless you had assurances to the contrary under my hand. The messages he deliver’d you were from me, as I was exceedingly affected with several reports that were current about you ; nor need you wonder that what concern’d you so nearly, and, if you will but reflect, me also, should give me abundance of uneasiness. It was, however, never in my thoughts to entrap you, or to make you in the least forfeit your honour. I wish you may have the same regard for it that I have ; and, as I doubt not you have pledged your honour to return to those gentlemen whose prisoner you was, I should be the last man in the world either to advise you not to make that engagement good, or by any indirect means to hinder it. And, to make your mind easy on that particular, I hereby promise, if you come hither to see me, that you shall be permitted to return whenever you shall think fit ; and shall have a safe-conduct to go to the place from whence you came, or to any other to which my authority reaches. This letter, shewed on your way hither, if any questions are asked, will be a sufficient passport. I need not tell you that I wish you well, and that I shall be extremely grieved if any thing in your conduct shall make me less, than I have been, your affectionate uncle,’ &c.

The result of the affair does not appear,—but it was probably ill for the lad ; for Forbes afterwards writes of him as ‘ Pitcalnie’s mad son.’

The idea, that his humanity might afterwards be moved to palliate their crimes, seems to have been a chance on which the rebels were very apt to rely. One of them having hinted at such an expectation to the President, he thus extinguishes it.

‘ Dear Tom—I received, with very smart concern, your’s of the 27th. What grieved me cruelly was, that I see my unhappy and much loved friend on the brink of destruction ; and that you should be so unkind as to hint, as the only remedy, an expedient which, to

the end of time, would dishonour me : I mean my counteracting my publick professions to the Government ; which I am determind, at all hazards, to support. There is something so dishonourable in that thought, that I must reject it with indignation ; and may be induced to act a part more forward than otherwise I should choose, to avoid imputations from others of what you seem to wish.'

Although Government could not stir a step without consulting him, the occasional disregard with which his advices were treated, is incomprehensible. When he went north, he found such a total want of arms and money, that assembling men to oppose the rebels was just harassing the country, by additional tumultuary hordes. He therefore wrote, day after day, imploring, if it were but a few pounds, and two or three muskets,—but in vain ; although it was perfectly well known that his own funds had been speedily and cheerfully exhausted. Thus he writes to the Secretary of State—

' The bills which the Major of Lord Loudon's regiment has drawn on Edinburgh, for the subsistence of some of the new companys of that regiment now at Inverness, have returned protested ; so that these companys are in imminent danger of being obliged to disband for want of pay, which they have at present on the private credit of their officers ; and how many days that resource may last, I cannot say ; though I have offered to support the private credit of these officers with the additional security of mine. And now, my Lord, give me leave to express my very great concern, that so fine a game as has been in our hands, should be in danger of being lost for lack of the supply I have so often mention'd, which might have been very easily sent, and which may still be of very great service, if it come before it is too late. To me it seemed to be of vast consequence to keep out of the rebellion a greater body of men than those who are hitherto engaged in it ; and that, I think, would certainly have happened, had the supply expected come in due time. It is at present doubtfull, whether numbers may not play the fool ; but I am still confident, that if this arrives quickly to your Lordship's hands, and the necessary orders are, without loss of time, given upon it, we shall be able still to do good, by preventing a great deal of the mischief that is to be apprehended.'

Hardly any arms, however, were sent. But this, we do most sincerely lament to say, was immaterial, when compared with the signal ingratitude that was shown to himself, after the rebellion was over. He had spent three years rents of his estate in the public service ; and of this he actually could not get repayment of a single sixpence. The mere money he probably never thought of ;—but the sentiment conveyed in the refusal was somewhat hard to bear. On this subject, too, he was silent. But he had induced others, on his credit, to advance funds for the exigencies of the day ; and he openly remonstrated against not being enabled to do justice to them.

‘ If any one ’ (says he in a letter to a friend, p. 276) ‘ will reflect on the situation I was in, and consider what I had to do, he will soon be convinced that the expense I layed out could not be small. So far as I could command money of my own, you will easily believe it was employed without any hesitation, and of that I say nothing at present; but when the expedient proposed by the Marquis of Tweeddale, of taking up bills to be drawn on Mr Pelham, failed, I had no resource, but to take up money where I could find it, from well disposed persons, on my own proper risk. That money, so picked up, was, at the time, of great service; and now that peace is restored, the gentlemen, with great reason, expect to be repaid. You can guess how ill I like a dun; and I should hope, now the confusions are over, there can be no great difficulty in procuring me a remittance, or leave to draw on Mr Pelham, or some other proper person, to the extent of the sum thus borrowed, which does not exceed 1500*l*. ’

It is said that he never recovered a farthing, though we confess that this appears incredible.—It is certain, however, that no adequate opinion was ever entertained, or at least expressed, of the value of his public and gratuitous services. He was thanked, indeed, by his Majesty;—but this is sometimes the coldest form in which an old servant can be discarded. No cause was ever found sufficiently plausible to be openly stated in defence of this conduct; but when we recollect the characters of the Duke of Cumberland and of Forbes, we cannot doubt that one of the popular accounts is the true one, which ascribes it all to his having plainly, and even in the King’s presence, expressed his decided disapprobation of the violence of the royal army. Generous men are peculiarly liable to be hurt by ungenerous treatment;—and it is said that his sense of the ingratitude which had been testified towards him, never left Forbes till it was buried, two years afterwards, in the untimely grave towards which it hastened him. It had no power, however, to destroy his temper. The only occasion on which he seems to allude to his ill usage, is in a letter to Mr Scroope, in which he refers to it in a tone of good-humoured indifference, rather than of resentment or offence.

‘ Now, my dear Sir, I come to the last and most material thing I have to trouble you with; and that is, to ask your advice and instructions, to the getting whereof I have a sort of right by prescription. Here have I been for above nine months, playing the knight-errant, at least acting with a perfect heart, however sound my head may have been, out of my profession. The public danger is now, thanks be to Providence! happily over; and I do not see what I have to do, but to return again to the plough which I have for so long deserted. Whether men with you will think I have been mad or sober, well or ill employed; whether they believe that I have, or that I have not done any service; and whether it is likely or unlikely

that, by advice, or otherwise, I may be of any use to put a final end to this desperate rebellion, or to prevent dangers from such attempts for the future,—are matters that I am utterly ignorant of, and can hardly expect light in from any body but yourself. You have opportunitys to know what construction my conduct bears; and you are so thoroughly acquainted with me and my disposition, as well as with the disposition of our Rulers, that you can easily judge, whether it is fit for me, in hopes of doing some more good, to give myself any further trouble; or whether it is not more expedient to ly still and be quiet; leaving to those of my country, who know nothing of the matter, and who have chose to take no part of the risque, to direct as they shall think fit.'

This resolution of forbearance, however, was at an end the moment he saw that he could afford any protection to the subdued rebels against too severe persecution. He was zealous in favour of the Disarming act;—not so sanguine as we should have supposed, about the expediency of abolishing the Local jurisdictions of the Barons;—but zealous against the poor remedy or pitiful revenge of proscribing the Highland dress. His letter on this subject is full of humanity and goodness (No. 332). But the most pleasing instance of his conduct is to be found in his intercession for Macdonald of Kingsborrow, the factor for Sir Alexander Macdonald in the Isle of Sky. This gentleman, like his master, had remained faithful to King George; but his loyalty was tried by the following incident. Charles got to Sky disguised as a maid-servant to a Miss Florence Macdonald. Sir Alexander writes (p. 292) to the President, that this lady had called on Kingsborrow, and that the Pretender

—' accosted him with telling him, that his life was now in his hands, which he might dispose of; that he was in the utmost distress, having had no meat or sleep for two days and two nights, sitting on a rock, beat upon by the rains; and, when they ceased, ate up by flies; conjured him to show compassion but for one night, and he should be gone. This moving speech prevailed, and the visible distress,—for he was maigre, ill-coloured, and overrun with the scab; so they went to Kingsborrow's house, where he lay that night, and he furnished him with a horse to carry him seven miles next day to Portree.'

Kingsborrow being apprehended, was accompanied to the Duke of Cumberland by Sir Alexander, who says,

' I used my little rhetoric with the Duke; but he stopt my mouth by saying, that this man neglected the greatest piece of service that could have been done; and if he was to be pardoned, I had too much good sense to think this the proper time, as it would encourage others to follow his example.'

Forbes, however, saw what could be gained to the royal cause by a judicious act of humanity; and he interceded warmly in Kingsborrow's behalf. Almost immediately after writing the

preceding letter, Sir Alexander died. This event, by removing the only important man who was to be obliged by the pardon, instead of diminishing the reasons for his being forgiven, is feelingly converted by Forbes into an additional claim.

‘ If this man’s dismissal,’ (says he in a letter to Mr Poyntz) ‘ was made a present of to the memory of Sir Alexander, I cannot think of any thing that would be more beneficial to the family, or agreeable to the kindred. And I so little think that he would make a bad use of his liberty, that I am ready to become bail for his appearance when called, and for his good behaviour ; and I believe Mr M’Leod will be willing to join with me in the security. You see, dear Sir, that I write with some earnestness on this subject ; and when you are informed that I have not the least relation to Sir Alexander’s family, nor any connexion with his kindred, but what grew from the service they were of to the government, I hope you will be satisfied, that affection and concern for the government is what guides my pen on this occasion, and has determined my actions since I could first reason.’

After thus continuing for two years to befriend the misguided people whose political projects he had so successfully resisted, he died in 1747, at the age of 62 ;—and left a chasm in his country which no individual has ever since filled up. We have no time for any details on the subject of his private life or personal habits. They accorded in every respect with the character of his public appearances. He wrote a few religious and philosophical works, which we have not lately seen, but which are said to be good ;—was a patron and associate of the authors of the *Gentle Shepherd* and of the *Seasons*, the latter of whom has some just lines upon him in his *Winter* ;—was very fond of the country—to which he generally retired, under a commendable vow of abstinence from business, from Saturday noon till Monday morning ; was fond of ‘ cracking a bottle ;’—and no wonder, for he belonged to a house where ‘ there was as much wine spilt in the hall as ought to content a moderate family.’

The person who figures in this Collection, next to him, is the famous Lovat. His portrait, as drawn by himself, is a proper companion to that of his neighbour. We never beheld a more complete picture of a feudal savage. His more prominent features, including his range from a brutal provincial tyrant to the elegance and obsequiousness of a finished courtier, are well known already ;—but the following circumstances are new to us.

He fought like a fury for the reigning family in 1715. The facts had probably no connexion ; but it is certain that, at this period, he expected gifts of some of the estates that were likely to be forfeited, particularly of Mackenzie of Fraserdale. He, all his life, professed the most devoted attachment to the fami-

ly of Culloden; his common address about this time to the future President being '*Dear General*;'—while, in token of his humility, he often subscribes himself '*your devoted Corporal*.' When he writes to John Forbes, the President's brother, he styles himself—'*I am, eternally, John Forbes of Culloden's faithful slave*.' On another occasion, because he had gained a lawsuit in which Duncan happened to be his counsel, he assures the elder brother, that '*Duncan has established a family that will be for ever faithful to the roof-tree of Culloden*.' He went to London immediately after the rebellion of 1715, and used all his influence to secure the gift of the escheat (forfeiture) of Fraserdale. The following are his accounts to young Forbes of his means, progress, and principles.

'My dearest General—I got both your letters, and I follow your advice close. I had a privat audience of K. George this day; and I can tell you, dr Generall that no man ever spoke freer language to his Majesty and the Prince than I did of our two great fr̄nds, in letting them know that they did them more service, and were capable to do them more service, than all those of their rank in Scotland; and y^t is true. I hope what I said will be usefull; and, let it have what effect it will as to me, I am overjoyed to have occasion to serve the two prettiest fellows in Europe. They still behave to me like kind brothers; and I spok to them both of my mariage. They approve of it mightily; and my L^d or the D. is to make the proposition to the King; so y^t I belive it will do wt y^t agreement y^t my two great fr̄nds wish and desire it. *I want but a gift of the escheat to make me easy. But if it does not do, you must find some pretence or other that will give me a title to keep possession, either by that taillie my L^d Provost has, or by buying off some creditors: In short, you must make a man of it one way or other.*'

The result of the matter is thus stated five days afterwards. After telling that he had had a private audience of the King, he says—

'It would be foolish to tell you all I said. In short, dear General, I told my mind as freely as I would have done to you. The King is one of the best men on earth; but strangely imposed upon by certain persons. I hope it will not be always so. The King has been graciously pleased to grant me, this very day, a gift of Fraserdale's escheat; and Mr Stanhope told me, that I was so well in his Majesty's spirit, that all my enemys are not able to do me harm.'

He got a regular grant of the forfeiture at last. But some doubt seems to have been raised about its validity; upon which he writes thus to Forbes.

'I therefore most humbly beg of my dr General to employ Sir Walter Pringle, and whom else you please, and consult together of some legal way of my keeping possession of this estate, besides the gift, which I look upon as the most precarious thing on earth; and I must tell my Gen. *that either I must keep violent possession, which*

will return me my old misfortunes, or I must abandon y^e kingdom, and a young lady whom my fr^{ds} have engaged me to marry. So my d^r Gen. I beg you may give me some prospect of not being again forced to leave the kingdom, or to fight against the King's forces. The one or the other must be, if I do not find any legal pretence of possessing the estate but by this gift, which I now reckon as nothing. The thoughts of all this confuse my brain; soe excuse my writ and style; and believe me eternally, without reserve, the most fathfull and affectionat of all your slaves, LOVAR.'

There was a riot at Redcastle in his neighbourhood, in which his tenants seem to have licen on the one side, and the Mackenzies on the other. His emotions on the subject are thus expressed.

'I was very justly angry; and if it was not for fear of the laws and of my bread, I would have immediatly reveng'd the blood of my tenants and kinsmen; and the inclosed affidavits will convince your Lordship, that I had very great reason to be in wrath; but now that the first movement of passion is over, I am well satisfy'd that the affair should be taken away in a fr^{dly} maner; for I have no desire to be in blood with my nighbours, tho' you may easily belive I do not fear all the Mackenzies on earth, tho' I had none to assist me against them but my own Frasers and followers. Your Lordship knows both the clans prety well.'

This was written in 1727. Some years farther down in the history of our refinement, he happened to imagine that he had been insulted by the Chisholms; upon which, nothing would satisfy him but transportation inflicted by his own authority.

'I would not belive an angel from heaven, y^t my honest and worthy friend John Forbes of Culodin would, for any consideration, directly or indirectly, assist any Chisholm on earth to insult or affront me in y^e persons of those villans, especially since y^e only thing y^t kept me from sending them to America was my eagerness to serve your cousin-german, Arthur Forbes; so I beg of you, Dear Culodin, to give strict orders that those fellows do not make their escapes, till I order a party to bring them up here at my own expence, that they may be sent to Arthur, with other two Camerons that are in your tolbooth, by a Capt. of his regiment who is in this town.'

It must not be imagined that Forbes approved of these proceedings. He appears constantly to have checked them; and the effect of this upon the devoted Corporal, may be conjectured from the following letter, which he writes to the roottree of Culloden.

'Duncan and I are now as we were in 1715; y^t is, without reserve to each other; and I know y^t there is few things will please you more. I own y^t when I belived y^t he forsook me for y^e Mackenzies, I would have seen him at y^e Divel; but he has fully satisfied me as to all y^t, and I am persuaded their never will be y^e least mistake or jealousie betwixt us.'

Immediately on the rebellion breaking out in 1745, the President wrote him the most friendly letters, exhorting and admonishing him to repeat the patriotic part he had acted in 1715. All of these are answered by the most solemn assurances of his loyalty to King George; of his regret that his age and infirmities prevented him from instantly taking the field in person; and of his confidence in his dependents and his son; the former of which he calls (p. 210) 'very pretty gentlemen, that will lead my clan wherever I bid them for the King's service;' and the latter—'one of the prettiest and most complete gentlemen that ever I conversed with in any country.' He styles the Pretender 'a mad and unaccountable gentleman (p. 211); and tells the President (214), that

—'this desperate Prince will be the occasion of much bloodshed, which I pray God may avert; for to have bloodshed in our bowels, is a horrible thing to any man that loves Scotland, or has a good stake in it, as your Lordship and I have. Therefore, I pray God that we may not have a civil war in Scotland. This has been my constant wish since ever I had the use of my reason; and it shall be the same while there is breath in me; so that they must be damnably ignorant of the principle of my heart and soul, who can imagine that I would endeavour to promote a civil war in my country.'

Notwithstanding all this, *he had at that moment the patent of a Dukedom, and a commission, constituting him Lieutenant-General of Scotland, both from the Pretender, in his pocket.* He was secretly instigating; and even forcing, his son to lead his clan, to join that unaccountable gentleman; and he had actually sent a party of his people to attack Culloden House, with the view of seizing on the person of the President. Forbes very judiciously treated this assault lightly—calling it 'an idle attempt,' never hinting that he suspected Lovat's accession to it;—and only lamenting, that the banditti 'robbed the gardner and the poor weaver, who was a common benefit to the country.' The guilty man, however, takes it up much more knowingly. He writes, professing to admire

—'the truly generous and moderate way that your Lordship writes of that base, barbarous, inhuman, and distracted attempt and behaviour of the Stratherrick men at Culloden, which rather augments my trouble of mind and vexation, than diminishes it; for I could never imagine, that any man that had the honour to know your Lordship, or to hear of you, should be so villainous and unnatural as to hurt your Lordship, or the meanest person belonging to your Lordship; since your goodness and liberality to mankind in distress is as well known as your name and employment; so that those that acted this villainous attempt and plunder, has been ruffians, without the fear of God or man; and they will have what they deserve some day of other.'

In order to guard the father against the delusion of imagining that he could screen his own guilt by sacrificing the son, the President writes to him with his usual benignity.

‘ His birth, his fortune, his hopes (except those that may of late have been put into his head) he owes to your Lordship,* and must, with half an eye, see, that however innocent your Lordship’s inclinations may be, as men are now made, his act will be imputed to you ; and the consequence of that imputation, or even the suspicion of it, at this time of day, and in the present situation of your Lordship’s health, I confess I, who, in respect of him, am but a stranger, cannot think of without great uneasiness ; and when I reflect on what I feel within myself, I cannot but hope that my young friend, who, I’m shure has parts, and I persuade myself has natural affection, will, upon serious recommendation, drop this dangerous enterprize, if the case is-but fairly stated to him. ’

These exhortations having proved vain, Forbes at last spoke out in an admirable letter, of which we can only quote the following part.

‘ As I have now the honour of being charged with the public affairs in this part of the kingdom, I can no longer remain a spectator of your Lordship’s conduct, and see the double game you have played for some time past, without betraying the trust reposed in me, and at once risking my reputation, and the fidelity I owe to his Majesty as a good subject. Your Lordship’s actions now discover evidently your inclinations, and leave us no further in the dark about what side you are to choose in the present unhappy insurrection : You have now so far pull’d off the mask, that we can see the mark you aim at ; though, on former occasions, you had the skill and address to disguise your intentions in matters of far less importance. And, indeed, methinks a little more of your Lordship’s wonted artifice would not have been amiss, whatever had been your private sentiments, with respect to this unnatural rebellion. You should, my Lord, have duly considered and estimated the advantages that would arise to your Lordship from its success, and ballanced them with the risques you run if it should happen to miscarry ; and above all things you ought to have consulted your own safety, and allowed that the chief place in your system of politics ; which I persuade myself would have induced your Lordship to have play’d the game after quite a different manner, and with a much greater degree of caution and policy. But so far has your L^op been from acting with your ordinary finesse and circumspection on this occasion, that you sent away your son and the best part of your clan to join the Pretender, with as little concern as if no danger had attended such a step. ’ — ‘ And I am sorry to tell you, my Lord, that I could sooner undertake to plead the cause of any one of those unhappy gentlemen who are actually in arms against his Majesty, and I could say more in defence of their conduct, than I could in defence of your Lordship’s. Apologies may be offered in defence of most of :

the leading men in the present rebellion ; but what shall I say in favour of you, my Lord ? You who have flourish'd under the present happy establishment. You, who, in the beginning of your days, forfeited both your life and fortune, and yet, by the benignity of the Government, was not only indulged the liberty of being at home, but even restored to all you could lay claim to : nay, his Majesty's goodness went so far as to employ your Lordship in his service, and was pleased to honour you with the command of one of the independent companies that were raised some years ago in the Highlands, which you enjoy'd for a very long time : so that both duty and gratitude ought to have influenced your Lordship's conduct at this critical juncture, and disposed you to have acted a part quite different from what you have done. But there are some men whom no duty can bind, nor no favour can oblige ; and, I'm afraid, if a timely repentance don't prevent it, your Lordship will not unjustly be ranked among that number.'

To this Lovat answers by an epistle equally characteristic and infinitely more curious.

' I received the honour of your Lordship's letter late last night, of yesterday's date ; and I own that I never received any one like it since I was born, and *I give your Lordship ten thousand thanks for the kind freedom you use with me in it* ; for I see by it, that for my misfortune of having ane obstinate stubborn son, and ane ungrateful kindred, my family must go to destruction, and I must lose my life in my old age. Such usage looks rather like a Turkish or Persian government, than like a British. Am I, my Lord, the first father that has had ane undutiful and unnatural son ? or am I the first man that has made a good estate, and saw it destroyed in his own time, by the mad foolish actings of ane unnatural son, who prefers his own extravagant fancies to the solid advice of ane affectionate old father ? I have seen instances of this in my own time ; but I never heard till now, that the foolishness of a son would take away the liberty and life of a father that lived peaceably, that was ane honest man, and weil inclined to the rest of mankind. But I find the longer a man lives the more wonders and extraordinary things he sees.'—
 ' Now, my dear Lord, as to the civil war that occasions my misfortune, and in which almost the whole kingdom is involved, on one side or other, I humbly think that men should be moderate on both sides ; *since it is morally impossible to know the event*. For thousands, nay, ten thousands, on both sides, are positive that their own party will carry ; and suppose that this Highland army should be utterly defeat, and that the Government should carry all in triumph, no man can think that any King upon the throne would destroy so many ancient good families that are engaged in it.'

This hope failed him ; for the President ordered a body of troops to march into his country ; and, in spite of his protesting (p. 251) ' that he would be glad to see every fifth man of his clan hanged,' he was seized and sent to London, where his

fate is well known. Sir Andrew Mitchell gives the following just account of the last stage of his trial. (p. 293.)

‘ You will have heard of Lord Lovat’s behaviour, and therefore I shall not trouble you with the particulars ; only, I must observe, there was neither dignity nor gravity in it : he appeared quite unconcerned, and what he said was ludicrous and buffoonish ; but his petition was bold and well worded ; which, however, would have been passed over without notice, had not L^d Granville bounced and Lord Bath vapoured, and procured an order to be entered on the Journal ; and have by that acquired to themselves a sort of popularity, which you know they very much wanted. *No Scots nobleman spoke on this occasion ; they are prudent and cautious. God bless them.*’

Another spectator, Sir Arthur Forbes, describes his death as follows. (p. 302.)

‘ It is astonishing with what resolution and *sang froid* Lovat dyed to-day. He said, one of his predecessors, 500 years ago, had dyed in the same way for his principles ;—that his principles had been constant and invariable ;—that in the course of his life he had never betrayed them, nor any body ;—nor should any Peer or Commoner be hurt by what he should say. He ended at *Dulce et Decorum est*, &c. and laid down his head. His conversation in the Tower has all along been in the same strain. He said, the day before he dyed, he was never in better spirits, and did tell Doctor Clark, that the Tower was a better receipt for the spirits than the vomits he used to give him.’

Madame de Staël observes, that it is death that gives its great interest to life ; and, accordingly, it is impossible not to admire the fearlessness, even of this monster, in his last moments. But, in another view, it is somewhat difficult to resist a laugh of scorn at his impudent project of atoning for all the vices of a long and odious career, by going off with a fine sentiment on his lips. Yet there are many thinking and well-disposed people, who at this hour respect Lovat, on account of what really amounts to nothing more than the classical sentence which he contaminated on the scaffold by his own low and unfeeling jests.

Nothing, certainly, could be more unjust, than to set up this man as any thing like a specimen of the average virtue of the Highland chieftains who were engaged in this cause ; but we must confess, that this Collection has greatly assisted in dissolving a vision in which we were at one time, in common with many others, very much disposed to indulge. The project of the Pretender was so hopeless, (at least so it has been held since the result), that it has been thought impossible to account for the conduct of the higher rebels who at first espoused his cause, by the ordinary explanation of its being for their own interest. This vulgar principle being ~~this~~ put out of the way, the only course that remained was to ascribe it to a sort of heroic and affectionate loyalty in favour of an exiled and suffering race of kings ;—an hypothesis that was rendered plausible by the forlorn condition of the royal Adversary.

terer, and the enthusiasm in favour of his mere name, which ennobled the deaths of many of his followers. That there were a few of the chieftains who were actuated by these generous feelings, may be admitted, as well as that their people followed them with regardless devotion. But we see no grounds for believing, as it has been the fashion to do, that this was the motive of all, or even of many, of those who engaged in the undertaking. On the contrary, it is abundantly clear, that the great majority were directed by principles just as selfish, and by views just as personal, as ever guided men in the most prudent of their political proceedings. When the first rebellion broke out, it was really a matter of doubt (at least so it was thought in the North) which way the scale of success would turn; and therefore the accession to the Pretender may be accounted for, without the necessity of assigning to his adherents any unusual portion of pure loyalty or compassion. They were severely punished, however, after they failed; and a distinction was kept up by forfeitures and otherwise, between them and the rest of the community. The prospect of a new rebellion was to these, as to all discontented or ambitious people, a source of valuable hope; because it opened up a scene in which they could scarcely lose, but might gain almost to the full measure, even of their first extravagant expectations. They accordingly rushed into it when the opportunity came; and we suspect that it will be found, upon examination, that the rebel hordes were almost uniformly led on by men who were either rankling under the stings of former punishment, or who had become enemies of Government, because their claims, on account of former fidelity, were, as they thought, disregarded; or who were impatient for any occasion of relieving, by military enterprise, the dullness of a lawful civil life. Forbes, in announcing in his letters each new accession to Charles, invariably explains it upon some such causes as these. We are far from meaning to insinuate that the operation of such causes was unnatural; or imply any particular depravity in the many whom they influenced; we only intend to state, that they detract mightily from the affectionate devotion to which the Highland attachment to Charles is often ascribed, and convert this ideal gallantry into plain ordinary political selfishness or ambition.

But, from the romance of the story, we are sorry to be obliged to add, that a still deeper deduction must be made. The great object of about forty of the most active years of Forbes's life was to obtain a correct knowledge of the state of the sentiments of his countrymen with respect to the Stuarts; and, considering his great prudence and opportunities, it is hardly possible to conceive that he should have been much mistaken, unless by supposing that direct hypocrisy was practised. Yet it is cer-

tain, from these letters, that he believed, and assured Government that he personally knew, that there was no considerable man in the Highlands who would join the Pretender. He expressly founds this opinion upon the fact, that 'so many considerable families have lately uttered their sentiments.' Yet a very few weeks unfolded the long practised duplicity of which he had been the dupe. Traitors walked forth from families which he had cherished, and whose loyalty he had attested; and went over to an enemy, whose ranks he saw filled by men to whose fidelity he would have sworn the moment before, with as much confidence as his country would at any time have sworn to his. The true moral character of this conduct cannot be better evinced than by the fact, that it both surprised and shocked Forbes himself. He was not a man who either construed doubtful behaviour harshly, or expressed his abhorrence of guilt too severely; yet it is clear, that upon every desertion to the invader, he felt the very pang of which a good man is conscious, on witnessing a base action performed by a friend. The excuse for this perfidy, which the poetry of a later age has discovered in romantic enthusiasm for an unfortunate Prince, never seems to have occurred to him. He explains it all, by tracing it back in almost every instance, to personal ambition, resentment or hope. There were certainly some noble acts of compassion and disinterestedness performed towards the Pretender after the affair was over; but these were the offspring of individual humanity, excited by very singular situations, and must by no means be mistaken for the political views or principles on which he was originally joined. In some cases, no doubt, his cause was espoused from hereditary and personal love; but, to suppose that this was the predominant passion, is to forget human nature, and to forget that the period least favourable to steady virtue is when the simplicity of barbarism is lost, and the regulated honour of civilized life not yet attained.

There are a great number of subordinate matters glanced at in this volume, which our limits do not permit us to point out; but their variety and vivacity exhibits a very animated picture of the age.—We have been more struck than we used to be, by the singular imbecility of all the military characters to whom the country was entrusted in those dangerous times. They uniformly seem to have rushed up to the Highland army as to a mob, and then to have started back with untimely horror at the sight of the new and savage army; while the confusion of all the ordinary modes and departments of the public service completely perplexed their understandings, and converted experience itself into a source of vexation and blunder. Poor Cope has long been famous in song; but we cannot help thinking with

Forbes, that he was among the best of them; and that it ill became the Duke of Cumberland's 'officers (p. 281), who were present at Falkirk, to make observations on what happened at Preston.' This battle of Falkirk (if battle it can be called) was fought on the royal side by a General Hawley, who used to boast, that he would make two regiments of horse ride over the rebel army. Before he left Edinburgh for the combat, he erected two gallowses for the execution of the prisoners he was to take;—but he was shamefully beaten, and never recovered the story of the gibbets. There is an excellent letter (p. 270) from a Mr Corse, who seems to have been a Professor in the University of Glasgow, to the President, giving an account of this affair. He was serving as a volunteer in the Glasgow Regiment; and his bulletin is a most picturesque account of every thing ludicrous that can happen in serious warfare with undisciplined troops. General Wightman gives an account of the 'scuffle' at Preston, almost equally lively (p. 224.) He talks of 'the Edinburgh Riff-Raff Volunteers.'

As these letters are from all sorts of persons, and upon all sorts of subjects, they occasionally let out more of the truth, than their authors probably intended should ever see the light. There are various Lords and Lairds who make but a shabby figure in this Collection. But our great pride and consolation is in the ever clear honour, and open heart, of him to whom they address themselves. For Duncan Forbes no descendant will ever have to blush, or to feel ashamed: And the perusal of this book will prove, that Scotland, even since she ceased to be a separate kingdom, has had at least one statesman whose principles were as pure as his understanding was enlightened, and whose concern for his country was not so much as suspected to be quickened by any regard to his own power or emolument.

ART. VI. *An Inquiry into the Causes of the High Prices of Corn and Labour; the Depressions of our Foreign Exchanges and High Prices of Bullion during the late War; and Considerations of the Measures to be adopted for relieving our Farming Interest from the unprecedented Difficulties to which they are now reduced; with relative Tables and Remarks.* By ROBERT WILSON Esq. Edinburgh, Constable & Co. London, Longman & Co. 1815.

THE very unsatisfactory state in which the commerce, manufactures, and agriculture of the country have been left by the series of wars which we have lately concluded, affords ab-

undant matter for reflection, not only as to the policy of these wars, but as to the more immediate causes which have contributed to produce the present unprecedented stagnation in almost every branch of our industry. There can be no doubt, that all the evils of which we complain have their origin in war. They are the natural consequences of that system of vexation and violence which has too fatally prevailed in the world for the last thirty years, under which the resources of national prosperity have been squandered with a prodigality with which no process of peaceful industry could possibly keep pace; and which, now that it has been succeeded by a period of doubtful and gloomy tranquillity, has left Europe, in general, in a state of comparative poverty and distress. The rude shocks to which our commerce was exposed during the late wars, from the effects of which it has not yet recovered, account sufficiently for the embarrassments of the mercantile classes. But the sudden and unlooked-for depression of agriculture, the general depreciation of its produce, and the derangement in consequence of the established relations between the landlord and the tenant;—this is a subject, which, while it is of the highest practical importance, leads to questions of more difficult solution. A fall in the price of any commodity, implies either that its own value has fallen, or that the value of the money with which it is purchased has risen. An inquiry, therefore, into the causes of the present low prices of agricultural produce, necessarily leads to a consideration of the state of our currency, with all the recent fluctuations in the price of bullion, and the state of the exchange; and to discuss all these complex matters with the requisite clearness, simplicity and precision, is a task, certainly, not unworthy of the most comprehensive talents.

This task has accordingly been undertaken by Mr Wilson, the author of the work before us, which, he states, is intended as an illustration of certain opinions submitted by him to the public in the year 1811, with a view of combating the fallacious notions then so generally prevailing, of a depreciation of our paper currency. Having, at that time, as he himself informs us, ‘attributed the high price of bullion to its true cause,’ and recent experience having confirmed all his opinions, he now resumes the subject, for the purpose of assisting the agricultural classes in their present critical situation, and in justice also (he continues) to the endeavours which he made on the occasion above alluded to, to open the eyes of his countrymen, and to dispel the prevalent delusion. Such views are undoubtedly laudable in the extreme; and we can only lament that, in the present case, the author’s capacity to do good does not seem to keep pace with his inclination. The embarrassments of the

farmers arise from the very obvious circumstance of their rents being out of all proportion greater than they are able to pay ; and all that we learn from Mr Wilson on the subject, appears to be, that their condition would be vastly improved if these heavy rents were reduced. Mr Wilson's work being also intended as an antidote to the pernicious doctrines of the Bullion Committee, we naturally expected to find the arguments contained in their memorable Report most elaborately controverted—we expected to find an array of opposite reasons—and some attempt, at least, to shake the principle upon which the Committee founded their hypothesis. But, so far from any such display of argument as we had a right to look for, considering the pretensions with which the work is introduced, we find Mr Wilson relying chiefly on his own confident assertions—we find his statements vague, inconclusive, and full of inconsistencies—and his arguments frequently conducted to a most triumphant conclusion, by the easy process of assuming what he ought to prove ; and all this delivered in a tone of the most extraordinary dogmatism and assurance—such as would certainly be unbecoming even in one who had written with originality and precision on the subject.

Mr Wilson commences his work with an inquiry into the causes of that gradual rise admitted on all hands to have taken place in the price of corn during the last 50 years, and of the more remarkable fluctuations which it has lately experienced in this country. In any investigation of this sort, it seems necessary to establish as a preliminary point, whether these variations of price have arisen from a variation in the value of the corn, or from a variation in the value of the money with which corn has been purchased ; as all the facts with which we are acquainted, may be accounted for by the one supposition as well as by the other. If the money with which corn has been purchased during the period in question, has fallen in its value, a greater quantity of it would of course be necessary to purchase the same quantity of corn, in the same manner as if corn had risen in its value, and the value of money had in the mean time remained the same. Though Mr Wilson, however, sets out with a statement of Dr Smith's views respecting the invariable value of corn, and though he himself considers it, on this account, as the only proper standard for measuring the value of the precious metals, he never seems, in the course of his subsequent speculations, to advert to this important principle ; but proceeds to reason as if corn were equally liable to vary in its value with other commodities. Connecting the question apparently of a general rise in the price of corn, with the controversy to which the state of our paper currency has lately given

rise, he seems very reluctant to admit that the rise of price which took place for about 20 years previous to the year 1790, could have been occasioned by any depreciation in the value of money. He assumes that increase of price rather to have been occasioned by a real increase of value in this country, arising from the more extensive demands of our increasing population. Of this fact, he assures us that no impartial inquirer can entertain any doubt; and that therefore it would be superfluous, as well as unphilosophical to seek after other and more fanciful causes. The increased supply of the precious metals yielded by the American mines, since the years 1750 and 1760, so far from occasioning any reduction in their value, may, he imagines, rather be presumed to have fallen short of the growing demands of Europe, America, and the East Indies; and, upon the whole, he considers the only cause of wonder to be, that the increasing produce of the mines should have been sufficient to supply the increased consumption. This, however, he accounts for by the general substitution in all commercial countries of paper for specie.

Such is the summary way in which Mr Wilson decides this difficult question. If, however, according to Dr Smith's theory, with which Mr Wilson seems to agree, it be an established principle that corn, from the steadiness of its own value, is the only proper standard for measuring the value of other commodities, a general and uniform increase in its average price necessarily denotes a fall in the value of the money with which it is purchased. We know, indeed, that the price and the real value also of corn vary from year to year, according to the produce of particular seasons. But if, in comparing the prices at distant periods, we find at one period the highest price given for corn, in a year of extraordinary scarcity, only equal to the lowest price given for it at another time, in a year of extraordinary plenty,—or if we find, generally, the price, either in seasons of scarcity or of plenty, to be more than double its former price in similar seasons—can it be supposed that, in these circumstances, the price indicates the true value of corn, or that the very different quantities of gold or silver, given for the same quantities of it, in those different periods, are to be taken as any standard of its real value? The real value of corn, like that of every other commodity, is determined by its relative plenty or scarcity. Now, if we hold, that, during the last century, gold and silver have not declined in their value;—that the very different quantities of those metals, therefore, which, during that period, have been given for the same quantity of corn, are to be regarded as indicating its true value, or its relative plenty or scarcity,—we must suppose that corn has all that time been gradually growing

less abundant in the markets of this country,—a supposition which experience contradicts; and, according to this theory also, the high prices of corn in the years 1799 and 1800, and lately in 1812 and 1813, must have indicated such a degree of want as would have desolated the land. We know that at the close of the 16th century, seven years of such grievous scarcity occurred, that the lower classes perished in great numbers from absolute famine. Now, the price of the quarter of the finest wheat in the Windsor market, appears to have varied during those seven years, from 71s. to 53s.; and, considering that the coin was depreciated at the same time about 30 per cent., we may state the price in bullion at from 55s. to 60s. The price of the best wheat in the London market, rose, in the years 1800 and 1801 to 120s. and 140s. in paper; and with bullion it might have been purchased with 110s. or 115s. per quarter. Now, is it possible to suppose the prodigious difference of price, in those different periods, to have been solely occasioned by a greater degree of scarcity in the one case than in the other? The last years of the 16th century were long noted in the traditions of the country as being fraught with misery unparalleled, either before or since: And how is it possible, then, to believe, that, in a rich and commercial community, with ample means of supply from other countries, corn should have been raised, by its scarcity, to double the price which it formerly cost, during seven successive years of grievous famine? At present, too, the supply of corn is admitted, on all hands, to be remarkably abundant. Yet the price of the best wheat in the London market, is still about 70s. per quarter, which is higher than its price during the famine of the 16th century; and, if it be denied that the precious metals have fallen in their value, we must believe the country to be at this moment afflicted with a most grievous famine; for, upon what other principle can we account for the present price of wheat, if we reject the more obvious supposition, that, in consequence of a fall in the value of gold and silver, it now requires a greater quantity of those metals than formerly to purchase the same quantity of corn. Nor do we see why Mr Wilson should treat this supposition as so fanciful, since gold and silver are liable, like other commodities, to vary in their value, according as the supply is either diminished or increased.

Mr Wilson indeed presumes, that the value of the precious metals has not varied for the last 50 years, because the supply has been nearly equal to the consumption. Now, we do not well understand upon what principle he founds this assertion. By what process of reasoning has he found out that the produce of the American mines, and the general improvement of the world,

have gone on increasing in such an exact and harmonious proportion, that, for the last fifty years the established value of the precious metals has never been deranged? We should like to hear the grounds upon which he has come to this singular conclusion; the more so, as, from all the inquiries we have made on the subject, our opinions happen to be entirely different.

It is well known, that, for nearly the last 50 years, Spanish America has been rapidly advancing in wealth and improvement; that during this period, a very great additional capital has been employed in the trade of mining, and that the supply of the precious metals has in consequence rapidly increased; so that the annual average produce of the American mines, which, for ten years previous to the year 1742, amounted to 9,432,259 dollars, rose successively to 12, 18, 20 and 21 millions of dollars annually. We may indeed very safely estimate the annual average produce of the American mines to have been more than doubled in the last 40 years. Now, it is very difficult to believe, that such immense additions could have been made to the existing mass of currency without lowering its value;—that, year after year, such vast supplies of specie, suddenly transported into the circle of commercial exchange, should have been instantly absorbed by the demands of trade. But, even admitting these effects to have resulted from the rapid progress of wealth and industry, we have to consider, that another cause of the same nature, and of far more powerful effect, namely, the use of paper as a substitute for specie, was, during this whole period, in active operation. In consequence of this remarkable improvement, the use of specie, for the purposes of trade, is in a great measure superseded; and not only are no new supplies required, but a large proportion of what is already in use becomes superfluous, and is thus, as it were, so much added to the general circulation of the world. Nor can the subsequent improvement of a country in wealth and industry create any additional demand for specie, seeing that an inexhaustible mine of currency is now opened, by which the wants of trade can be supplied to any extent. From the effects of paper currency in economizing the use of specie in this country, we may form some notion of its general effect throughout the world. At the great recoinage of gold, which took place in the year 1774, we are informed by Lord Liverpool, that 20½ millions of the light guineas, then in circulation, were brought to the mint to be recoinced. He calculates, that other five millions were circulating in the mean time; so that we may estimate the whole amount of our gold currency at about 27 millions. At present, we can hardly reckon the value of the gold coin hoarded by the bankers (for gold coin is never now in circulation), at more than two or three millions.

In this country alone, therefore, gold to the amount of 24 millions Sterling has been superseded by the use of paper, and has been sent abroad to lower the value of the precious metals in the general market of the world; nor has the subsequent progress of the country in population, industry and commerce, ever rendered it necessary to increase its stock of specie. Paper has supplied all the additional currency required; and, however rapidly commerce and manufactures may increase, there can never be the slightest difficulty in manufacturing abundant supplies of this new species of money to answer every demand. Considering, then, that for the last 40 years the supply of the precious metals has been regularly and rapidly increasing, while, by the use of paper for specie as an instrument of exchange, the chief source of demand has been in a great measure cut off, there seems no reason to doubt, that these causes, continually operating, have produced their natural effect, namely, a fall in the value of the precious metals; and we are confirmed in this conclusion, by observing a corresponding rise to have taken place during the same period in the prices of corn, which cannot, with any plausibility, be ascribed to a rise in its real value; and which must, therefore, be occasioned by a fall in the value of the money with which it has been purchased; in consequence of which, it has become necessary to give a higher price, or more money for the same quantity of corn.

Any change in the value of the precious metals, must, it is obvious, substantially affect all agricultural concerns. The landlord's rent being generally paid in money, the transaction which takes place between him and the tenant is in reality an annual exchange of corn or other produce, for gold or silver, or paper, which is, or ought to be, the representative of the precious metals. The tenant contracts to pay to the landlord a certain quantity of gold or silver, and he receives in return the produce of his land. In these circumstances, a fall in the value of gold and silver must be equivalent to a reduction of the tenant's rent; since the money which he pays, though it is still the same thing in name, has really become of much less value, while the produce of land, rising in the mean time in proportion, is sold by the farmer to the same advantage as before. The fall in the value of gold or silver is in this manner compensated to the farmer, by a proportional increase of price; but the landlord receives no compensation for the diminished value of the money in which his rent is paid. This change, during all the existing leases, must consequently be entirely to the advantage of the farmer; and to the loss of the landlord; and a rise in the value of money will exactly reverse the situation of the

two parties. When a landlord and tenant, therefore, mutually contract to exchange with each other, for a term of years, a given quantity of gold and silver, for a given quantity of corn or other produce, it is evident that the bargain may be affected by contingencies which do not enter into the contemplation of either party. On this account, the buying of land, or the taking of land for a fixed period, on payment of an annual rent, appears to be a very uncertain adventure; and it may be generally remarked, indeed, that in the highly refined and factitious state of things under which we live, human society is set in motion by so many remote and complicated springs, that no commercial speculation which is to continue in dependence for a course of years, can be considered in any other light than as a game of deep hazard, of which we have hardly any data to calculate the opposite chances. No farmer probably ever imagined, when he signed his lease, that the nature of the bargain which he then concluded, would be seriously affected by certain improvements carried on in the remote regions of South America. Nothing, however, appears to be more certain, than that the successful prosecution of the mining trade in those distant countries, and the immense supplies of the precious metals which were in consequence poured into the markets of Europe, have contributed to give him a substantial reduction of rent, and have thus materially altered in his favour the bargain which he had concluded with his landlord. It is well known, that for about thirty years previous to the late fall of prices, farms were taken, for what was supposed at the time to be most exorbitant and ruinous rents, and that each of these farms became successively a sure source of opulence to the farmer. Different causes may, no doubt, be assigned for this rise in the value of land. By an improved system of agriculture, it was made to yield an increase of produce, by which the farmer, who had the land at a fixed rent, of course profited. But the continually falling value of money, by reducing his rent, had undoubtedly its full share in producing this result.

Such appears to have been the chief causes of the rise which took place in the value of land previous to the year 1797. At this period, the Bank of England being permanently freed from its obligation to pay in specie, its paper was no longer the representative of gold. Formerly, the public were well assured, that its notes could not fall below the value of the gold for which they contained a promise, because they were convertible into specie at the will of the holder. But the connexion between paper and specie, formerly the standard of its value, being now broken, there was no certainty that the value of the one should be regulated by that of the other; and it was according-

ly soon found, that a bank-note was no longer equal in value to the gold for which it was a promise. Here, then, we have a new principle of change added to those which were already in full operation. When the landlord's rent is payable in gold, or in paper convertible into gold, its value is only liable to fluctuate with that of gold, which is the standard by which the general value of the currency is still regulated. But when it is payable in paper not convertible into gold, and of which therefore the value may fluctuate, without any reference to gold, it is liable to vary, not merely with the value of gold, but with every variation in the value of the paper, which is now no longer regulated by any fixed standard. If the paper fall in its value, the farmer will profit, during the currency of his lease, in the same manner as he formerly profited by the fall in the value of the precious metals. His rent will be substantially reduced, while, in the selling of his produce, he will be compensated for the depreciation of the currency by an addition of price. When the existing leases expire, the landlord will of course claim an additional rent; and thus, while the currency continues to depreciate, agriculture, in all its branches, will be indemnified by a continual augmentation in the prices of its produce.

In this country, accordingly, for the last fourteen or fifteen years, and more especially during the latter part of this period, such appears to have been the general course of things. Judging by the prices of bullion, the paper currency of this country began to be depreciated about the year 1800, and gradually continued falling in its value till about the middle of the year 1814. The real value of corn is so materially affected by other causes, that we cannot exactly ascertain when a depreciated currency may produce its full effect in raising its nominal price. But when, amid all the fluctuations of the market, we observe that the general tendency of the price is to rise, we are well warranted to infer, that this rise is connected, not with the state of the supply, but with the state of the currency with which corn is purchased. In the years 1800 and 1801, it is well known that great scarcity prevailed in the country. We have no data to calculate exactly how far the produce of these different seasons was deficient; but, from the quantity imported, the value of which, according to the average prices for these years, amounted in 1800 to 8,769,780*l.*, and, in 1801, to 10,152,902*l.*, it must have been very great. In those years, accordingly, the average price of wheat was 113*s.* to 118*s.* per quarter. From this high price, wheat fell in the three following years to 67*s.*, 56*s.*, and 60*s.* per quarter. The whole quantity imported, during these three years, amounted in value to about 7,000,000*l.* In the year 1805, judging by the quantity imported, the value of which amounted to

4,476,139*l.*, the supply at home must have failed to a considerable extent. The average price for that year amounted, accordingly, to 87*s.* 10*d.* per quarter; and the price of bullion being at that time only 4*l.* per ounce, a very small part of this price can be placed to the account of the depreciated currency. In the three following years, judging by the price of bullion, paper appears to have varied no farther from its standard; and the price of the quarter of wheat was between 73*s.* and 80*s.* From the year 1808 to 1814, the price of bullion gradually rose from 4*l.* per ounce to 5*l.* 10*s.*; which, according to the generally-received hypothesis, would indicate a depreciation of the paper, equal to nearly 40 per cent.: And during this period, the quarter of wheat was at the following prices—

When purchased with Paper.			When purchased with Bullion.		
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1809.....	95	7	1809	81	0
1810.....	106	0	1810	88	6
1811.....	94	0	1811	74	0
1812.....	115	0	1812	90	0
1813.....	111	0	1813	74	0
1814.....	74	0	1814	56	6

From this account of the prices of grain for these different years, it appears that not only its nominal price estimated in paper, but its real value estimated in bullion, had, for nine years previous to the year 1811, risen considerably above its former level. The reason of this sudden rise can only be ascribed to a succession of deficient crops, which were but imperfectly made up by supplies of imported corn. During all this period, agriculture, in consequence of the increasing value of its produce, flourished exceedingly; improved modes of cultivation were every where adopted; and the value of land, from these different causes, was rapidly raised. Farmers were seen in all quarters outbidding each other in their offers to the landlord, and, in expectation of a farther advance of price, contracting to pay such rents, as the existing prices, high as they were, could hardly warrant. The gradual depreciation of the paper currency favoured these speculations—since, by raising prices, and substantially reducing rents already contracted for, it improved the bargain which the tenant concluded for his land. The landlords, in the mean time, regularly raising rents, as soon as the current leases expired, and rejoicing in the rising value of their property, increased their expenses in proportion to the unexpected increase of their revenues; and thus all classes, deceived by present appearances, acted as if this state of things were to

be permanent, which depended upon causes in their own nature transitory and accidental. The delusion began to be discovered, even when the highest prices were given for agricultural produce; for at that time the value of land had fallen from the extreme height to which it had been raised—partly by a succession of deficient crops, and partly by the rashness of speculation. But it was not till the year 1814 that the evil was displayed in its full extent. The produce of the harvest of 1813 was abundant; and, soon after the supply began to affect the market, the price of wheat fell from 111s. to 85s. per quarter, when purchased with paper—and in bullion it could have been purchased at about 52s. In the course of the year 1814 also, the value of the paper, from whatever cause, began to rise, so that bullion could be purchased at 4*l.* 10s. and even at 4*l.* 5s. per ounce; and the price of wheat fell, towards the end of the season, to 60s. and 55s. per quarter. In consequence of the abundant produce of the two succeeding seasons, and of the restoration of the value of paper to nearly its true standard, which took place in the course of the year 1815, the price of bullion having fallen to 4*l.* 2s. per ounce, the price of wheat was reduced to 56s. per quarter. It has since been so low as 52s. per quarter; and it is partly to this reduction of price, preceded by nine successive seasons of deficient crops and high prices, and partly also to the continued changes which have taken place during the same period in the value of the currency, that the present unexampled embarrassments of the agricultural classes must no doubt be ascribed.

The long continuance of high prices which preceded the year 1814, held out the strongest inducement not only to improve such lands as were already cultivated, but to bring others also under cultivation, which, at the former prices, would have yielded no return equal to the expense of their improvement. This encouragement being eagerly embraced by those who had capital to employ in this apparently promising speculation, cultivation was rapidly extended to those parts of the country which had been hitherto left in a state of nature. A very large portion of the national capital was gradually embarked in undertakings of this sort, with every prospect of a fair return, if the prices had continued to rise; but which, now that they have experienced such a reduction as must throw out of cultivation a great proportion of this newly improved land, may be considered as totally lost:—and here we have one fertile source of embarrassment and distress.

The fluctuations which have taken place in the prices of agricultural produce, have also been greatly aggravated by the vary-

ing value of the currency for the last ten years. We have already endeavoured to show, that a depreciation of the currency in which the rent of the farmer is paid, is substantially the same as if that rent were reduced ; and that a rise in the value of the currency is followed of course by effects precisely the reverse.—The paper currency continued falling in its value till the middle of the year 1814, when it was about 40 per cent. under its standard. The prices of agricultural produce were raised in proportion ;—the farmer profited of course by this change during the currency of his lease—and when the lease expired, the landlord gained a proportional rise of rent. Every thing had begun in this manner gradually to conform to the new standard of value established in the country, when, in the year 1814, judging by the price of bullion, which fell from 5*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 5*s.* per ounce—the notes of the Bank of England, by which the value of all other notes was regulated, were raised in value more than 20 per cent. ; and they have since risen nearly to par. The system of high rents and high prices, which was already beginning to totter from other causes, was shaken to its very foundation by this new and sudden revolution in the standard of value. From the low price to which the produce of land has gradually fallen, the farmers are almost universally in a state of incapacity to pay their rents ; the landlords, in consequence of the enormous depreciation of their property, and in many cases from a loss of capital employed in cultivation, are equally embarrassed ; and, altogether, the agriculture of the country has fallen into a state of depression wholly unexampled.

To all these evils must be added, the heavy load of taxation which the war has accumulated on the land, and in particular the unjust severity with which it was oppressed by the peculiar regulations of the Property-tax. It is perhaps impossible to imagine a more equitable mode of contributing to the public service than by an equal tax on income. But, unhappily this scheme, so specious in theory, is found to lead to great practical oppression. There is no way of ascertaining the incomes of individuals, except by an actual inquiry into their private concerns, which is an intolerable grievance, or by fixing it according to certain general rules, which, applying but very imperfectly to the complex concerns of society, must comprehend innumerable exceptions, and consequently innumerable cases of the grossest inequality and oppression. It is in this way accordingly, that agriculture is oppressed by the Property-tax. The income of the farmer is in all cases estimated to be exactly equal to one half his rent. No allowance is made for adverse seasons, unskillful management, fluctuating prices, or for the various other casualties incident to agricultural concerns ; and no inquiry is

made into the actual circumstances of any farmer. The same rigid rule is indiscriminately applied, and the same rate of contribution exacted, even though there should be no income; and it is under this monstrous injustice that both the landed proprietors and their tenants are at present suffering. All agricultural speculations have been so unfortunate of late years, that in many instances they have had no income; and although they have, in these cases, offered the most unquestionable evidence as to the state of their circumstances, they have, nevertheless, been taxed, under the inexorable provisions of the Property-tax, at the full amount of the imaginary income at which they were rated in the tax-gatherer's books. This unheard of oppression concurs with other causes to increase the embarrassment of the landholders and farmers.

Although it has been denied that the notes of the Bank of England have ever experienced any loss of value, we have, in the course of the preceding argument, assumed this to be the fact, in order to show how exactly it tallies with all the recent fluctuations of prices, and with the present unexampled distress of the proprietors and tenants of land. We shall now proceed to the consideration of this question, connected as it is with the price of bullion, and with the state of the exchange.

In every country, the aggregate value of the currency must evidently depend on the business which it has to perform; and, as an increase of business, without any increase of currency, will proportionally raise its value, an increase of currency, without any increase in the business which it has to perform, must have an effect precisely the reverse. If an individual, for example, purchases a house, or any other article, for 1000*l*. it is impossible that, in paying the money, he can employ more or less than this exact sum; and, as the great mass of the national business is made up of individual transactions, it is clear, that if neither less nor more than a certain sum can be employed in settling each particular transaction, a certain sum, and neither more nor less, must also be employed in settling the whole. In these circumstances, if we suppose the currency to be suddenly doubled in its amount, the effect of this sudden increase must evidently be to lower the value of each particular piece or note precisely one half; for, by what other process can the additional quantity be possibly introduced into circulation? It is very immaterial, whether the transactions of a country be carried on with 10, 20, or 30 millions of notes or guineas, as the aggregate value of each of these different nominal sums will depend on the business which they have to perform. But the general standard of value being once fixed, it is evident that it must be entirely deranged by

a sudden inundation of additional currency, and that a corresponding rise of prices is absolutely necessary to give employment to the increased supply. This, accordingly, was the effect produced by the extraordinary supplies of the precious metals poured into the markets of Europe from the American mines at the time of their first discovery. Money, in consequence of its increasing plenty, began to experience a loss of value; and the prices of all commodities rose in proportion. The doctrine, indeed, that the value of money depends upon its plenty or scarceness, is in itself so plain, and is so generally admitted, that the preceding observations would have been unnecessary, were it not that a new notion is now propagated regarding the notes of the Bank of England, namely, that being issued on the security of good bills, and only to those who are in want of them, they can in no case exceed the demand, and are not therefore liable to depreciation. Now, admitting these premises, let us consider how the conclusion follows. The security of paper is the belief that it may be converted into gold at the will of the holder. But if the intrinsic value of gold did not secure it from depreciation when the supply was increased, why should the mere belief that paper may be converted into gold prevent its depreciation, when the supply is increased, without any corresponding increase in the demands of trade? Paper, however, it is said, is not issued but to those among whom there is a demand for it: But do we imagine that those by whose labour the precious metals are dug out of the mine, would persist in performing this operation if there were no demand for them? The truth is, that for every article of any value, there must always be a demand to a certain extent. If there were no demand, it would have no value whatever. But as both the demand and the supply of all commodities is apt to vary, their value is apt to vary also; and we know of no peculiar privilege attaching to paper, to secure it from the operation of this general law. Those who suppose that bank notes can never be issued in excess, so long as there is a demand for them, do not reflect that they act in the double capacity of capital and of currency. That a certain quantity of them being issued to a merchant on the security of his bills, are to be considered as so much additional capital, which, when it is thrown into the general channel of circulation, acts as an addition to the currency. The same transaction, therefore, which adds to the capital of particular merchants, increases in the same proportion the currency of the community. Now, we know that merchants always desire an increase of capital, and will always be anxious to borrow capital from the bank in the form of bank notes. But the community may have no want of any additional currency; and the bank, therefore, in supplying the merchants with the

capital which they demand, also supply the community with currency for which it has no demand.

The value of every species of currency being in this manner liable to vary as the supply is increased, the only question that admits of doubt appears to be, whether the Bank of England, subsequent to its privilege of refusing specie, has multiplied its notes so as to diminish their value; and those who are of this opinion, refer to the high price of bullion and of guineas, when exchanged for notes, and to the unfavourable state of our foreign exchanges, as affording complete evidence of depreciation. How far this is correct, we shall now shortly consider.

A bank note is a promise to pay on demand a certain quantity of gold and silver; and, as it has no intrinsic value, its whole value depends on the belief given to this promise. The quantity of gold and silver for which it is a promise, is the standard of its value; and, when it deviates from this standard—when it is not worth the quantity of gold and silver for which it is a promise, it may be fairly said, from whatever cause, to be depreciated, or to have experienced a loss of value. The standard price of gold bullion in this country is 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* an ounce. Four one pound bank notes, therefore, contain so many promises to pay something more than an ounce of bullion; and when bullion is sold for paper at 4*l.* 10*s.*, 5*l.*, and 5*l.* 10*s.* per ounce, it is clear that the paper is not of the same value as the gold for which it is a promise—in other words that it is depreciated. In this country, gold has been purchased with Bank of England notes, at all these prices; while, in the market of Hamburgh, when purchased with Hamburgh currency, and, generally, in the European markets, its value continued nearly stationary. * Seeing, then, that gold was dear only when it was purchased with Bank of England notes, is it not fair to conclude that this dearness was occasioned by the depreciation of the notes in which the price was paid, in consequence of which, it required more of them than formerly to purchase the same quantity of gold? But the conclusive proof of depreciation is the open discount which began to be established between paper and specie. Guineas, it is well known, were sold at 24, 25 and 26*s.* in paper; and the discount would have been still greater, if the sale had not been prohibited under severe penalties. Although Parliament had just voted, that the paper had lost none of its original value, it was, nevertheless, found necessary to pass a law to pre-

* See Report of the Select Committee, appointed to inquire into the cause of the high price of bullion, &c. Evidence of Mr Grefulhe, and of Mr Abraham Goldsmid. Appendix of Accounts, No. 56, 57, 58.

vent its being sold under this value. On the Continent, there was, of course, no law to restrain the sale of Bank of England notes at their market price; and in Rotterdam, Hamburgh and other places, they were accordingly sold after the conclusion of the peace in 1814, at 13s., 14s., and 15s.

The unfavourable state of our foreign exchange, during all this period, affords additional evidence of the depreciation of the currency at home. It is almost unnecessary to explain, that the par of exchange is fixed on a comparison of the intrinsic value of the currencies exchanged; and that, upon this principle, in fixing the rate of exchange between Hamburgh and this country, 34 Hamburgh schillings are computed to be equal to a British pound Sterling. But if the Hamburgh currency should, by any accident, lose one-half of its intrinsic value, 34 Hamburgh schillings would no longer be equal to a British pound Sterling: The exchange with Britain would turn against Hamburgh in proportion to the loss of value which its currency had experienced; and it would of course be necessary, in remitting from Hamburgh to Britain, to pay 68 Hamburgh schillings for every British pound. Applying these principles to the British currency, we find, that as the price of bullion rose, or, in other words, as bank notes decreased in value, all our foreign exchanges become proportionally unfavourable,—only, however, when remittances were made by means of paper. In that case, when the notes of the Bank of England were exchanged against the pure currencies of Paris, or of Hamburgh, it was necessary to pay a premium of about 20 per cent. on the sum remitted. But when bullion was exchanged against those currencies, the premium on the sum remitted was reduced to between 5 and 8 per cent.,—which premium, therefore, expresses the real amount of the exchange against this country: For if, when the paper currency of the Bank of England is exchanged against the pure currencies of the Continent, a premium of 20 per cent. must be paid in addition to the sum remitted; and if, when bullion is exchanged, the premium is reduced to 5 or 8 per cent., to what can this difference be imputed but to the inferior value of the paper? Holding this fact, therefore, to be conclusive as to the depreciation of the paper, the only question that remains to be considered, is—the cause of that depreciation.

It has already been stated, that the value of all commodities depends on the relation which subsists between the demand and the supply; and when a commodity either rises or falls in value, it necessarily follows, that something must have occurred to alter that relation. No other possible cause, indeed, can be imagined for a variation in the value of any commodity. The fall in the value of bank notes cannot therefore be traced to any other in-

intelligible cause, than to an increased supply of the commodity ; and we find, accordingly, that, subsequent to the Restriction law, and during the period when paper was falling in value, the circulation of the Bank was rapidly increasing ; so that, at last, it fluctuated between 25 and 30 millions. It is hardly necessary to add, that so long as bank notes are convertible into specie at the will of the holders, they cannot be multiplied beyond the demands of trade, so as to lose their value ; because, as soon as this begins to be perceived, the surplus is immediately returned upon the bank for specie. A bank, however, which has the privilege of refusing specie, is closed against any return of its depreciated notes ; and its circulation may, in these circumstances, be increased without any restriction.

After the general peace was concluded at Paris in 1814, the notes of the Bank of England, judging by the usual tests, the price of bullion, and the state of the exchange, began to rise rapidly in their value. Towards the end of that year, the price of gold had fallen to 4*l.* 5*s.* per ounce, though it afterwards rose to 4*l.* 10*s.* ; and the exchange with Hamburgh had improved in proportion. During this period, however, the circulation of the Bank of England had rather been increased than diminished ; so that the increased value of bank notes could not have been the consequence of a diminished supply. No other cause can therefore be assigned for it, but an increased demand. The commerce of this country, contracted, for several years before, by violence and war, within the narrow circle of its own territory, was suddenly released from its restraints,—the intercourse with the Continent of Europe was now opened,—British produce was exported in great quantities:—And may not this sudden extension of commerce have opened new channels for the circulation of Bank of England notes ? We know that they were at that time current, to a certain extent, in Holland, Hamburgh, Paris, and other parts of the Continent, where they had not been seen for years before ;—and may not this extended circulation have been the cause of their increased value.

This state of things was, however, suddenly changed by the landing of Bonaparte from Elba, which spread consternation throughout Europe, and gave a sudden shock to the commercial relations of this country with the Continent. All violence, or the dread of violence, is most particularly adverse to the extension of paper credit ; and if the return of peace and confidence had the effect of extending the circulation of Bank of England notes, the terrors, real or imaginary, connected with the return of Bonaparte, must have had the opposite effect, of contracting it within its former limits. Soon after he entered Paris, accordingly, the price of gold began to rise ; and, in the

course of the months of April and May 1815, it was as high as 5*l.* 6*s.* per ounce. Since the conclusion of the war, it has fallen so low as 4*l.* 2*s.* per ounce, which is about 8*s.* lower than its price during the preceding short interval of peace. The cause of this rise in the value of bank notes, as indicated by the falling value of bullion, must be chiefly ascribed to the restoration of our established relations with the Continent. Other causes, however, seem to have had their share in producing this effect. The universal distress which has prevailed in the country since the termination of the war,—the frequent bankruptcies, both among the landed and commercial classes, and the general failure of credit, has naturally induced all the country banks to lessen their accommodations to their customers, and by this means greatly to diminish the circulation of their notes. No calculation can possibly be made of the quantity of paper thus withdrawn from circulation. But when it is considered, that, for these six months past, all the different banks in this country, amounting, in number, to between 8 and 900, have been acting upon the same system of diminishing their issues, it can hardly be doubted, that a very great reduction has taken place in the currency of the country;—and this, of itself, even though the Bank of England may not have diminished its circulation, would be quite sufficient to restore paper to its former standard.

Such is the only hypothesis which we have been able to frame on this difficult subject; and we embrace it the more readily, because we know of no other which is at all consistent with unquestionable facts. The common theory on the opposite side, is, that the high price of bullion, and the unfavourable state of the exchange, was occasioned solely by the great foreign expenditure, for which it was necessary to provide during the war;—that there was no depreciation of the currency;—and that the high price of bullion, followed by the fall of the exchange, was, owing to a *local rise in its value*, confined to this country. This theory undoubtedly derives considerable plausibility from the fall in the price of bullion, and the improvement of the exchange which followed the cessation of the war expenditure abroad—from the opposite effects which took place on the landing of Bonaparte in France—and from the restoration of the currency nearly to par, with a corresponding improvement of the exchange, after the conclusion of this last war. In considering these facts, we will confess, that at first we were inclined to believe, that they did indicate a local rise in the price of bullion; but as soon as we began to reason upon this principle, we found the subject beset on every side with difficulties and inconsistencies, which multiplied upon us the farther we proceeded.

I. A local rise in the value of bullion, confined to this country, would no doubt account for a greater quantity of bank-notes being required here, where the rise had taken place, to purchase the same quantity of bullion. But it will not account for bank-notes being exchanged in Rotterdam, Hamburgh, and other places, where, according to this theory, bullion had not risen in price, for 13s. 14s. and 15s. This fact we hold to be quite conclusive as to the depreciation of paper; for if Bank of England notes had not experienced a loss of value, why should they have been sold, where bullion had not risen, for 14s. and 15s.

II. A local rise in the price of bullion, confined to this country and continuing for years at the rate of 20, 30, and even 40 per cent., is itself a phenomenon which it would be very difficult to explain. The price of a commodity can hardly continue for any length of time higher in one country than in another, unless either its exportation or importation be prohibited; and even in this case, the irresistible attraction of a higher price is frequently found to render nugatory the strictest regulations. The exportation of the precious metals from Spain and Portugal was formerly prohibited, under all the terrors of a severe police. But experience proved, that no greater quantity of those metals could, by the greatest vigilance, be confined within these countries, than was found necessary for their internal circulation. So great was the temptation of a better market, that the gold or silver which was not wanted at home, was, in spite of all impediments, forced abroad, where it could be laid out to greater advantage. If then, in this case, it was found impracticable to produce, by all the violence of artificial restraints, a local degradation in the value of the precious metals, it is difficult to believe that a local rise in their value could have taken place in Britain, and could have even continued for years, though they might have been all the while freely imported from those countries, in which the supply was more abundant. If gold had been 20 or 40 per cent. dearer in this than in any other country; if it could have been laid out to so much greater advantage in the purchase of British produce,—it is contrary to every known principle to suppose, that we should have continued so long unsupplied with this necessary commodity.

III. In comparing, by means of the exchange, the bullion of this country with that of other countries, we find, at the time when its price in bank-paper was so high, that its real value, so far from being higher, was lower in Britain than on the Continent. It was stated in evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, by different merchants and bankers, that at the time when bullion was selling at 5*l.* 10*s.* per ounce in bank paper, a pound of it, paid to a banker in London, would not have pro-

cured a bill on *Hamburgh* for the same quantity, without the addition of a premium at the rate of $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. A pound of bullion in *Hamburgh* was, therefore, more valuable than a pound of bullion in *London*; for, if it had been more valuable in this country than on the *Continent*, who, in that case, would have paid a premium for transferring it from the better to the worse market?

IV. It does not very clearly appear, how the great foreign expenditure of this country should have raised so enormously the value of specie, since it was not with specie that it could have been discharged. The foreign expenses incurred in *Portugal* and *Spain*, were of course for the maintenance of the armies acting in that quarter. They amounted, according to the accounts laid before the *House of Commons*,—

In 1808,	to	L. 2,903,540
1809,	—	2,450,956
1810,	—	6,066,021
1811,	—	8,906,700
1812, }	—	31,767,794
1813, }		
1814,	to about	13,000,000

Now, supposing that all these sums had been remitted to the army in specie, the money must have been instantly reexported for a supply of arms, warlike stores, provisions, clothing, and such other articles as armies generally want. In place of remitting specie, therefore, it appears to be the simpler process, to supply the army at once with such articles as it may require; and we find, accordingly, that this was the plan adopted; and that, of the great expenditure for which this country had to provide in *Portugal* and *Spain*, a very small portion was discharged by remittances of specie. According to accounts laid before *Parliament*, the following appears to have been the amount of the sums remitted in that form.

In 1808,	to	L. 2,861,339
1809,	—	461,926
1810,	—	697,675
1811,	—	748,053
1812, }	—	3,284,435
1813, }		

Several subsidies were, besides, granted during the years 1813 and 1814, to such of the *Continental* powers as were at war with *France*; but it does not appear that any great proportion of these loans was paid in specie. Of the sum of 5,000,000*l.* voted to our *European* allies, not more than 300,000*l.* was sent in specie. The remainder was partly discharged by drafts on the *Treasury* from abroad, which would be finally settled by an ex-

portation of manufactures, and partly by supplies of arms, military stores, &c. which were sent out to the value of 2,243,973*l*. Such being the comparatively small quantity of specie required for the discharge of our great military expenditure abroad, it is not easy to explain how its price should have been raised so enormously, in order to provide for so inconsiderable a demand. Specie has frequently before been exported from this country in greater quantities, without any rise in its price. In the years 1790, 1791, and 1792 exportations of specie took place to the amount of 1,571,364*l*., 1,338,742*l*., and 2,250,121*l*.; and in the years 1803, 1804 and 1805, it was exported by the East India Company to the amount of 2,068,399*l*., 1,088,293*l*., and 2,258,749*l*. But neither the collecting nor the exporting of this treasure, occasioned any perceptible rise in the price of bullion; and why therefore should the demands of Government to a similar extent, occasion such an enormous difference of price? Why should the same cause in a few years afterwards produce such very different effects? Before it can be admitted that the foreign expenditure of the country was the cause of the rise in the price of bullion, and of the unfavourable exchange, some explanation must be given of the facts here stated; for, otherwise, this doctrine would only involve the subject in endless perplexity and contradiction.

We have thus endeavoured generally to state the causes of the distress in which the country is involved; and we shall now only add, that the enormous taxation by which it is burdened, appears to be the chief obstacle to the restoration of its commerce and credit. For several years past, the immense annual contribution of between 60 and 70 millions, has been collected in Britain for the public service; and the renovating power of industry, assisted as it is with all the refinements of art, can scarcely provide resources to answer such exorbitant demands. Taxation is now pushed to such an excess in this country, that as it can no longer be paid out of revenue, it begins to encroach on capital; and new and more severe methods of exaction are at the same time resorted to. The system is thus beginning gradually to lose the character of fair and equal contribution; and taxes are imposed, not because they are equitable—but because they will be productive.

Rem, si recte possis; si non, quocunque modo, rem. This extravagant taxation is the weight which pulls the country down—which slackens the pace of commerce and of industry, by abstracting the funds destined for their support, and which finally tends to deaden that active principle of exertion, by which nations, in spite of the prodigality of their rulers, are borne forward in a course of continual improvement. In these circum-

stances, it is vain to propose any plan of relief which does not include a reduction of the taxes. Lighten the load of taxation, and the country will start forward as before ; but if the present taxes, and more especially if the war taxes are continued, its movements must be heavy and incumbered. There never perhaps was a period, in which it was more necessary to practise moderation abroad, and economy at home. The time is now come, for the people rigidly to canvass the utility of all those projects of continental warfare in which their rulers are always so forward to embark ; for it cannot be concealed, that, in such projects, all our present burdens have originated. It is now proposed to maintain, during peace, an immense military establishment, for the purpose of protecting Louis the XVIII. against the hostility of his own subjects ! and, for this purpose, it is expected that the people of this country will submit to a greater load of taxation than Mr Pitt himself would have ventured to propose, while we were fighting for our own independence. The rejection of the Property-tax, the tidings of which have reached us since these observations were prepared for the press, induces us to hope better things ; and to look for the return of those wholesome days, when the people of England actually kept the purse in their own hands, and, by the vigorous and effective exercise of that power, impressed their own character upon the counsels of their rulers.

ART. VII. *Conchiologia Fossile Subapennina con Osservazioni Geologiche sugli Apennini e sul Suolo adiacente.* Di G. Brocchi. Ispettore delle Miniere, &c. Milano, 1814. 2 vol. 4to.

THIS appears to us to be a work of very great value and merit. Its chief object is to describe the fossil shells that are found in the clay and gravel, of which the hills that skirt the base of the Apennines are composed, and to compare them with their prototypes now existing, either in the adjoining or more distant seas. As an introduction to these details, the author gives a general view of the structure of the Apennines, together with a minute account of the physical constitution of the Subapennine hills themselves ; pointing out their extent, the materials of which they are composed, and the order in which these materials are distributed. He also describes the vast collections of fossil bones that are found in different parts of Italy ; and enters into some very interesting details on the formation of the great plain of Lombardy, and the alluvial depositions of the Po.

Although there is not, we think, any reason to suspect that

the facts have been in the slightest degree distorted, for the purpose of adapting them to some favourite system, we should have been glad to have had, in this Introduction, the descriptions, and the author's reasonings upon them, less mixed up together: it would have rendered both more intelligible to the reader, and would have saved some occasional repetitions. We are by no means of opinion, that the geologist ought to confine himself to a bare narration of facts, and that he ought to abstain from all theoretical speculations upon them: This is a doctrine that is, we think, rather too much insisted on in the present day; for although the geologist cannot be too much on his guard against the influence of theory in his observations of nature, and ought as carefully to abstain from the use of theoretical terms in his descriptions, it must be admitted that theory is the ultimate object of all geological researches. There are too many instances, it is true, where the love of theory has obscured the visual organs, and, we fear, also has prevailed over the fidelity of the geologist; yet there is no excitement which brings out so much truth, in matters of science as well as in every thing else, as a little controversy. Until the publication of the *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory*, perhaps the most eloquent work on science in our language, geology was scarcely known in this country; and to the attention which that work excited, and the controversies that arose from it, we are in a great degree indebted for the knowledge we possess of the physical structure of our island. We cannot express ourselves better on this subject, than in the words of our author.

‘ Nothing is more common, than to hear people rail against systems, and to see those common-place remarks brought forward, which are usually resorted to on such occasions—That the number of well ascertained facts is yet very limited; that it is impossible to establish any general axioms; that the most important thing we have to do, is to observe the phenomena with accuracy, and to record them with fidelity; abstaining from all comments and applications of them. These remarks may, within certain limits, be all very true; but it is no less true, that many persons allow themselves to be deceived, by laying down principles such as these; and, while they are declaiming against the abuse of hypotheses, they seem to be ignorant of the use of them. My own opinion is, that had it not been for geological systems, the knowledge we should now possess of the structure of the globe would be scanty indeed; and that to these more or less ingenious theories, such at least as have not been mere speculations, we owe in a great measure that accumulation of facts which may be said to constitute the true capital of the science. Many of those details, respecting the nature and the differences of rocks, their reciprocal connexions, the order of their super-

position, &c. would have escaped observation, or would have been passed over as indifferent, had they not been considered as possessing a peculiar value in the defence or refutation of some particular system.'—Pref. p. 16.

In the account we shall give of this work, we shall confine ourselves principally to the matters of fact. To enter into an examination of the author's theoretical opinions, would extend our remarks beyond our limits, unless we were to omit what we have no doubt will be more generally interesting to our readers.

The Apennines are an uninterrupted range of mountains, which, branching off from the Maritime Alps, and dividing Italy from north to south, form, as it were, the back-bone of that peninsula. Their geographical termination can easily be determined with sufficient accuracy; but the geologist finds considerable difficulty to fix upon the boundary which separates them from the Alps; for, although they consist principally of secondary rocks, yet, as they approach the primitive country of the Alps, they partake more and more of the nature of the latter: and there is a considerable tract of them where there is a mixture of primitive rocks of different kinds; such as, serpentine, clay slate, greenstone, and granular limestone. These do not present the sharp, broken outlines, the pinnacles and needles, which tower aloft in the Alps, standing like the ruins of great masses which have been broken down and mouldered by the hand of time: Their summits have, in general, a rounded form, a more regular and uniform contour, and their sides a more gentle slope; and although there are many deep gullies hollowed out in the sides of the Apennines, there is no great valley which divides the chain completely across.

The most considerable elevations are, *Il Velino*, and *Il Gran-Sasso*, which are both in the Abruzzi, and *Il Cimone di Fanano*, in the territory of Modena. The first of these was found by Von Buch to be 7872 Paris feet above the level of the sea; the second has been estimated, by barometrical measurement, at 9577 feet; and Pini states *Il Cimone di Fanano* to be 6546 feet above the sea. From the summit of the latter there is a most extensive view, commanding the vast plain of Lombardy, the country around Parma, Reggio, and Modena, a part of Romagna, with the Adriatic in the distance; and, on the other side, a great part of Tuscany, with the whole course of the Arno from its source to its embouchure. The country on the two sides of the Apennines presents considerable difference in geological structure; that next the Adriatic being wholly composed of secondary rocks, with the exception of some insulated masses of serpentine which appear here and there; while, on the

side of the Mediterranean, there is an extensive tract, and chiefly along the shore, of primary and transition rocks, with only occasional patches of secondary strata. On this side, also, have burst forth those innumerable volcanoes which have covered such a vast extent of country with their ashes.

The principal rock of which the north-western part of the Apennines is composed, is a kind of sandstone, known in Tuscany by the names of *Macigno* and *Pietra Serena*. It is an aggregate, consisting of grains of quartz and scales of silvery mica, united by an argillaceous cement. Its colour is most frequently a dark blueish grey; its texture is sometimes coarse-grained, and sometimes so fine, that the component parts cannot be distinguished by the naked eye. It frequently contains small fragments of slate, which appear like black spots; and also angular portions of petrosilex and jasper. It occurs stratified in thick beds, and splits into rhomboidal and polyhedral fragments, and is, in some places, capable of being divided into thin slates, which are used for roofing. In many situations it alternates with a blackish clay-slate, containing minute scales of mica, which give it a silky lustre. M. Brocchi considers these rocks as strictly belonging to the *grauwacke* and *grauwacke-slate* of the German mineralogists; and they will be easily recognized as being identical with many of the rocks in Scotland, Wales, and the West of England, which have been described by the same names. The *grauwacke* of the Apennines also contains beds of limestone; and in the neighbourhood of these beds, the *grauwacke* is intermixed with calcareous matter. The limestone is of a smoke-grey colour, of a shining and semi-crystalline texture, with a scaly fracture, and contains minute scales of mica and grains of quartz. It also contains animal remains; but they are rare, and they have never been seen by M. Brocchi in the *grauwacke*, though he has frequently observed portions of bituminized wood in it. Besides these partial and subordinate calcareous beds, there are, in many places, considerable hills entirely composed of this *transition* limestone. They appear in different parts of the coast, from Genoa to Civita Vecchia; but are nowhere seen between the Apennines and the Adriatic. The Brocatello marble of Siena belongs to this class. With the exception of some slight indications of manganese and pyrites, no metallic substances have been found in the *grauwacke* of the Apennines. M. Brocchi has not been able to fix, with precision, the southern boundary of this series of rocks; but he believes that it ceases to form any connected chain of hills about the neighbourhood of Cortona. It is not confined to the more elevated and central mountains, but appears also in the lower parts of the Apennines, as may be seen in the hills around Flo-

rence, at Fiesole, Artimino, Malmantile, &c. The direction and dip of the strata do not appear to follow any constant rule. They are subject to continual variation, and sometimes in the same mountain—as, in Il Cimone di Fanano, they may be seen dipping to different points.

The rocks hitherto mentioned constitute but a small portion of the great chain of the Apennines, and may be considered only as the beginning of it. That which composes the principal part, and which, from its general distribution, may strictly be termed the rock of the Apennines, is a limestone, but quite different in its characters from that already spoken of. It affords very little interest to the mineralogist; and, as soon as he enters its domain, he will traverse vast tracts of country, without any other rock appearing from the foot to the summit of the mountain; and he will pass whole days without meeting a single object to relieve the fatigue and tedium of his journey. Of this limestone are composed the high Apennines of Tuscany and of Romagna, those of Fabriano, Foligno, &c. It extends into the Abruzzi, through Puglia and Basilicata to the extreme point of Otranto: it is not certain whether it stretches into Calabria. Its prevailing colours are, pearl grey, dusky white, and pale flesh red; and sometimes it has a greenish tint. Its fracture is smooth, earthy, and without lustre; the fragments often assume a conchoidal form; and it is frequently traversed by slender veins and filaments of calcareous spar. It contains, in some places, beds of fetid limestone, as at Castellamare in the Bay of Naples, and in the neighbourhood of Salerno. Remains of marine animals are found in it, but not abundantly: casts of the Cornu Ammonis are the most common.

This limestone is identical with that of some of the Alpine mountains which surround the plain of Lombardy, along the territories of Como, Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, &c.: it also quite agrees with that of Dalmatia and Istria. The limestone of Jura, which some, without any apparent reason, have wished to distinguish as a particular *formation*, is in no respect different from that now described. Reuss has said, that the limestone of the Jura chain never contains flint or jasper; but Bernoulli informs us, that both these substances are found in the mountain of Jura itself. Flint, (or more probably chert), although not very abundant in the Apennines, is found in several places,—as in the mountain opposite the cascade of Tivoli, in those of Caserta, Benevento, &c. Reuss has called the limestone of Jura *Höhlenkalk*, or cave limestone, from the number of vast caverns existing in the mountains composed of this rock; but these are also of frequent occurrence in Italy,—as at Todi, Orvieto, Foligno, &c. This limestone is very barren, both in metallic and

bituminous substances. Some slight indications of fossil coal have been found here and there in the lower parts of the Apennines; and at Castro and Trisulti, in the Campagna di Roma, mountain pitch has been collected from it in small quantity. The distinct stratification of this rock, its opacity and dull earthy aspect, and its occurring always above the rocks already mentioned, and never covered, except by the alluvial deposits, evidently fix its place among what are usually termed the secondary rocks. It is not confined to the principal chain of the Apennines, but extends also into the lower country, forming here and there detached hills. In the plain of Tuscany, (if that term can be applied to so undulating a surface), it covers in many places the grauwacke and other older rocks; but in general only a small part of the limestone strata are seen, as they are covered either by volcanic matter, as in the *Agro Romano* and Campania, or by sand and marl, as in Tuscany, in the territory of Bologna, in Romagna, in the Abruzzi, &c. This is not the case, however, in Puglia Pietrosa; for there, the bare limestone strata extend to the sea-shore, and are only occasionally concealed by a scanty coat of vegetable soil, or by a kind of shelly tufa; so that in planting the small trees which are cultivated there, such as the olive, the vine, and the carob-tree, they are obliged to break with mallets and iron bars the solid stony crust, in order to come at an intermediate layer of ochreous clay, where the roots may spread. In Tuscany, there are a great many hills of limestone, which are quite detached from the main body of the Apennines; but it is remarkable, that in Romagna, throughout the whole of that long tract which extends from Bologna to Macerata, and even to Ferino, on the confines of Abruzzo, the only calcareous hill which is distinctly separated from the Apennines, is that in the neighbourhood of Ancona, forming a promontory on the sea-shore. In Puglia Pietrosa, however, there is a long continued chain of low hills, (Le Murge), which are separated from the Apennines by the plain of Capitanata, though they differ in no respect from them in the nature of the rock of which they are composed.

From what has been said, the primitive rocks cannot be supposed to exist very abundantly in the Apennines; and in fact they are only found at the two extremities of the great chain of these mountains, and are wholly wanting in the intermediate space. At both extremities there are found granite, clay-slate, mica-slate, and crystalline limestone. Granite is very abundant in Calabria, and it is also sometimes found in Liguria; as Spadoni observed it in the neighbourhood of Sarzana, and Viviani in some other part of the Riviera di Levante. Mica-slate occurs in Eastern Liguria, and at Massa di Carrara; but it may

also be considered as extending farther south towards the Mediterranean, as gneiss, which is only a modification of it, appears in the mountains of Montieri, Gersfalco, and Prata, in the Maremma Sanese. But these places are far distant from the calcareous Apennines; near which, in the opinion of M. Brocchi, not one of these rocks is to be found.

The primitive rock which chiefly predominates is serpentine. It forms, according to Viviani, the nucleus of all the Apennines in Eastern Liguria, where it is covered by transition limestone, as at Pignone, and in the neighbourhood of Spezia; and by clay-slate, greenstone and grauwacke, at Chiavari, Lavagna, and Levanto. This rock is found at a considerable height in the Maritime, Grætian, and Pennine Alps; from whence it descends into Liguria with a continually decreasing level, until it no longer appears above the surface of the ground. Thus, while it constitutes the chief mass of many mountains in Liguria, which make a part of the principal chain of the Apennines, in Tuscany, on the contrary, it only composes hills of moderate elevation. The part of Tuscany where it occurs most abundantly, is near Impruneta, where it occupies almost the whole district between the Ema and the Greve; from whence it seems to extend a considerable way, as it is met with at Borgo San Stefano, in the neighbourhood of Anghiari, and in the territory of Gubbio. It forms the principal mass of the hills of Monte Nero, Valle Benedetta, and Sambuca, near Leghorn. In the territory of Volterra, it is seen between Montecatino and Miemo; also at Riparbella, near Bibona; and in the neighbourhood of Orbitello, which M. Brocchi considers to be the most southern point of its appearance along the coast of the Tyrrhene Sea.

It generally appears in detached masses, more or less extensive, which are separated from each other by intervals of several miles; but there is every reason to believe, that they are the more prominent parts of one general mass, which has been partially covered by other materials; these are in general grauwacke, *galestro*, (a kind of coarse-grained grauwacke-slate, containing a great deal of calcareous matter), secondary limestone, grey marl, and siliceo-calcareous sand. M. Brocchi considers it highly probable, that the serpentine is not only the primitive rock on which the secondary formations in the plain of Tuscany rest, but that it extends under the Apennines to the opposite side of the Peninsula; as he observed it in several places on the eastern side of these mountains. He saw it at Varana, about fifteen miles from Modena and five from Sassuolo, where it rises in the form of an insulated rock, surrounded by calcareous sand, having solid beds of limestone interstratified. But the most considerable group he observed was

at Vesale, where the hills of Pian del Monte, Serretta della Valle, Monte Giustino, and about four or five miles from these, Monte Specchio, are composed of a serpentine in all respects the same as that of Impruneta. In the neighbourhood of Reno, it is accompanied by white primitive limestone, of a scaly fracture and semi-crystalline grain; and at Pian del Monte it is covered by black transition limestone. In that near Vesale, native copper is frequently found. The simple minerals that generally accompany the serpentine of Italy are, diallage of different varieties, asbestos, talc, calcareous spar, limpid quartz, and calcedony; and at Miemo, that variety of bitter-spar described by Thompson, and named by him Miemite. But the mineral which most generally accompanies it is the *Jade tenace* of Saussure; its colour is either white, greenish, or violet; it has in general little lustre, is of a scaly fracture, and slightly translucent on the edges. It is found in slender veins and nodules, incorporated with the serpentine, with which it has doubtless had a simultaneous origin; and it is sometimes so regularly distributed in small pieces, that the mass has a granitic structure. A mixture of this kind sometimes occurs, consisting of jade and serpentine, or of these two substances with diallage, or even of diallage and jade, without any serpentine; which last compounded rock has been called by the Florentines *Granitone*. Von Buch has given it the name of *gabbro*; but that term is applied in Tuscany to common serpentine. *Granitone* is found in almost every situation where serpentine exists; but the best opportunity of examining it, in all its relations, is at Figline, about three miles from Prato in Tuscany, where it is quarried for the purpose of being made into millstones. There is a section of it eighty or ninety feet high, where the internal structure of the hill may be seen: there are no signs of stratification in this rock, the continuity of the mass being only interrupted by irregular fissures. At Lornano, near Siena, there is a variety of *granitone* which deserves particular attention, from its resemblance to greenstone, and still more to sienite. It consists of a granular mixture of white jade and black diallage, which is so like hornblende, that they can hardly be distinguished in a polished specimen. Another *granitone* of the same kind, but having the component parts larger, is found at Bell' Aria. If the close analogies that exist between jade and felspar, and diallage and hornblende, be considered, it will not be difficult to admit the conformity which *granitone* has with greenstone and sienite. And in fact, true greenstone and serpentine have been found contiguous, in the neighbourhood of Massa di Maremma, and at Riparbella in the territory of Volterra.

The wide and extensive vallies of Foligno and of Terni, and the country round Otricoli, are covered with vast deposits of limestone gravel, which continue as far as Borghetto and Civita Castellana, where they are partly covered by volcanic matter. The same thing occurs in Tuscany, in the Casentino, in Valdarno Superiore, in the neighbourhood of San Quirico, and of Radicofani. Siena is built upon a mass of calcareous breccia, containing pebbles of grauwacke. The hills round Benevento in the kingdom of Naples, those of Eboli between Salerno and Pesto, and many others in the Valle di Bovino in Basilicata, are composed of an aggregate of the same kind of pebbles, with the exception of those of grauwacke; and vast tracts of the same kind of puddingstone occur in many parts of Romagna.

At the foot of the Apennines, there is a numerous series of hills which cover the greater part of the space comprehended between the high mountains and the sea, on both sides of Italy. They are distinguished, not so much by their lesser degree of elevation, which would be a vague and often a fallacious guide, as by the difference of their composition, and the epoch of their formation, which must have been posterior to that of the Apennines; in reference to which, they may be termed *tertiary* deposits. They are of very different degrees of elevation, and sometimes of very considerable height; the sandstone rock on which the capital of the little republic of San Marino is situated, belongs to this class; and Saussure has stated, (*Voyages dans les Alpes*), that the bottom of some vaults, which are near the summit of this rock, is from 320 to 330 toises above the sea.

These hills are composed of marl, and of sand and gravel lying over it; and a very slight examination is sufficient to show, that they have existed at the bottom of the sea at a period, geologically speaking, not very remote; for they are found to contain the trunks of trees almost in their natural state, the leaves of vegetables, the skeletons of fish, on which the dried flesh is still to be seen, and immense quantities of shells, in which the gluten and colouring matter is often preserved; and frequently, the tendinous ligament which unites the two shells of the bivalves remains entire. While the strata of the calcareous mountains are always more or less inclined, sometimes vertical, and even turned over, the materials of these Sub-Apennine hills lie in general in a horizontal position.

The marl is of a bright grey, or dark leaden colour, inclining to blue, particularly when moistened. When it contains a considerable proportion of aluminine, it becomes plastic with water, like common clay, and may be applied to the same purposes. It generally effervesces with acids, but is sometimes found with-

out any calcareous matter ; and it always contains scales of silvery mica. Besides a vast quantity of shells ; bones of fish, and other remains of marine animals, the leaves of trees, and trunks of bituminized wood, are often found in it ; and sometimes it contains the bones of great quadrupeds. Sulphur is frequently found in it, and in some places accompanied by maltha. Petroleum is found in it at Miano, in the territory of Parma, and at Monfestino and Monte Zibio, in the territory of Modena. At the former place it drops from an ash-coloured marl, such as is of most common occurrence ; but at Monte Zibio, it issues from a micaceous sandstone, that effervesces with acids, and gives sparks with steel. Sulphate of lime, both massive and crystallized, abounds in it every where ; and the leaves of trees have been found in the gypsum between Voghera and Placentia. At Lecceto, in the territory of Siena, it contains quartz crystals of a brown colour, having both pyramidal terminations, and frequently without the intermediate prism ; these are called by the country people *Lagrima di Martiri*. The variety of sulphate of barytes, known by the name of Bologna stone, is found in this marl, and is common in other places. In the sulphur mines of the territory of Cesena, sulphate of strontian is found, perfectly limpid, and similar to that of Sicily. There are numerous brine springs, which rise in the marl, in the territories of Cesena, Siena, and Volterra, &c. That of Val di Cecina, near Volterra, yielded in 1810 fourteen millions of pounds of common salt. The only metallic substances that have been found in it, are iron pyrites, and concretions of oxide of iron and of bog iron ore. In many parts of the country occupied by this substance, sulphurated hydrogen gas rises, either directly from cracks in the ground, or from pools ; and in many of these the water is very hot.

The siliceo-calcareous sand which lies over this marl, is found in almost as great abundance as the marl itself. Although the calcareous particles chiefly predominate in it, it contains also scales of mica, and a large proportion of quartzose sand. In some places it is wholly siliceous, with the exception of the oxide of iron, which gives it its yellow colour.

These tertiary deposits form a zone, which extends from Piedmont to the neighbourhood of Ascoli, thence into the Abruzzi, and through a great part of Puglia. All the hills in the territories of Asti, of Tortona, of the Oltrepò Pavese, of Placentia, Parma, Reggio and Modena, are composed of them, as well as the low hills in the departments of the Reno, Rubicone, Musone and Tronto ; and traces of them have been observed in different places along the eastern side of Italy, as far as Otranto. On the Mediterranean side, these deposits have not been found

either in Eastern or Western Liguria, or in the adjoining provinces of Lunigiana and Garfagnana; but they appear in the territory of Lucca and the Valle di Nievole, and extend from thence by Valdelsa, Valdipesa, Upper and Lower Valdarno, the territories of Arezzo, Pisa, Volterra, and Siena, as far as Acquapendente. Following the road from this last place to Rome, they completely disappear, being covered by the tuffi thrown out by the volcanoes of Acquapendente, Santa Fiora, Bolsena, Bracciano, Borghetto, and those which formerly existed in Latium; but, beyond the limits of the volcanic country, they reappear in several situations; as in the neighbourhood of Orvieto, Todi, and Otricoli, at Collevocchio in Sabina, at Monterone about half way between Rome and Civita Vecchia, &c. There are also some places where these deposits rise up from amidst the volcanic tuffi; a remarkable example of this is to be seen near Rome, for the base of the hill of the Vatican is a blue marl, containing shells identical with those of Tuscany and Romagna. It is used in the manufacture of common pottery; and it was applied to the same purposes by the ancient Romans. It is covered by the siliceo-calcareous sand of which the Aventine Hill, Monte Mario, and some eminences near Ponte Molle, are also composed. In going from Rome towards Naples, after passing the volcanic district of Velletri, nothing appears but solid limestone as far as Monte Sarchio near the Caudine Valley, where the blue marl with shells makes its appearance, being also visible in the neighbourhood of Benevento. At Ariano, and in the Valle di Bovino, as well as in several parts of Basilicata, the tertiary deposits appear; and M. Brocchi is of opinion, that they extend through a great part of Campania, and the whole of the Campi Phlegræi, under the volcanic matter scattered over that great tract of country. He is led to this conclusion, from what he observed in the island of Ischia. The whole surface of that island is covered with volcanic matter; but below the tuffi and lava, the blue marl containing shells may be seen in several places, particularly in the Monte Tabor near Casamicciole, where it lies under a current of grey lava, containing crystals of felspar.

The siliceo-calcareous sand is generally found covering the marl; but sometimes the marl cannot be seen except in deep excavations made by torrents. They do not, however, invariably accompany each other; for there are some places where the marl appears without any covering of sand; and in the neighbourhood of Andria, and of Bari in Puglia, the sand rests upon the solid limestone. It prevails greatly in Romagna; and the country between Macerata and Ancona is almost wholly composed of it. The remains of marine bodies are in many places so rare in it, that hardly a vestige of them can be found for the

space of many miles ; but in other places they abound in it, and are found in greatest profusion in the territory of Asti in Piedmont.

It does not very frequently happen, that the rock on which the marl rests can be discovered : at Montalceto, however, in the territory of Siena, it is seen lying immediately upon the solid limestone ; and in some of the hills of San Quirico, it rests upon gravel composed of rounded fragments of limestone, and mixed with shells. The marl frequently contains beds of solid stone, having a conformable stratification with it, composed of minute grains of quartz and mica, with a calcareo-argillaceous cement. There are some precipitous rocks near Acqui in Piedmont wholly composed of it, and at the Punta degli Schiavi near Pesaro it is quarried for pavement, and conveyed by sea to Sinigaglia, Fano, and Rimini. A sandstone of a similar nature, got at Cingoli, is used for the same purpose at Macerata ; and it is of this stone that the Santa Casa of Loreto is built ; an observation rather unfortunate for the fame of the Santa Casa, if the same *formation* does not exist at Nazareth. This kind of sandstone has so great a resemblance to the *Pietra Serena*, the *grauwacke* of Tuscany, that they may, in specimens, be very frequently confounded with each other. The sand also acquires in some places a certain degree of induration, as in the hill of the republic of San Marino, and that on which Volterra is built, besides some other places. *

Besides the tertiary deposits already mentioned, some other partial formations appear to have taken place at the same epoch, composed of fragments of rocks peculiar to certain situations. At the foot of the Ligurian Apennines, in the department of Monte Notte, there is found a considerable tract of sandstone, (or perhaps what may more properly be called a *breccia*), composed of fragments of noble serpentine, firmly agglutinated with scales of mica, pieces of quartz, &c. and containing, moreover, univalve and bivalve shells and madrepores. Another sandstone, consisting of a mixture of grains of quartz, calcedony, limestone and serpentine, and full of shells, is met with in the Modenese hills in the neighbourhood of Gajano, of Brusiano, of the Lago di Paullo, and at Gallinamorta. The mountain of the Superga near Turin, seems to be of the same description : M. Brocchi, who mentions it only incidentally, says that it is composed, even to the top, of a congeries of large rounded masses of the hardest serpentine and other rocks, imbedded in marl and calcareous sand ; and Saussure, who gives a more detailed description of it, found the sand to contain shells, and, among others, an oyster, with the pearly lustre quite fresh. This mountain, by the barometrical measurements of De Luc,

is 1330 feet above Turin, and 2064 feet above the level of the Mediterranean.

In many parts of Italy are found *travertini*, *tuffi*, and other deposits, containing fresh-water shells, lying upon or alternating with marine strata, and even covering volcanic substances. The plain of Sarteano in the Valdichiana Sanese, and the country round Staggia and Poggibonzi, are covered by a mass of tuff full of these shells. In the neighbourhood of Montalceto, in the Crete Sanesi, in Valdelsa, at Prata in the Maremma Toscana, there are entire hills of travertino; and the Rock of Tivoli over which the Teverone is precipitated, and the subjacent plain, in which the Solfatara is situated, are composed of this same stone.

In the third section of the work, a few pages are occupied with some slight notices on the analogy between the structure of the Sub-Apennine hills, and the *tertiary* deposits of other countries. The instances the author chiefly dwells on, are the country round London, as described by Parkinson, and the Essay on the Mineralogy of the neighbourhood of Paris, by Cuvier and Brongniart. The London gravel and blue clay he considers very similar to the siliceo-calcareous sand and blue marl of the Sub-Apennine hills. There is undoubtedly a great resemblance, not only in the mineralogical characters of the London clay and the marl of Italy, but also many of the substances that accompany them are common to both. There seems, however, to be a great dissimilarity in the fossil shells they contain; and in geological position, they are widely different. The vast series of secondary strata that intervene between the London clay and the Lias limestone of England, which is perhaps the first in the series of strata, downwards, that can be said to resemble the limestone of the Apennines, appears to be wholly wanting in Italy; a remarkable circumstance, and not very consistent with the doctrine of universal formations.—The analogical structure of the Paris Basin seems to go no farther, than that it is of a tertiary formation, and that it contains sand and clay; for the fossils and the different beds are in the greater number of instances totally different. The chief part of this section is occupied by an examination of the changes which the great Vale of Lombardy has undergone from the deposition of alluvial matter.

This extensive valley, which appears like a great gulf surrounded by the Alps and Apennines, is totally different in physical structure from all other parts of Italy. It is a uniform plain, scattered over with rounded fragments of secondary limestone, mixed with others of primitive rocks; such as granite, micaceous schistus, &c. which are thickly spread over the high-

er parts of the valley near the foot of the Alps, but gradually diminish in quantity and size as they approach the shore, when they are succeeded by a light earth, or very fine sand, forming a bed of great thickness. All along the sides of the Apennines, by Modena, Parma, Placentia, and Piedmont, there is an uninterrupted line of hills, composed of the marl containing shells; but along the Alpine boundary of the valley, this marl is only found in detached spots, separated from each other by intervals of many miles, and nowhere exists in the plain itself.

To account for the physical structure of this valley, some have imagined that, the Adriatic after having attained its present level extended to the foot of the Alps, and that the whole of Lombardy was a vast lake, which was afterwards filled up by the materials carried down by the torrents from the mountains. This opinion, brought forward by Sabbatini in 1550, in a work, entitled—*Trattato Sulla Laguna di Venezia*, has been revived by Filiasi, in his book *Sui Veneti Primi*, in so far as he supposes that the whole of Lombardy was at one time a gulf of the sea; but, rejecting the theory of Sabbatini and others, that the waters gradually retired, in consequence of the formation of land along the line of the coast, he considers the bottom of the gulf itself to have been raised by the gravel, sand, and mud, carried into it by torrents. This theory is rejected by M. Brocchi, who insists on the improbability of the rivers of a country overflowing it to such an extent, as to cover it with water-worn blocks and fragments; and he shows, that this event could not take place in a considerable part of the country now under review, where the chief rivers pass through deep lakes, in which they must have left all the greater fragments of rocks that they might have brought down from the Alps. He conceives, that the rolled masses now found in the upper part of the valley are the ruins of rocks which formerly occupied the space of the valley itself, broken down by a great irruption of the sea; a catastrophe that must have taken place prior to the deposition of the shelly marl of the Sub-Apennines; because the fragments chiefly belong to the primitive rocks, and they are found in some situations under the marl. To the obvious question, how the sea, which held the materials of the Sub-Apennine hills suspended in its waters, did not deposit them equally over this mass of ruins, but left them so partially on one side of the gulf, and so regularly on the other, M. Brocchi replies, by supposing the existence of a great current along the foot of the Alps, which, combined with the agitation produced in the sea by the waters of the Po, the Ticino, the Adda, the Adige, and the other rivers, prevented the precipitation of the materials on that side, but left them to settle in the calmer waters on the

sides of the Apennines: And, to show that this is not a mere gratuitous assumption, he adduces the following observations on the present state of the Adriatic.

‘ Olivi, in his sketch of the topography of the Adriatic gulf, has shown that the nature of its bottom is different in different situations; there being in some places sand, in others clay, and in some parts of it there appears to be a naked rock. He found mud extending from Malamocco to Ancona, and continuing outwards to about half the breadth of the sea; and from thence the bottom is a solid mass of limestone, quite over to the rocky shores of Istria and Dalmatia. Having made soundings in different depths, he found that the accumulation of the loose materials corresponded with the direction and force of the currents, of which there is a very constant and considerable one, which running parallel to the shores of Dalmatia and Istria, follows the coasts of Friuli and the Marca Trivigiana, and continues its course in a southerly direction, by the Venetian territory and Romagna. From this Olivi concludes, that the muddy depositions must be carried by the eastern current towards the west; and that they accumulate where there is least agitation in the water.’ I. 94.

‘ Between Parezzo in Istria, and Malamocco near Venice, about the middle of the gulph, there is a muddy bank resting upon the solid limestone, of about three miles in breadth, and extending in length to a point opposite Comacchio. Olivi observes, that, in calm weather, the water over this bank is almost stagnant; whereas on each side of it there is a continual motion, from the current already mentioned; and, in consequence of this, the rock is laid bare on each side, where the loose materials are carried away by the current; but in the middle, where there is scarcely any sensible motion, the alluvial matter accumulates.’ p. 104.

Nearly the whole of the provinces of Mantua, Modena, Ferrara, Polesina, and Padua, and particularly those places that are nearest the coast, are covered with a thick bed of fat and spongy earth. In the wells of Modena, the water springs from a bed of gravel which is mixed with marine shells; and, before coming to it, they dig to the depth of about 63 feet on an average, passing through beds of fat clay and black earth, mixed with portions of vegetables: in Polesina, and the territory of Padua, it is necessary to go to a still greater depth. Sir George Shuckburgh ascertained, that the plain of Modena is 201 feet above the level of the sea; so that, taking the average depth of the wells at 63 feet, the surface of the gravel containing marine remains is 138 feet above the present level of the Adriatic; demonstrating, that the plain of Lombardy has not been gained from the sea, since it attained its present level, by the alluvial matter carried into it from the surrounding mountains. To account for the deposition of this vast mass of clay and earth

over so great a surface, M. Brocchi supposes that there was a time when the rivers were not confined within a channel, but spread themselves wherever their waters could reach, and inundated vast tracts of country.

‘ The Lambro and the Olona overflowed the territory of Lodi; the Po formed vast marshes between Parma and Placentia, which were drained by Scaurus; the neighbourhood of Modena was covered with pools and reeds in the time of Augustus; and Ravenna was surrounded by stagnant water, so that it was only approached by one side. The waters of the Adige, the Po, and the other rivers, formed the Padusa and the Venetian marshes, which extended from Ravenna to Altino; a circuit, according to Pliny, of 2000 stadia. The whole of Polesina, and the territory of Ferrara, was intersected by ditches and swamps; I say intersected, because it is doubtful whether they were entirely under water; for, besides that Cluverius (though without very good authority) has asserted that the *Forum Allieni* of Tacitus was situated where Ferrara now stands, the Roman remains that have been dug up at Voghenza, at the distance of eight miles from that city in the direction of Comacchio, among others a marble, bearing an inscription that refers to the time of Marcus Aurelius, show that the country was at least inhabited in detached spots. To the accumulated products from this diffusion of the waters, must be added the alluvial matter that would be spread by extraordinary floods, of the destructive effects of which the historians of the middle ages have left us tremendous accounts. Paulus Diaconus gives an account of one that happened in 586, which was compared to the Deluge: Another took place about the year 1100, when the Adige swelled to so great a degree, that it overflowed its banks, and cut another channel. The alluvium of the lower parts of Lombardy underwent infinite changes, while the upper parts, from their higher level and greater slope, were as free from such changes then as they are now.’ p. 108.

Our author next proceeds to inquire whether the rivers, in raising the surface of the plain of Lombardy, have also extended it by their depositions along the shore. Dolomieu, who was of opinion that the sea had at one time reached as far as Cremona, and that the whole of Lombardy which lies between Cremona and the shore, had been formed by the materials brought down by the rivers, comes to this conclusion, from the resemblance of the alluvial matter found around that place, to that which the Po and other rivers now carry to the Adriatic. To support this opinion, it would be necessary to show that the surface of the first stratum of marine origin on which the alluvial matter rests, is not higher than the level of the Adriatic; and M. Brocchi proves, that this stratum at Modena, which is considerably nearer the coast than Cremona, is 138 feet above that sea. Many Italian writers, who have inferred, from the

various passages in ancient authors, describing towns surrounded by water, and districts covered by lakes, which are now dry land, that the sea formerly extended much beyond its present limits, appear to M. Brocchi to have been led into a mistake, by supposing that to have been sea which was an inundation of fresh water.

‘ Amati has treated this subject at greater length than any other ; and the following are his chief arguments, which, with some exercise of patience, I have extracted from a vast mass of quotations and commentaries. 1. The salt-water lakes, he says, extended at one time as far as Brescello, near Reggio, because Strabo relates that Hannibal, in moving from the neighbourhood of Placentia towards Etruria, marched for three successive days across marshes ; a distance that may be reckoned at about 60 miles, and might comprehend the territories of Parma, Reggio, and Modena. 2. In the time of Augustus they were contracted, but still reached as far as Sermide ; for in the Itinerary of Antoninus, written about that time, the road from Este to Bologna is made to pass through that place and Modena ; shewing that the territories of Polesina and Ferrara were still submerged, but that the country above them could be passed over. When the sea reached to Sermide, Spina, built upon the shore 1100 years before the Christian era, was, according to Strabo, eleven miles distant from it : how much farther inland then must it not have extended, when it washed the walls of that city ! It must have reached at least as far as Brescello. 3. The salt-water lakes, in the time of Justinian, had contracted still more, and did not extend beyond Argenta, situated on the Lago di Comacchio. for Procopius says, that it was possible to sail from Ravenna with the flood-tide as far inland as an active man could go in a day, which may be reckoned at thirty miles ; and as he adds that the voyage might be continued from thence as far as Aquileia, he thus points out the direction of that navigable tract.

‘ Amati always confounds, says M. Brocchi, the salt-water lakes with those formed by the rivers. Strabo relates, it is true, that Hannibal found himself impeded in the marshes of Placentia ; but he says distinctly, that they were formed by the Po, swollen by the Trebbia, and other rivers that flowed into it, and which were drained by Scaurus, who made navigable canals from Placentia to Parma. That the sea extended over the territories of Ferrara and Polesina in the time of Augustus, because the road from Este to Bologna passed by Sermide and Modena, is a deduction equally arbitrary. It proves no more that these countries were overflowed by the waters of the Adriatic, than by those of the Po and the Adige, which last, even in the present day, frequently overflow their banks in those territories. That the sea, in the time of Justinian, reached as far as Argenta, may very readily be believed, for it does so at present by means of the Lago di Comacchio.

¶ We have not, in short, a single document of any sort to prove,

that the marsh land which extended from Ravenna to Aquileia, or rather, as some think, to Altino, was covered with salt water; whereas many may be brought forward to show, that the greater part of it has been overflowed by rivers. The Po, above all the rest, contributed to inundate a great tract of it; and attempts were made, at a very early period, even in the time of the Etrurians, to recover the land that had been encroached upon by its waters, by cutting several canals near its mouth, in order that it might discharge itself more quickly into the sea. Of the seven mouths of this river, two only belong to it naturally, as Cellarius has satisfactorily shown; all the rest are artificial cuts.' p. 112.

There are, however, undoubted proofs of the Adriatic having, in some situations, extended farther inland than it does at present. Adria, Ravenna, and Spina were at one time sea-ports: but the first of these places is now about twenty miles inland; the second about four miles; and Spina, which was built at the mouth of one of the branches of the Po, was, at the beginning of the Christian era, eleven miles from the sea-coast. Mesola was built close to the sea in 1581 by Alphonso II. Duke of Ferrara; in 1599 its eastern wall was already two-thirds of a mile distant from it; and, in 1750, it stood from six to seven miles inland.

‘ But, on the other hand, Brodolo stood in the same situation seventeen centuries ago that it does now; for Pliny speaks of it as a port of the Laguna, where some rivers emptied themselves into the sea: the same may be said of Chioggia, *Fossa Clodia*, which was then a port at the mouth of the Brenta and Bacchiglione. Altino, built like Ravenna, in the midst of salt marshes, is still (or rather the place where it stood) washed by the Laguna di Cona, at least in high tides. Padua, in the time of Livy, was seventeen miles from the shore, as it is now. Dolomieu, on the authority of Strabo, has said that about the beginning of the Christian era, an arm of the sea reached the walls of that city; but he must have misunderstood that author; for Strabo, so far from asserting that the Adriatic extended to Padua, says, that, to reach the sea, they sailed down the Brenta, then called the Meduacus, which discharged itself into the sea at the great port of the same name, and which is now called Malamocco. To this may it be added, that the description given by Livy himself (which is the most ancient document that can be brought forward) of the state of the Laguna, and of the appearance of the country around Padua, perfectly applies at the present day. “ *Penitus ad littora Venetorum pervenit: ibi expositis paucis, qui loca explorarent, quum audisset, tenue prætentum littus esse; quod transgressis stagna ab tergo sint, irrigua æstibus maritimis; agros haud procul proximos campestris cerni; ulteriora colles.*” This shore, as all critics agree, was that of Malamocco, which appears exactly like a narrow stripe of land: The salt marshes were the Lagune; the fields, those between Chioggia and Fusina; and the hills, the Euganean Hills.’

M. Brocchi might have added the continuation of the passage he has quoted, for it proves still more distinctly the error of Dolomieu. ‘Inde esse ostium fluminis præalti, quo circumagi naves in stationem tutam vidisse: (Meduacus amnis erat) eo invectam classem subire flumine adverso jussit. Grāvissimas navium non pertulit alveus fluminis: in leviora navigia transgressa multitudo armatorum ad frequentes agros, tribus maritimis Patavinorum vicis colentibus eam oram, pervenit.’ Lib. X. 2.—and there are some farther illustrations in the same chapter.

There does not appear to be any essential or constant difference of species in the fossil shells found in the Sub-Apennine Hills, either in regard to the greater or less depth of the strata in which they are found, or the materials of which the strata are composed. They are not scattered confusedly through the different beds, but often appear to be distributed in families and distinct species: that distribution, however, has no correspondence with the situation of the beds. Not only the shells which are found in the present sea, but those of which the prototypes are unknown, the indigenous, as well as the exotic, are found both in the marl and in the sand that lies over it. There are perhaps some exceptions, some shells which belong more particularly to the sand; but they are not such as to warrant any general deduction. All the tertiary deposits do not contain shells, there being extensive tracts where they are either wholly wanting, or are only to be traced by some scattered vestiges, although the materials composing those districts are the same as those beds which contain the fossil shells in greatest abundance.

‘There is, in general, a great analogy between the fossil shells found in different parts of Italy. The same species are found in Piedmont, in the territories of Placentia and Bologna, in Romagna, Tuscany and Puglia, and even in Calabria, as is shown by the work of Scilla. It is also remarkable, that some particular shells, the originals of which are unknown, are common in several places far distant from each other.’ p. 145.

The fossil shells of the Sub-Apennines may be divided into two general classes, the one comprehending the shells that are still found in the sea, the other comprehending those whose prototypes are unknown. The first of these classes may be farther subdivided, by distinguishing the species found in the Adriatic and Mediterranean from those which belong to distant seas. The number of the indigenous shells is very considerable; and there are many examples of those which have been described by naturalists as peculiar to the Asiatic, African and American seas. Among the most remarkable of these, are the *Bulla Ficus*

of the Indian and American Ocean, the *Buccinum Plicatum* of Jamaica, the *Turbo Imbricatus* of the Atlantic, the *Murex Ramosus* of the Red Sea and Persian Gulph, and the *Murex Sincensis* of the coasts of Africa.

That there are innumerable instances of the existence of fossil organized bodies in such situations as incontestably prove that the surface of the earth has undergone the most extraordinary changes, every geologist admits; but M. Brocchi shows, that some geologists have been rather hasty in their conclusions with respect to many of those fossil shells which were said to belong to climates far distant from that where they are found. Before we can decide upon the foreign origin of any fossil shell, it is obviously necessary to be well acquainted with those existing in the surrounding seas, not only along the coasts, but in the less accessible depths; and as the difficulty of acquiring this information is necessarily great, there should be a proportionate degree of caution in coming to that decision.

The Zoology of the Adriatic has been very accurately investigated by Donati, Ginanni, Bianchi, Olivi and Renieri. The work of Olivi, M. Brocchi considers by far the most valuable. It was published in 1792, under the title of *Zoologia Adriatica*, but was left unfinished by the premature death of the author.—The same subject has since that time been followed up with great care by Renieri, Professor of Natural History in the University of Padua.

We learn from the work of Olivi, that many of the shells which were considered as belonging exclusively to the Asiatic and American seas, are found in the Adriatic; and Renieri has discovered twice as many species as were known to his predecessor. To be convinced with how little accuracy the *habitats* of many shells have been given, it is only necessary to compare the thirteenth edition of the *Système de la Nature*, with the *Prodromus* of the work of Renieri. He has found fifty-five different species that were supposed to exist only in distant seas. Of these, twelve were said to belong to the Indian Ocean, seven to the Indian Ocean and Eastern coasts of Africa, eight to the Western coasts of Africa, six to the American shores of the Atlantic, three to the Islands of Nicobar, near the Bay of Bengal, two to the coasts of South America, one to the Caspian, five to the European Ocean, and eleven to the North Seas. Besides these, he has also found in the Adriatic, ten different species, the *habitats* of which were unknown to Linnæus. Similar results to these have been obtained by Poli in his examination of the sea near Naples.

The same correction must also be made in regard to the *ha-*

bilats of Zoophytes, and particularly the genus *Isis* and the *Madrepores*. Not many living species of these are found in the Adriatic; but they abound in the Mediterranean, as appears from the work of Maratti, published at Rome in 1776.—Of these found in a fossil state, many different species have been found in the Mediterranean and Adriatic, which were said to belong to the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the West Indies, &c.

‘ If equally accurate researches were made in the Ichthyology of our seas, I am very confident that many of those fishes would be found, which are described as inhabitants of the Indian and American seas, and that we should discover the prototypes of many of those now existing in a fossil state at Monte Bolca. Of the one hundred and twenty-three species described by Volta, there are only thirty-seven belonging to the European seas, according to the classification of that author. ’—‘ The more our researches are multiplied, the more we shall find that the number of species of shells belonging exclusively to particular latitudes, is less considerable than is generally supposed. If it cannot be maintained that difference of climate does not affect marine organized bodies, it is certain at least that its effects are much less considerable upon them, than upon the organic productions of the land, as the sea is not subject to the same changes of temperature as the atmosphere is. Although it may not be true, either, that in all places equally deep, the water is of the same temperature under every parallel, as some have asserted; it is however distinctly cold, even under the tropics, at very considerable depths: So that if difference of climate does materially affect some shells, it can only be those which live in shallow water, or near the coasts. ’
p. 157—159.

In the catalogue which Lamark has given of the fossil shells that have been found in the neighbourhood of Paris, there are about five hundred species; and it is wonderful how few of them resemble those found in the Sub-Apennine Hills, and how many genera there are among them, wholly unknown in Italy. But the most remarkable difference in the fossil shells of the two countries, is in those of which the prototypes are unknown. These greatly predominate in France, and, with a few exceptions, are wholly different from those that exist in Italy. In the latter country, many species are wanting which are common in the neighbourhood of Paris; and many occur in Italy that have not been found there. There are, moreover, many shells of constant occurrence in the marl, and which are now common in the Adriatic and Mediterranean Seas, that do not appear to have been met with by Lamark.

Besides these vast collections of fossil shells, the remains of many other tribes of marine animals, are found in the Sub-Apennine Hills. The most remarkable of these are the remains of great whales, not only in separate bones, but in

entire skeletons. They have been found in various parts of Tuscany, in the territory of Bologna, in Piedmont, and in the neighbourhood of Feltre, a country situated about 1200 feet above the level of the sea. Near Castell' Arquato in the territory of Placentia, a skeleton was found nearly entire, measuring 21 feet in length. All the bones were in their natural situation, and had undergone no other change than the loss of the animal gliten. Besides this skeleton, there were found a part of one still larger, and many detached vertebræ, ribs and jaw-bones of the same animal. There was also found in the same neighbourhood, the skeleton of a dolphin six feet long, a part of another skeleton belonging to an animal of the same tribe, and the jaw-bone of a dolphin quite petrified, containing the greater part of the teeth, with their natural enamel preserved.

All these animal remains, and others of the same sort, which have been dug up in various parts of Italy, are found in the blue marl. Some of the bones found in the territory of Placentia, and the portion of the whale's jaw-bone found in Valdarno Inferiore, which is in the Museum of Florence, are encrusted with oyster-shells, which must have lived and grown upon them. So that it is quite evident, as M. Brocchi remarks, that these skeletons must have remained as such; for a considerable time at the bottom of the sea, and that they cannot be considered as the remains of animals carried by some sudden inundation to the places where they were dug up.

However striking the occurrence of those bones, in such situations, may be, it is still more extraordinary to find, in the same places, the remains of those great land animals that now inhabit the torrid zone.

‘ Among all the phenomena of Geology, there is none more wonderful than this, or one more worthy of deep reflection; nor is there any fact which is more puzzling to the ingenuity of Naturalists, who bewilder themselves in a labyrinth of conjecture, how the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the hippopotamus, should be found buried in our climates. The multitude of these skeletons renders the fact still more surprising. Targioni calculates the number of elephants' bones that had been dug up in Valdarno Superiore in his time, equal to those of twenty individuals; and this number has been so much augmented by subsequent discoveries, that the district may be considered as a vast cemetery of these gigantic animals. It was ascertained that, before the peasants of the neighbourhood thought of preserving these bones for the sake of selling them to the curious; some of them had been in the habit of surrounding their gardens with palisades of the tibiæ and thigh-bones of the elephant. One of the persons who are in the habit of searching for these bones, accompanied me to the hill of Poggio Rosso, where, after having

removed the earth in four or five places, he found a large elephant's tusk: from thence we went to the Colle degli Stecconi, and with the same facility he dug up a large grinder, with some of the bones of the cranium, and two tusks—one of which was nearly five feet long, and eight inches in its greatest diameter. In Valdarno Superiore, they also find bones of the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, stag's horns, jaw-bones and teeth of the mastodonton, and other herbivorous animals, which seem to belong to the horse and the ox. The district where these remains are found in greatest abundance, is that on the right bank of the Arno, between Figline, Castelfranco, and San Giovanni, and from Renaccio to Montanino; from whence were obtained the chief part of those that are in the Royal Museum of Florence, in that of Professor Targioni, and those belonging to the Accademia Valdarnese di Figline, who are in possession of a very fine series, collected chiefly by the Padre Molinari, a monk of Vallombrosa.' p. 179.

These remains are not confined to Valdarno nor to Tuscany, but are found in different places on both sides of the Apennines, from Lombardy to Calabria. M. Brocchi gives a list of the most remarkable places where they have been found, distinguishing the different species of animals. He enumerates forty-six specimens of the bones of elephants, found in different situations—in Piedmont—near Verona—in the territories of Pavia, Tortona, Placentia and Bologna—in Puglia, Basilicata, and Calabria—in the neighbourhood of Pozzuoli near Naples—twelve different places near Rome—near Viterbo, Todi, Perugia and Cortona—in Valdarno Superiore and Inferiore, near Leghorn—and also at Palermo in Sicily, which last country appears to abound in fossil bones. On one occasion, there was found in the neighbourhood of Rome, the entire skeleton of an elephant; but it was unfortunately destroyed by the workmen. He describes fifteen specimens of the Mastodonton found in different parts of Piedmont and Lombardy, and on both sides of the Apennines, but not farther south than Perugia. At Castell' Arquato, there was found the greater part of the skeleton of a rhinoceros; and in Valdarno Superiore, and the territory of Perugia, different bones of the same animal. In Valdarno Superiore, in Piedmont, and in the neighbourhood of Verona, remains of the Hippopotamus have been dug up; and many specimens of the head and horns of the Urus have been found in the territories of Verona, Pavia, Siena, in the Marca di Ancona, and near Rome. A head of the Irish Elk was found in Oltrepò Pavese, another in the vicinity of Voghera, and a third near Lodi Vecchio on the banks of the Lambro.

The bones of all these animals are found, in general, a few feet below the surface; and the soil in which they are buried is commonly a yellow sand, generally calcareous, but sometimes almost whole-

ly siliceous. Of this last description is the soil in many parts of Valdarno Superiore, which does not effervesce with acids, and is composed of grains of quartz and scales of mica, mixed with a reddish yellow oxide of iron. When it is not agglutinated, it is called *Sansino* by the inhabitants; and when, as is often the case, it is consolidated, they call it *Tufo*. The elephant's tusk found by Canali near Perugia, was in a field covered with rounded pebbles; and that mentioned by Baccio as having been dug up near Rome in his time (1580), appears to have been discovered in the midst of a coarse gravel. These fossil remains of land animals are not confined to the sand and gravel alone, but are also sometimes found in the blue marl when it occupies the surface, and is not covered by other deposits. I have seen instances of this in Valdarno itself, on the Colle degli Stecconi, where a part of the head of an elephant was dug out of it in my presence. The tusk of Belvedere near Jesi was in a soil of the same sort, as well as the jawbone of the Rhinoceros found by Canali in the territory of Perugia. One of the vertebrae of the skeleton of the rhinoceros found at Castell' Arquato was in the marl, while all the other bones were in the siliceo-calcareous sand lying over it. ' p. 195.

It is a very curious circumstance, and one of considerable importance in the physical history of the country round Rome, that bones of the elephant have been found there, imbedded at the depth of twenty feet, in the volcanic tufo.

Fortis, in his *Memoires sur L'Hist. Nat.* has said, that the tusk of an elephant was hewn out of a bed of stone of ancient formation, containing exotic marine remains, found near Leghorn. From this description one might suppose, that it was a solid limestone similar to that of the Apennines; but M. Brocchi informs us, that this stone is a calcareous tufo of a cellular texture, having grains of sand of different sizes imbedded in it; and the shells it contains are so broken, that it is impossible to say to what species they belong. There is a considerable bed of it, which is partly washed by the waves of the sea; and it is gradually increasing in extent, by the agglutination of the grains of sand by a calcareous cement. This is evidently a rock which has been formed in the same manner as that on the shore of Guadaloupe, in which the human skeleton was found; but from M. Brocchi's account of the rock near Leghorn, that of Guadaloupe is of a much more consolidated texture.

We have already mentioned, that some of the whale's bones found in the territory of Placentia, and in Valdarno, were encrusted with oyster-shells; but it is still more remarkable, that some of the elephant's bones dug up in Valdarno, and in the territory of Placentia, have also been found covered with the same shells, and adhering to them so firmly, that they could not be detached without breaking the bone. All the

more prominent parts of these bones, such as must have been broken had they been brought to their present situations from a distance, are in the highest state of preservation; nor have any bones been found having the slightest appearance of having been worn by attrition.

Among all the fossil bones that have been found in different parts of Italy, there are very few which can, with any degree of certainty, be referred to carnivorous land animals. In the museum of Florence, there is a portion of a jawbone with three teeth, which appears to have belonged to an animal of this class; and there are some bones and teeth, in the collections of Targioni and Tartini, which Cuvier considered as belonging to the Bear. All these were found in Valdarno. We have also in this work a farther confirmation of the extraordinary fact, perhaps the most important that has yet been established by the researches of the geologist, that in all the collections of fossil bones that have been discovered in various parts of the world, even amongst the gravel scattered on the surface during the last of the innumerable changes which the crust of the earth has undergone, not a trace of the existence of man has been discovered.

The second volume contains the Descriptive Catalogue of the fossil shells of the Sub-Apennines, arranged according to the system of Linnæus, which M. Brocchi has adopted in preference to those of Bruguiere, Lamarck, and Bosc; who, with a pedantic affectation of precision, have created many new genera where no essential differences exist, and by introducing a cumbrous load of new terms, have rendered the subject of Conchology, in itself sufficiently tiresome, still more tedious and uninviting.

In the Catalogue, the three classes of Univalves, Bivalves, and Multivalves, are separately treated of; and, under each genus are described the different species found in a fossil state in the Sub-Apennines. All the Linnæan genera of Univalves have been found, excepting the *Argonauta* and *Haliotis*; and all the Bivalves, without any exception. Of the Multivalves, the *Chiton* has not been met with. The descriptions of the shells are illustrated by plates, which we cannot praise too highly; for they are more beautifully executed than any thing of the kind we have ever seen before.

ART. VIII. *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, from the earliest Teutonic and Scandinavian Romances, being an Abstract of the Book of Heroes and Nibelungen Lay; with Translations of Metrical Tales from the old German, Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic Languages, with Notes and Dissertations.* (By Mr WEBER and Mr JAMIESON.) 4to. pp. 520. Edinburgh, 1814.

2. *Altdeutsche Wälder, durch der Brüder GRIMM.* Frankfort, 1815. Cassel, 1813.
3. *Lieder der Alten Edda aus der handschrift herausgegeben und erklärt durch die Brüder GRIMM.* Berlin, 1815.
4. *Nordische Helden Romane Uebersetzt durch F. H. VON DER HAGEN.* Berlin, 1814.
5. *Altnordische Sagen und Lieder, &c.—herausgegeben durch F. H. VON DER HAGEN.* Berlin, 1812.
6. *Der beiden ältesten Deutschen gedichte aus dem achten Jahrhundert, Das Lied von Hildebrand und Hadubrand und das Weissenbrunner gebet zum erstenmal in ihrem metrum dargestellt und herausgegeben durch die Brüder GRIMM.* Cassel, 1812.
7. *Literarischer grundriss zur geschichte der Deutschen poesie durch F. H. VON DER HAGEN und J. G. BÜSCHING.* Berlin, 1812.
8. *Der Heldenbuch, herausgegeben durch F. H. VON DER HAGEN.* Berlin, 1812.
9. *Ueber der Altdeutschen Meister gesang von JACOB GRIMM.* Göttingen, 1811.
10. *Der Lied der Nibelungen in der Ursprache, mit der Lesarten der verschiedenen handschriften herausgegeben durch F. H. VON DER HAGEN.* Berlin, 1810.
11. *Sammlung Deutschen Volks lieder, herausgegeben durch BÜSCHING und VON DER HAGEN.* Berlin, 1807.

THE study of the ancient poetry of the North, has now become a favourite pursuit in Germany. Whilst the Germans were groaning under their foreign taskmasters, their laws, their customs, and their very language were threatened with extinction. Their common sufferings, as well as their late unexampled successes, have roused the dormant spirit of German patriotism. They have become conscious of the innate worth and might of their nation, and have begun to prize whatever is peculiar to it with enthusiastic fondness. This effervescent nationality is perhaps at present a little too impetuous; but it has had the good effect of restoring their long forgotten bards, as well as the romantic legends of the olden day, to their former popularity: And a kind of poetical accomplishment has thus been given to the old prophecy, that Ariovistus and Wittekind, and the invulnerable Siegfried would issue once more from the ruins of Geroldseck, at the time when Germany was in its utmost need, and again bring triumph and glory to their countrymen.

All nations have had their mythological age, in which the de-

stroyers of mankind have generally found no difficulty in soaring up to the thrones of the celestial regions. The last Odin, in this way, became the rightful Monarch of Valhalla; and the statue of the King of the Cherusci, was exalted on the pillar of the god of battles. We doubt not but that the bards of Arminius found the defeat of Varus and his legions announced with all due clearness and precision in the dread oracles of the Oak: And, making allowance for change of circumstances, we may safely boast, that the hierophantic race is not wholly extinct, even in the present day. Every body knows how skilfully Mr Granville Penn contrived to discover, within a very few months after the end of the last Russian campaign, that all Bonaparte's bulletins and bivouacks—Moscow, Smolensko and Kutosoff, and Tchitchagoff, were all lying snugly enough wrapped up in the 38th and 39th chapters of Ezekiel; and if affairs had not fortunately taken another turn, there was a time when their Majesties of Austria, Wirtemberg, Prussia, &c. &c. and certain other of their cashiered compeers, would have had a fair chance of ranking amongst the seven heads and the ten horns, at least in the opinion of more than one acute and learned expounder of the book of Revelation.

There has been as rapid a transition from military fame to romantic fabling in less obscure periods. By ascribing to the successful warrior somewhat of supernatural prowess, the vanquished have been willing to extenuate their shame, and the victors to enhance their glory. When Alexander buried the armour fitted for limbs of more than mortal mould, he had a latent foreboding of the light in which he was to be considered by future generations in Persia and India, who would picture him now mounted on his griffin, and darting through the clouds, and now sunk beneath the billows in his house of glass, and compelling the inhabitants of every element to own him as their sovereign. The pride of the Franks bestowed more crowns upon Charlemagne, than that doughty and orthodox Emperor ever claimed. And the prowess of Roland must be gathered from the song of the minstrel, and not from the dry historical brevity of Eginhart, where we shall seek in vain for the terrific imagery of the battle of Roncesvalles, in the ambush of the Gascons, and the death of the Prefect Rotlandus. The investigations of the historians of chivalrous fiction, have been hitherto confined to the Romances of the French and their numerous imitators; and the subject, although by no means exhausted, has yet become tolerably familiar. The errant knights whom we have usually encountered, either aspire to a seat at the Round Table, or owe allegiance to the lilyed banner; and with these most of us are now very tolerably acquainted. Amadis of Gaul, and Palmerin

of England, are almost as well known to us as Wellington and Bonaparte; while their outlandish antagonists, the bearded Soldans and recreant Saracens, are about as familiar as the Imperial Mamelukes, or the Polish Lancers. The very giants of any note are of our own kith and kin; and, upon a nearer acquaintance, the fierce Morholt dwindles into a tall Irishman, hardly half a foot above the regulation standard of a widow hunter.

It is far otherwise in the national romances of the Germans. We gaze there on strange countenances, and listen to stranger names: And it is with some difficulty that we are at length enabled to recognize the Gothic and Hunnish subverters of the Roman Empire, in the throng of frowning warriors, who gradually recede from our view, until they lose themselves amidst the remote and visionary forms of Scandinavian mythology. When Europe was overwhelmed by the Teutonic nations, the distinctions between these kindred tribes were not so sharply defined as at later periods. The Christianity of the Germans afterwards contributed still more to separate them from such of the same stock as adhered to their old religion. But whilst the early conquests were going on, they were constantly intermingling. And there is therefore less reason to be surprized, at the wide diffusion of the fables whose historical groundwork is to be found in the achievements of that eventful age, than at the various disguises which they assume.

The earliest vestiges of the Teutonic story are preserved in the poems of the older Edda, collected by Sæmund Sigufson, who lived between the years 1051 and 1121, which have been published at large, for the first time, both by Grimm and Hagen (Nos. 3. and 5). From these the Volsunga Saga was compiled, in the same manner as the prose romances of chivalry were afterwards formed out of the metrical originals. The hero Sigurd slays the dragon Fofner, and wins the fatal treasure which he guards. He awakens Brynhild, the wise, the warlike, and the fair, from the magic slumber into which she has been cast by Odin, and plights his faith to her: But the charmed drink prepared by Grimhild causes him to lose all remembrance of his vows, and to become the husband of Gudrun, the daughter of the sorceress. The subsequent adventures of the Volsunga Saga, as far as the assassination of Sigurd, and the voluntary death of Brynhild, may be seen in Mr Herbert's translations, to which it must be added, that Swanhilde, the daughter of Sigurd, becomes the wife of King *Jormunrett*, who, deceived by the traitor Bikke, causes her to be trampled to death by wild horses. Agreeing in substance, but with the usual variations of traditionary poetry, the story of the German 'Lay of the Nibelungen' is found in the ancient Danish bal-

lads—the ‘Kiempe and Elskoos viser,’ the most important of which, have been admirably translated by Mr Jamieson.

The latest of the Scandinavian works, relating to the German heroes of the first race, is the ‘Welkina and Niflunga Saga,’ which was compiled, in the 13th century, from the ‘songs of the Danes and Swedes, the poetry of the Northmen, and the ancient romances and traditions of the North of Germany.’ In the very curious ancient preface, the author apologizes for the poetical exaggerations of the Scalds, and magnifies the importance of his Saga, ‘which begins in Apulia, and travels northward to Lombardy and Venice, and Thuringia and Hungary and Sweden, and also into Valland (either Italy or France) and Spain. And of all these kingdoms does this Saga treat, and describes the deeds which were performed therein.’

The Jormunreck of the Edda, the Ermenrich of the German romances, is undoubtedly the Great Ermanaric, whom Jornandes compares to another Alexander: And as the same historian notices the fate of Swanhild, under the name of Samiel or Senilda, an undeniable proof is thus afforded of the antiquity of the Scaldic rhapsodies. The Arthur of Teutonic romance, however, is the hero Dieterich of Bern; and he and his companions appear more or less prominently in all the poems which compose the cycle. It is thought that their deeds of high emprise were sung in the ‘ancient and barbarous verses,’ which, according to Eginhart, were collected by Charlemagne. His partiality for these national legends may have given rise to the traditionary fable contained in the annals of Snorro, according to which he carried his curiosity still farther; for, as he wished to see the very persons of these renowned champions, the Earl Widforull evoked their spectres, who arose obedient to the spell, mounted on their war-steeds, and clothed in full armour. The ghostly squadron advanced in four divisions, and when Dieterich came before the Emperor, they sprung from their chargers; and seated themselves in his presence. Dieterich was known by his towering stature, and by his shield, upon which, as in his lifetime, was emblazoned a crowned lion. His right, however, to bear this ancient device of the Gothic Kings becomes somewhat questionable, from the induction to the ‘Helden-buch,’ from which it may be inferred, that the ‘evil spirit Machmet,’ whom the mother of Dieterich found lying by her side, when King Dietmar, his reputed father, was on a journey, had some reason to take a more than usual interest in the fate of the unborn hero, who, as he prophesied, would breathe fire when he was enraged—a gift which afterwards proved of essential service to him. The spirit also assured her that her son would become ‘a right pious hero;’—and in three nights the Devil built a fair

strong castle, which is now the castle of Bern.' The city of Verona, to which the name of Bern was given in the Gothic dialects, was the capital of Dieterich's kingdom, from which he was expelled by his uncle Ermenrich, the Emperor of Rome, and compelled to take refuge in the royal camp of Etzel (Attila), the King of the Huns. It happens, unfortunately indeed, that Attila died in 453; while Ermanaric flourished nearly a century earlier; and the great Theodorick the Ostrogoth, was born some years after Attila's death: But, notwithstanding these anachronisms, and the contradictory statements in the romances, which we have not room to notice, there is good reason to suppose, that Theodorick is the historical prototype of Dieterich of Bern,—' he, who was the greatest captain known in the wide world, and whose name shall never be lost in the Southern kingdoms, so long as the world shall stand.' These are the expressions of the romancers, who may well have been dazzled by the fame of the son of Theodormir (Dietmar), when the hostile Greek pronounces him to have been inferior to no one who had borne the Imperial dignity. The frenzy which preceded the death of Theodorick, when he beheld the countenance of the murdered Symmachus in the head of the fish which was served on his royal table, has furnished matter both for the fictions of superstition and romance. At the hour of his death, a Catholic hermit saw the Arian monarch conducted to the volcano of Lipari, bound and barefooted, between Pope John and Symmachus, who join forces to hurl him into the crater. The romantic legends have shown scarcely more mercy than Gregory the Great, who relates the foregoing story. In the 'Helden Buch,' he is summoned to depart by a dwarf, who warns him, that 'his kingdom is no longer of this world;' and then disappears with him, 'no man knows whither.' And in the poem of 'Attila's Court,' he is placed under the power of Satan, who bears him to the desert, where, as a punishment for his sins, he is condemned to defend himself against the attacks of three serpents,—a dreadful conflict, which is to continue till the day of judgment.

The flight of Theodorick to the Huns, is attributed with less chronological inconsistency, although history is silent as to the fact, to the envy of Ottacher (Odoacer), in an exceedingly curious fragment, which, from the language and metre employed in it, must have been composed in the eighth century, and which stands at the head of the history both of German poetry and of German romance. In ancient manuscripts, particularly, of the Northern languages, it is very usual to find poetical compositions, written straight on like prose, without any breaks at

the ends of the verses; the terminations of which are sometimes, though not uniformly, indicated by metrical points at the ends of the lines. And this circumstance having been overlooked by Eccard, who first published the 'Lay of Hildebrand and Hadabrand,' he considered it as poetical prose, in which he has been followed by Mr Weber. The late editors, Messrs J. and W. Grimm, have successfully regulated the metre of this valuable relic (No. 6.), and shown that it is exactly the same in principle with that employed in the Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon; to which latter language, the dialect of the poem bears a near affinity.

It is thought that the traditions respecting Dieterich are chiefly derived from the Lombards. But the favourite hero of the Northern parts of Germany was Siegfried or Sifrit, the Sigurd of the Volsunga Saga. Romance has her relics as well as religion. The maces of Orlando and Oliver were long shown by the Monks of Roncesvalles; and the spear of Siegfried, 'a mighty pine beam,' was kept with equal veneration at Worms, where Siegfried was fabled to have reigned. There also, in the church of St Cecilia, his grave is to be found, which the emperor, Frederick the Third, caused to be opened, in search of the giant's bones. The German romances do not represent him as overtopping his brother heroes; but they all agree that he became invulnerable by bathing in the blood, or, as some have it, in the fat, of the slaughtered dragon, by which he acquired the name of 'Hörnen Siegfried, i. e. Horny, or Impenetrable Siegfried.'

The vengeance which was wreaked on Siegfried's murderers by Chrimhild, (who corresponds to Godrunn in the Saga), is the subject of the celebrated 'Nibelungen Lied,' which in every respect may be considered as one of the most remarkable productions of the middle ages. Madame de Staël, who gives a very superficial notice of this poem, seems to have supposed that it had then lately been discovered, which is not altogether correct: Many fragments of it were published by Old Wolfgang Lazius, who quotes it as historical authority, with the same intrepidity as he has given a full-length portrait of an antediluvian gentleman in pantaloons and galloches. The revival of good taste in Germany, is in great measure owing to the critical writings of Bodmer. He will be recollected as the warm admirer of English literature, which he defended against the objections of Gottschid; and he was also one of the first who attempted to draw the ancient German poets from their obscurity. Having found a MS. of the Nibelungen in the old family library of the Counts of Hohenems, he published the latter half of the poem, under the title of 'Chrimhildren Rache;' for, as to the former

half, he suppressed it, 'for the same reason that Homer did 'not begin the Trojan War with the egg of Leda;' and a complete edition was not given to the public, till the appearance of the first volume of Müller's Collection of ancient German poetry in 1784. M. von der Hagen, the late editor, bears the name of one of the principal characters in the poem,—which Aubrey would have added to his chapter of Name fatalities. His second edition (No. 10.), a work of great value and labour, is 'on the plan of those which have been given of the works of classical antiquity,' the text being formed by a careful collation of such manuscripts as he could procure; and a very copious Appendix of various readings is added. The merit of M. von der Hagen's edition has been much canvassed; for it seems that he has occasionally acted with a certain degree of *Brunckian* boldness: But if a critical editor were deprived of the bliss of conjectural emendation, there would be little left to encourage him in his toil.

This national epic, as it is termed by M. von der Hagen, in an appropriate dedication to the celebrated Wolf, has lately attracted a most unprecedented degree of attention in Germany. It now actually forms a part of the philological courses in many of their Universities; and it has been hailed with almost as much veneration as the Homeric songs. Great allowances must be made for German enthusiasm; but it cannot be denied, that the 'Nibelungen Lied,' though a little too bloody and dolorous, possesses extraordinary merits. The story turns upon the adventures of the Princess Chrimhild of Burgundy, who is first won by the valiant Siegfried, and, after he is treacherously murdered, gives her hand to Etzel (or Attila) King of the Huns, chiefly in hopes that through his power and influence she may be revenged on the murderers of her former lord. The assassins accordingly, and all their kin, are induced to visit the Royal Etzel at Vienna, where, by the instigation of the Queen, a deadly feud arises; in the course of which, almost the whole army on both sides are cruelly slaughtered. By the powerful but reluctant aid of Dieterich of Bern, however, the murderer of Siegfried is at last vanquished, and brought bound to the feet of the Queen, who, relentlessly raises the sword of the departed hero, and, with her own hand, strikes off the head of his enemy. Hildebrand instantly avenges the atrocious and inhospitable act, by stabbing the Queen,—who falls exulting on the body of her hated victim. The work is divided into thirty-eight books or adventures; and, besides a liberal allowance of sorcery and wonders, contains a great deal of clear and animated narrative, and innumerable curious and picturesque traits of the

manners of the age. The characters are in general very powerfully and naturally drawn, especially that of Hagen, the murderer of Siegfried, in whom the virtues of an heroic and chivalrous leader are strangely united with the atrocity and impenitent hardihood of an assassin. There are also occasional traits of humour in this piece, that add to the effect of the picture; but its predominant character certainly is that of gloom and terror—by no means unadorned with epic dignity. The abstract of this singular work by Mr Weber, is one of the most curious parts of the English Collection; and the specimens which are translated appear to us to be rendered with equal spirit and fidelity.

It would require a minute analysis of the Scandinavian and German poems and manners, to show how the history of Siegfried, as preserved in the traditions of different nations, corresponds in most of the leading points, though with great variations in the detail. As to Attila, his reign made an indelible impression. To this day the Swabian hinds point out the ruins occasioned by his devastations; and the very child-eating *ogres* of Mother Goose prove how severely the inhabitants of Gaul smarted under the *Ugri* or Hungri, the savage armies of the Scourge of God. Whether the present Hungarians are or are not descended from the ancient Huns, they have prided themselves in reckoning Attila amongst their monarchs; and, in the time of the oldest historian of Hungary, the secretary of King Bela, he was already the subject of the 'fables of the peasants, and the trivial songs of the minstrels.' The catastrophe of the Nibelungen is thought by Grimm to be a poetical fiction, founded on the great battle of Chalons. Goths fought there against Goths; and the vassal kings of Attila, Walamir, Theodimir and Widimir, of the noble race of the *Amali*, like Dieterich the 'King of the *Amelungen*,' are forced to bear arms against the Ostrogoths and Burgundians under Aetius. An additional feature of resemblance is given by Jornandes, who relates, that a brook which flowed through the field of battle was swelled to the size of a torrent by human gore, so that the wounded were compelled to slake their feverish thirst by drinking the blood of the killed and wounded;—an incident which occurs in the Nibelungen, as well as in the Danish ballad corresponding to that portion of the story.

The author of the Lay of the Nibelungen has not been ascertained. Taking the language as a criterion, it must have been written, according to Grimm, between the 12th and 13th centuries; but he is of opinion, that this is only a *risacciamento* of a much earlier work. The remaining metrical romances, which form the German cycle, are of different dates.

The adventure of the Emperor Otnit, and of Hug-Dieterich and Wolf-Dieterich, the ancestors of Dieterich of Bern, were composed by Wolfram of Eschenbach, a poet who will be again mentioned. These poems, together with the Rose-Garden of Chrimhild; and the Rose-garden of the magic dwarf, King Lawrin of the Tyrol, form the ancient collection called the 'Helden-buch,' or book of heroes; and they have been ably analyzed by Mr Weber. Others relate to Siegfried, and to the adventures of Dieterich of Bern; such as his flight to the Huns, and his battles with Ecke, Fasold and Ebenrot, the giants of the 'land of Aggrippinan.' The most modern of the series, is Attila's Court, which was written, or at least patched together, from ancient traditional legends, by Caspar von der Roen, a singer at fairs and markets in the 15th century.

The works, of which we have now been speaking, relate to the oldest period of German history,—and form, by their subjects, a link between the ancient and the modern world. Some of these, however, we have seen, are not of themselves of very great antiquity;—and though probably fabricated from materials of an older date, are not, in their present form, by any means, the oldest compositions in the language. For these, we must go back to the days of Charlemagne, who actually began to compile a grammar of his native dialect; in which, however, it is to be presumed, he had considerable assistance; as Eginhart confesses, that his royal master, although he kept his table-book constantly under his pillow to practise at every leisure moment, yet was never able to make any great progress in the art and mystery of writing: But the first important work in which it was employed, was due to his son, Lewis the Pious. This monarch, being desirous that all his subjects, speaking the 'Theodisc language,' should be enabled to read the Scriptures, 'ordered a Saxon, who, amongst his own people, was reputed to be no vulgar bard, to make a poetical translation of the Old and New Testament into the German tongue.'—This we learn from a Latin fragment published by Du Chesne. And it is added by Hincmar, that the translator was a peasant, who fancied that he had been specially inspired by Heaven, and gifted with a supernatural vein of poetry to enable him to execute his undertaking. It is supposed by Eccard, and the other German philologists, that the 'Harmony of the four Evangelists,' in the Cottonian library, forms a part of this translation. This ancient translation is written in an alliterative metre, which, according to Hickes, is the same which was employed by the Pseudo-Cædmon; but Hickes soon abandoned his first opinion, that it had been com-

posed by an Anglo-Saxon, and adjudged it to 'a Frank of the age of Charlemagne.' Junius imagined that it had been composed in a language invented by the translator himself, and compounded of the Anglo-Saxon, the Danish and the Gothic,—which would hardly have made it more intelligible to King Canute, for whose use he conjectured it had been intended. Others consider it as a monument of the ancient Saxon, then spoken between the Rhine and the Weser. The fact seems to be, that in the ancient Teutonic, like the Greek of the days of Homer, the different dialects were nascent and faintly marked; and we may judge from the expressions of the Latin preface, that Lewis intended that the translation should be intelligible throughout the whole extent of his German dominions. Hickes was delighted with the 'magnificence of the diction' of this 'golden codex.' It is less known that Klopstock, who chanced to peruse the printed extracts, thought so highly of its poetical merit, that he endeavoured to procure a transcript of the whole. A manuscript, with some lamentable *lacunæ*, but agreeing very clearly with the Cottonian codex, was discovered some years ago by M. Gleg, a very modest and intelligent Frenchman, in the Cathedral library at Bamberg, where the librarian sagaciously described it as 'an old bible, which nobody could understand;' and of this manuscript, the defects being supplied from that in the British museum, an edition has been very long in preparation by the veteran Reinwald. In a notice now before us, he states, that the study of the text, and the composition of the commentaries and glossaries which are to elucidate it, have employed him during five and twenty years. If this important work ever does appear, it will form a valuable accompaniment to the Gospels of Ulfilä.

The request of some of the brethren of Ottfried, a monk of the Abbey of Weissenburg, added to the more powerful entreaties of the venerable matron Judith, induced this good Benedictine to compose his paraphrase of the four Gospels, about the year 870. Alliteration appears to have fallen quickly into disuse in Germany; and Ottfried gives us the earliest known specimen of German rhyme. His religious adherence to the biblical text necessarily precluded much display of imagination; but he occasionally ventures on a few embellishments and similes. 'The messenger of God, the angel of heaven, in bringing his 'errand of love,' flies 'through the path of the sun,' the 'starry way,' and 'the sea of clouds.'

' Tho quam boto fona Gote, Engil in himile,
Braht er therera worolti, diuri, sin arunti
Floug er sunnum pad, sterno straza,
Wogo wolkono, zi ther witins frono.'

And the infant Saviour is described as growing amongst men, like a lily amongst thorns.

‘Thaz Kinda wuabs untar mannon, so lilia untar thornon.’

The victory gained in the year 883, by Louis the Third, at Sodalenich, where he defeated the Normans, was recorded, as is stated in a contemporary chronicle, ‘not only in our annas, but also in our national songs.’ The Franks had not yet adopted the language of their vassal Gauls. And one of their national songs, which has been fortunately preserved, is written in the pure Franco-Theotisc dialect, and consequently belongs to the history of German poetry. There are animated passages in this ancient ballad. ‘Hludwaig takes shield and spear,’ and leads on his troops ‘singing the joyful lay Kijrie eleison.’ This pious strain inspires them with confidence, ‘and the blood rises in the cheeks of the Franks as they justed.’ The ‘rhythm,’ or rather ode, in praise of the virtues of Anno, a holy Archbishop of Cologne, ‘who put on immortality’ in the year 1070, and which was composed at no great interval after that event, has greater originality than would be readily anticipated from its title. The Archbishop, like Theron and Hiero, and the rest of the swift charioteers of Pindar, is almost lost in the vast exuberance of the poet’s imagination. The history of the four great monarchies, introduced by the mystic vision of the prophet, is sketched by him with a masterly hand. He loses no opportunity of expatiating on the glory of the German name; and the mixture of history and fable adds greatly to the romantic spirit of the poem. Cæsar is described as approaching to the country of his ‘kinsmen the noble Franks:—both their ancestors came from Troy, the ancient town.’ The settlement of the Franks ‘far on the Rhine,’ under the Trojan Francus, is next described; and the poet then resumes the history of Cæsar till the battle of Pharsalia;—inquiring ‘who can count the numbers that hastened to oppose the hero? They came in hosts and legions as the snow falls on the Alps, as the hail pours forth from the cloud!’ Battles then follow upon battles; and we hear nothing of Anno’s virtues and miracles till the poet’s learning is exhausted.

From these scanty remains we pass on to the period (from 1136 to 1254) during which the Imperial dignity was enjoyed by the House of Hohen-Staufen. Upon the accession of Conrad the Third, the founder of the Swabian line, the banquet-hall suddenly unfolds its portals, and we behold the high-places filled with Kings and Dukes, mailed Knights and trusty Squires, each of whom

————— took the harp in glee and game,
And made a lay and gave it name.

And the fathers of romantic poetry emerge out of the gloom of antiquity, arrayed in chivalrous splendour.

Under this new race of rulers, the dialects of the South and West of Germany obtained a decided preponderance. The Swabian, or Allemannic, became blended with the Franco-Theotisc, and thus formed the basis of the language of the present day, which, as in the parallel instance of the 'volgare illustre' of Italy, has superseded its sister idioms, and become the sole vehicle of information.

Whatever literary impulse may have been given by the first Crusade, it appears that the second produced a more decided effect, by generally diffusing the cultivation which had been maturing in the favoured regions of the South. The geographical position of the Empire caused it to become the high road for the warlike pilgrims who assembled under the banner of the cross. Its population was brought into closer connexion with the songsters of Provence and Catalonia; and their polished strains were soon re-echoed in the harsher tones of the 'MINNE SINGERS,' or bards of love, as they chose to name themselves, of the Swabian era. There is a familiar observation, that although courtship is agreeable enough to the parties who are engaged in it, it affords but a sorry amusement to the spectators; and we cannot help thinking, that this is almost equally true of love verses. The 'Minne Lieder,' however, of the ancient German poets, possess as much merit as is consistent with the class to which they belong, and the school which they imitated. Their elaborate, and sometimes intricate, versification, was copied from the laborious stanzas of the masters of the 'gaye science.' Their verse was less harmonious; but the decided accentuation of the German (a quality which it possesses in common with all other Teutonic dialects) enabled them to mark the rhythm of their lines with greater accuracy. The imagery of their lyrics is full of languid prettiness; although it presents too frequent a repetition of the same objects. The merle and the mavis are ever heard at the beginning of the song; the weather is always clear, the sun warm, and the fields enamelled with flowers; and many an important lesson is conveyed to the dreamer, whilst he is slumbering by the side of the glassy fountain, under the shade of the verdant plane-tree. King Thibault's criticisms on the commonplaces of the Provençals, may be justly applied to their German imitators.

'Feuille ne flors ne vaut riens en chantant,
'Fors ne pas defaute sans plus de rimpoier,
Et pour faire soulas moienne gent
Qui mauvais mos font sovent abayer.'

The *Minne*-singers, however, frequently burst out into a flow of jovial feeling, and warm, bridegroom-like sincerity, unknown to the sentimental troubadours, by whom, as in the lay of Guilen D'Aismar, 'un dolz pleurai' was preferred to an hundred smiles,—and whose raptures, too, are often affected, overcharged, and unnatural. A noble author is now considered as a rather rare occurrence. But in the age of the 'Minne-singers,' hardly any one dared to cultivate the art of poetry, unless he could prove his sixteen Quarters. The sovereigns of Germany themselves, emulating perhaps the example of our captive Richard, shared in the general fervour. In the valuable volume of Rudiger Maniss, which we apprehend has passed by this time from Paris to Berlin, the collection, with due regard to royal precedence, is headed by the poems of the Emperor 'Henry.' There were three sovereigns of this name; but, from the antiquity of Henry's diction, he is supposed to have been the son and successor of Frederick Barbarossa. The next place is held by Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, whose flowing versification would have recommended him to notice, even had he been of meaner rank. A ballad, distinguished for its tenderness, is given as the production of the Duke of Breslau. The rude simplicity of the times has annexed an ungraceful epithet to the person of Henry the Fat, Duke of Anhalt; but his poetry is by no means devoid of taste and elegance: And a single lay bears witness to the talents of the unfortunate Conradine, the last member of that powerful family which had filled the chief throne in Christendom during so many generations, and who was deprived of his life by the hands of the executioner, in the midst of the capital which he had endeavoured to wrest from his enemies. An old tradition ascribes the insecurity of the throne of Naples to the baneful spells of the wizzard Arbatel!—It is full time that the sanctity of St Januarius should exert itself to counteract them.

Although the poets of the Swabian era derived their name from their lyrical compositions, it must not be supposed that the other branches of poetry were overlooked by them. Henry of Veldeck, one of the earliest of the *Minne*-singers, has left a spirited paraphrase of the *Æneid*, taken however from the translation of Chrestien de Troyes, and not from the original. The name of 'Wolfram of Eschenburg and Pleienfeld' has been transmitted to posterity, accompanied by the warmest praises of his contemporaries. 'The learned Wolfram,' 'the wise master of the art,' is never mentioned by them without some tribute of applause. This distinguished writer was the younger son of a nobleman, the Lord of Eschenburg in the Palatinate; and after receiving the order of knighthood from the Count of Heuneberg, he appears to have wan-

dered from castle to castle, like a true courteous knight, dividing his time between feats of arms and minstrelsy. He is afterwards traced to the court of Hermann of Thuringia; and he is introduced as one of the personages in a singular poetical dialogue, in which he is represented as contending with other bards of note for the laurel crown. This trial of skill is said to have taken place at the castle of Würtzburg, in the presence of the Landgrave and his wife Sophia, and is noticed as an historical fact in the German chronicles. Few other particulars of Wolfram's life have been preserved. It can only be gathered from his works, that he encountered the usual fate of genius,—poverty and disappointment; and his tomb, in our Lady's church in the village of Eschenburg, leads to the conjecture, that, before his death, he had retired to the ancient patrimony of his family.

The 'Geste' of King Rother connects itself both with the 'Helden-buch' and the Cycle of Charlemaine; as he is represented as the father of Pepin. This poem, and a fragment of the history of the expeditions of the French monarch against the Saracens, are the earliest specimens now extant of the German metrical romance. But King Arthur and his knights soon divided the empire of fiction with 'Rolant and Oliver,' and the national heroes of the Garden of Roses; and the fame which Eschenbach enjoyed is principally due to the romantic epics—for they deserve the name—which he composed on the subject of the Saint Greal. Those who are versed in Northern literature, would do well to inquire whether the British fictions may not have had some influence on those of Scandinavia; particularly as the Normans retained their language, and kept up their connexions with the North, long after they had settled in Neustria. In the Wilkina Saga we find a King 'Artus of Bertin-galand,' (Brittany, or perhaps Britain), which is also frequently named in the Kæmpe-viser, whose daughter Hilda was so intent upon her prayers, that the adventurous Hubert was unable to get a sight of her countenance, until she looked off her book to wonder at two mice running up the church-wall, which her lover had decorated with gold and silver. After the death of Artus, his kingdom was usurped by King Ilsung; but his two sons escaped to the dominions of Attila, who bestowed 'Brandinberg' upon 'Jarl Iron' the eldest, and the husband of the wary Isold; and 'Tyra near the Rhine' upon Apollonius, who married the daughter of King Solomon of Frankarika, which generally signifies France; though M. von der Hagen supposes, that it is used in this instance for Franconia. We cannot pretend to clear up this whimsical confusion of well known names; and shall content ourselves with re-

marking, that a King Solomon appears in the annals of Brittany nearly in the age of Attila; and that the name of Apollonius of Tyre may have been long naturalized in the North, since the Greek romance was translated into the Anglo-Saxon at a very early period. •

The Germans appear to have become acquainted with the metrical romances of the Round Table, nearly as soon as they assumed their present form. But it is singular that Eschenbach accuses Chrestien de Troyes, the author of *Percival*, of having ‘falsified the tale,’ which had been ‘truly told by Master Kyot of Provence.’ The German commentators assume, that the poem thus alluded to was written in the Provençal dialect: But Le Grand has shown, that the existence of such romances amongst that people is exceedingly problematical; and we rather suspect that Eschenbach is praising a work, now probably lost, of Guiot de Provins, whose satirical ‘bible’ shows that he was a writer of no ordinary talent. There are few subjects better calculated for romantic poetry than the Mystic Greal, when, as in the *Mort Arthur*, it enters, preceded by peals of thunder, borne by invisible hands, ‘filling the hall with sweet odours,’ and illumined by beams ‘seven times brighter than the light of day.’ Eschenbach has made the Saint Greal the central point, if the expression may be allowed, of an innumerable variety of adventures, which he has combined, like Ariosto, in artful perplexity, in the poems of *Percival* and *Titur*. The Greal is entrusted to Titur, the son of Titurison and Elizabeth of Aragon;—angels lead him to Mont-Salvatz, in the midst of a dreary forest near Salvatierra in Galicia; and the model of the magnificent temple, which is to contain the holy vessel, is framed by celestial hands. The Greal is at length conveyed to India, where it rests in the dominions of Prester John, far out of the reach of the profane, and under the guardianship of a chosen band of Round-table chivalry. The heathen Flegetanis is quoted as the author of the tale, which Kyot, ‘well learned in the heathen tongues,’ found written at Toledo. At first this appears like the veracious references to the sage Cid Hamet Ben-engeli; but the poems of Eschenbach certainly abound in orientalisms, which the original authors probably obtained from the Spanish Moors; and some of which, for we could easily add to the number, have been ably pointed by Görres.

The German versions of Iwain and Gawain, and of his *Tristrem*, are interesting, from their relation to the antiquities of this country. Iwain and Gawain was brought to Germany by a Knight, Sir Hartmann of Awe, who had long resided in England, where he had read the story in ‘the French books.’

‘ Der (Hartmann) bracht dise mere,
 Zu tulsch als ich han vernommen
 Do er usz Engelandt was Kommen
 Da er vil zit was gewesen
 Hat ers an den Welschen buchen gelesen.’

The Tristan of Götfried of Strasburg, who lived in the early part of the 13th century, throws fresh obscurity on an inquiry which is already sufficiently perplexing. It will be recollected, that, according to Mr Scott's hypothesis, Thomas of Erildoun must have composed his poem about the year 1250, and that he is identified with the ‘Thomas’ whose authority is appealed to in the ancient French fragment. But Götfried, who, according to the accounts which are given of him, must have written some years before the date assigned by Mr Scott to the Rhymer's poem, gives a similar preference to the tale of ‘Thomas of Brittanie,’ who read the lives of the Kings (lantherren) in the British books.

* ‘ Si ne sprachen in der rihti niht
 Alse Thomas von Brittanie giht,
 Der Aventure ein meister waz
 Undan Britaniochen buchen laz
 Aller der lantherren leben,
 Unde ez uns ze Kunde liet gegeben.’

The poem was concluded, Götfried having left it unfinished, by Henry of Vriberg, who calls the original, a poem written by Thomas in the ‘*Lombard tongue*,’ *Lampartischer zunge*,—an expression to which it is not easy to affix a definite meaning. A second continuation was written by Ulrick of Thürheim, and a third by an unknown writer, according to whom, ‘the adventure was first composed by Eylhart of Hobergin.’ This name is variously corrupted, and neither the age nor the country of the person whom it designates has been ascertained. All that is known, is, that he was a contemporary of ‘Thomas;’ for in an ancient note, at the head of the MSS. of Götfried's *Tristrem*, in the royal library at Munich (which is repeated in substance in the printed prosaic romance), it is stated that ‘the history was first written by Tohmnas of Brittanias, and that he lent the book to one Dilhart of Oberet, who afterwards put it into rhyme.’ From these discordant authorities, we can only collect the fact of the wide diffusion of the fame of ‘Thomas,’ whoever he was. It may not be irrelevant to add,

* The whole passage, which affords much room for speculation, is too long for insertion. Since writing the above, the ‘*Wiener Allgemeine Litteratur Zeitung*,’ for June last, has reached us. It contains a review of Mr Scott's edition of *Sir Tristrem*; and the subject is there fully discussed.

that Sir Thomas Malory follows his namesake of Ercildoun much closer than the *printed* French romance, as the Mort Arthur has the * permutation of Sir Tristrem's name, to which there is no allusion whatever in the latter.

The Swabian era produced upwards of two hundred poets, many of whom are deserving our attention. But, for the present, we shall imitate the prudent conduct of the Persian author of the Shah Nameh, who consoles his readers, in every page, by telling them that he has omitted many particulars, 'lest they should get the headache:'. And we shall abridge their labour as well as our own, by merely observing, that in the dawning of literature, the Germans fully kept pace with the rest of Europe. Under Rodolph of Hapsburg (1273) and his successors, they began to lose ground; and the brilliancy which had distinguished the preceding era gradually died away. The Western and Southern states of Europe, from England round to Sicily, in which polite literature was rapidly advancing, were in a state of uninterrupted intercourse with each other, occasioned sometimes by the friendship of their rulers, and just as often by their dissensions. But the members of the empire became estranged from this portion of the European commonwealth; and attached themselves, in preference to their neighbours of Slavonian and Tartar race, to Hungary and Bohemia and Poland and their dependencies, which had now acquired stability and opulence. Alliances were multiplied with these countries; some of them became incorporated in the Empire, and others passed under the dominion of German Princes. But this intercourse with the semi-barbarous descendants of Lech Czech, and Mayzor, could neither improve the taste of the Germans, nor excite their emulation.

In the Swabian age, gnomie poetry had not been disregarded; and those who are already blessed with patience, may no doubt acquire other graces from the perusal of Master Treigedank, who has left us an awful string of moral aphorisms. The admonitions given by King Tyrol of Scotland, to his son King Fridebant, are also preserved in a poem of some merit.—Schiller, the learned editor, with great simplicity, expresses his surprise on finding that this worthy monarch is omitted by Boethius and Buchanan. The writer, who has given weight to his doctrine, by placing it in the mouth of King Tyrol, has been imitated by another poet, who ascribes his lessons of justice and modesty to Winsbeke and Winsbekin, an exemplary couple, who

* 'Thenne he answered, I am of the countree of Lyon, and my name is Sir *Tramtryst*, that thus was wounded in a batayll as I fought for a ladye's ryght.'—M. Arthur, b. 7. c. 6.

lived in the time of Barbarossa. When the Germans were cut off from the influence of foreign literature, this characteristic feature of their poetry, which had hitherto appeared in a subordinate light, now became more decidedly predominant. Romantic poetry, in general, assumed a didactic cast; and the place of fancy and invention was supplied by sober commonplace and morality.

It is difficult to establish a definite boundary for the different periods of literary history; they melt into each other like the colours of the rainbow. In Conrad of Würzburg who flourished towards the conclusion of the 13th century, we find the glow of better days, united to some of the peculiarities of the later 'Master-singers' of Augsburg and Nuremberg. 'The tale of Troy Divine' forms the subject of Conrad's principal work. It is borrowed, though with such alterations as to entitle it to be considered an original composition, from some of the Romanesque translations of the legend-like narrations of Dares-Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis. He compares the story to an 'endless flood'—and with reason, according to his method of amplifying it; as the portion which has been printed, and which contains upwards of twenty-five thousand verses, just brings it down to the sacrifice of Iphigenia. The 'Trojanisches Krieg' has the customary anachronisms of the middle ages; the half-naked heroes of Greece are clad in plate armour; and the deities of Olympus descend like the gaudy pageants of a Flemish Keriness: but passages of great beauty may be selected from it. The infant Paris, for instance, is described as being delighted with his image reflected in the broad shining glaive of the knight whom Priam has charged with his destruction, and as 'smiling so sweetly' on the murderers, as to unman them for the completion of their errand. Conrad is ever complaining of the downfall of knightly virtue, and the apathy of the great, who had ceased to cultivate poetry themselves, and left it unpatronized in others; yet he indignantly exclaims, 'he cares not for their gifts—his tongue shall not be silent, since the art itself will reward him;—he will continue his song like the nightingale—she who sings for her own sake;—hidden in the woods, her notes assuage her cares, nor does she heed whether any stranger listens to the strain.' In the same spirit, his allegorical poem, entitled 'the Complaint of Art,' introduces the genius of poetry, pallid, poverty-struck, and scarcely covered by a tattered robe of grass-green 'samito,' preferring her complaints before the throne of justice. The versification of this little poem, equals the best productions of modern Germany. Conrad's poem in praise of the Virgin, and which bears the apparently incongruous title of 'Die Goldene Schmiede,' has lately been

published by M. Grimm ; it is a fluent rhapsody, in which earth and heaven are ransacked to furnish praises for his patroness.

When Conrad of Wëirtzburg vented his complaints, a few princes and high-born lords, amongst whom Otto the Marquis of Brandenburg, and the Count of Leiningen may be named as the most distinguished, still continued to imitate the style of the Swabian poets : But they had no successors. The art expired amongst the nobility ; and the scene was suddenly changed. We must now quit the grey battlements and lofty towers of the mountain fortress, and direct our way to the opulent and industrious city, whose fillagree steeples and painted roofs, rise on each other in picturesque confusion. In her new dwelling, the Muse was compelled to abandon the themes in which she had hitherto delighted. The witchery of romantic adventure awakened no kindred sensation in the breast of the formal provost, or the drowsy burgher. The prowess of Dietrich, in evading the blows of the knotty club of the tremendous Siegenot, was lost, when detailed to those whose notions of a giant were modelled upon the wooden Rowland, which stared with immoveable ferocity in front of the Stadthouse, or the clumsy pasteboard ' Reus ' which had paraded through the streets on last Corpus-Christi day : And Sir Tristrem's skill in the noble science of the chase, would have been but lightly esteemed, we suspect, unless the ' hart of Ten, ' duly ' broken and undone, ' was actually served up at table in the savoury form of a venison pasty. Even the most tender portions of romance became equally exceptionable. In the country, the ' word of fear ' is heard from every tree only in the merry spring tide ; but in the warm atmosphere of the town, the note of the malicious songster resounds from January to December. There the courtly complaisance of an Yseult or a Geneura, might have excited many an awkward whisper ; and many a furred cap would have sat uneasy on the civic brow, had the name of Horny Siegfried dropped from the lips of the heedless minstrel. Thus restricted, the chief recommendation of verse consisted in its being a fit medium for ' prof-
' fittable ensamples ' and discreet advice ; and although lighter subjects were not wholly excluded, yet they were sure to be treated with becoming soberness and gravity.

Henry of Meissen, who, like our moral Gower, went

——' the myddell way

And wrote a boke by tweene the twey,

Somewhat of lust, somewhat of lore,

was afterwards considered by the ' Master-singers ' as the founder of their schools. This writer, a doctor of theology, and a canon of the cathedral of Mentz, obtained the surname of ' Frauenlob ' or ' Praise-the-ladies, ' from the tenor of his poems

His admiration, however, of the fair was perfectly Platonic—his contemplative poetry is only warmed by mystical devotion; and, in addressing the Virgin Mary, he considers the whole sex as ennobled by the rays which dart from its deified representative. His praises, however, such as they were, seem to have been singularly agreeable to the women of Mentz. We know not what rewards their gratitude bestowed upon him in his lifetime; but they gave an extraordinary demonstration of it at his funeral. ‘On the eve of St Andrew, in the year 1318,’ we read in the old Chronicle of Albert of Strasburgh, ‘Henry, surnamed “Frauenlob,” was buried at Mentz, in the *parvis* of the great church near unto the stairs, with marvellous solemnity. His corpse was carried by women from his dwellinghouse unto the place of burial; and loudly did they moan and bewail his death, on account of the infinite praises which he had bestowed on womankind in his poetry.’ And the Chronicle then adds, that ‘so much good wine was poured into the grave, that it overflowed with the libations;’—a strange and almost heathen ceremony adopted by these disconsolate mourners! Frauenlob had an active competitor in the person of Master Bartholomew Regenbogen, by whom he was bitterly attacked. Regenbogen himself informs us, that he was once ‘a smith,’ and ‘earned his bread right pitifully on the hard anvil.’ He did not improve his worldly circumstances by taking to his new calling; yet he remained true to it, notwithstanding he inveighs loudly against the avarice of his patrons, and occasionally threatens that he will return again to his hammer.

New metrical romances were no longer composed, although some of the more ancient favourites, particularly those which now form the ‘Helder-buch,’ were re-written about this time, and the diction altered so as to make them more generally intelligible. The love of fiction took another turn, and produced what may be termed the mixed romance, in which the biography of distinguished persons of no remote age, was strangely disguised by arbitrary inventions, in the manner of the metrical life of Richard Cœur de Lion. A fanciful poem of this description, ‘The Life of Duke Ernest of Bavaria,’ has been attributed, but without adequate proof, to Henry of Veldeck. It has been noticed, that it has been imitated in the second part of the Romance of Huon de Bourdeaux. Duke Ernest is of an antient date; but the fashion did not spread until the times of which we are now speaking, in which many works of this nature originated. Conrad of Würtzburgh wrote a poetical history of the Duke of Austria’s expedition against the Infidels in Prussia, where, by the way, they appear to have made a pretty durable settlement. The history of Henry the Lion,

Duke of Brunswick, is still popular amongst the German peasantry. The Devil carries this celebrated warrior on his back, like the Bishop in Coleridge's Ballads, and conveys him from the Holy Land to Brunswick, where he arrives when he is least expected; and reveals himself to his wife, a second Runnild, who is on the point of becoming a reluctant bride, by dropping the 'gimmel ring' in the golden goblet. With these romances are connected a class of poems, holding a middle place between the longer romantic relations and the common ballad, most of which are grounded on some marvellous incident. The history of Anthijr, a valiant king of the Mecklenburgh Vandals. The history of Sir Peter of Stauffenbergh and the Mermaid, founded on a very ancient popular tradition, and which has been translated by Mr Jamieson into the difficult dialect of Barbour. 'The deeds of the noble hero Thedel Unverseden of Walnoden, may be considered as concluding the series. Those who are curious to learn how he defied the might of Satan, may consult the novel told by 'Monseigneur' * of the gentle knight of Almain 'moult grand voyageur en son temps,' where they will find the edifying story upon which it is founded.

We have had the satisfaction of beholding a portion of the venerable body of Saint Barlaam enshrined in crystal—either his little finger or his great toe—we have unfortunately forgotten which; and therefore have read with great interest the legend in which this holy hermit acts so conspicuous a part. It was versified by Rodolph of Hohenems, who flourished between the years 1220 and 1254. The taste for these pious inventions increased; and the principal works in the Nether Saxon dialect, which began to be much cultivated in the 14th century, were rhyming legends and religious allegories. An amusing specimen is found in the life of St Brandan, the Christian Odyssey, as it has been called by a German writer. The history of this holy Irishman is so extravagantly wild, that even Vincent de Beauvais, who was not easily startled, declares, that he considers it as apocryphal. St Brandan's tedious voyage appears to have been undertaken for the purpose of expiating his unbelief in the Zoology of Pliny and Solinus. He reads in a 'boke' of the wondrous beasts and mishapen races of men which this world contains;—he peruses, chapter after chapter, till his patience is exhausted;—and, in a fit of spleen, he throws the volume in the fire. This happened either in Jutland or in Ireland; and the very same night an angel appeared to him, and, as a fitting penance for the wanton destruction which he had occasioned, the celestial messenger enjoined him to perform a task, which, to the

* Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, No. 70.

present generation, appears the easiest and most amusing of all others, namely, that '*he should make the book all over again.*'

We give the mandate in the words of the original—

'Dar umme dat du dat bok vorbrant hest in dun oure
Dat bok mostu wedder maken :

Al kondestu nummer mer to frauden raken.'

In order to collect materials for this refacciamiento, the Saint provisions a vessel for a seven years' voyage, and sets sail without loss of time, accompanied by his fellow monks and his chaplain. In the process of 'making the book,' St Brandan has shown that he was a thorough-paced proficient in that useful art, as he has very judiciously eked out his journal, by borrowing some of the choicest adventures of Lucian's true history. All professions have their patron saints; and we think that Grub-Street and Paternoster-Row should join in a dinner on the 10th of May—this holy man's anniversary. Of the same age are the legends of the holy virgin, Saint Marina, who, disguised in male attire, was placed by her father in a convent of jolly friars; Theophilus, who makes over his body and soul to Satan, and is delivered by the virgin, who cites Satan out of hell, and compels him to surrender the fatal bond; and the long and entertaining story of Zeno. All these are in the same dialect.

The numerous 'universal histories' in verse, however legendary and inaccurate, were the means of diffusing information amongst the 'lewed,' who had not Latin enough to enable them to attack the folios of Vincent de Beauvais and Helinandus. When literature became fixed in the towns, a greater degree of attention was given to histories possessing a local interest. For these, sufficient materials were furnished by the interminable disputes and petty wars between the free cities and the neighbouring sovereigns and nobility.

From the time of Frauenlob and Regenbogen, the cultivation of German poetry devolved almost exclusively upon the 'MASTER-SINGERS' in the great towns, to whom we have already alluded. Poetry, certainly, never had so singular a fortune in any other country. It actually became one of the incorporated trades in all cities; and the burghers obtained the freedom of it, as of any other corporation. Of many of these humble bards, we know very little more than their names, which in truth are not particularly prepossessing:—Zwinger and Wurgendrussel, Buchenlin, Anker, and Hell-fire, Old Stoll and Young Stoll, Strong Bopp, Dang Brotschein, Batt Spiegel, Peter Pfort, and Martin Gumpel. The period when these guilds or schools of verse first received their statutes and regulations, is involved in great uncertainty. On this head the German antiquaries are divided in opinion. By M. Grimm, the

Minne-singers and the Master-singers are supposed to have originally formed but one class of poets ; and one of the works noticed at the head of this article, maintains this theory against the objections of Docen, who has taken the opposite side of the question. At all events, these societies offer a most singular phenomenon. Composed entirely of the lower ranks of society, of hard working tradesmen and artificers, they obtained a monopoly of verse-craft, and extended their tuncful fraternities over the greater part of the empire. Wherever the ' *hoch deutsch* ' was spoken, there the Master-singers founded a colony ; and they were even found in Bohemia, where the German was more familiar to the mixed population of the towns, than the Slavonian language.

The vulgar, all over the world, delight to indulge themselves with glitter, and parade, and external distinction ; and it is amusing to observe how easily the lower orders can contrive to gratify the cravings which they feel, in common with greater folks. The law will have it, that the King is the sole fountain of honour ; but those who are too diminutive and feeble to toil up to the pinnacle of the rock, and lave themselves in the streams of royal favour, find means to slake their thirst, quite as effectually, from humbler sources. A lodge of odd fellows will marshall a funeral with as many staves and banners as could be furnished by the Lord Lion King at Arms, and all his heralds and pursuivants to boot, from Albany to Dingwall. The petty huckster of the country town, has no order dangling from his button-hole ; and can never hope to figure in the installation :—But his veins swell with quite as much dignity when he stalks in the procession with his pinchbeck badge and embroidered apron, the grand officer of his lodge of freemasons, gazed on and admired by all the slipshod wenches and ragged urchins of the parish. The workings of this insatiate propensity may be distinctly traced in the pride and solemnity of the schools of verse of the Master-singers. The candidate was introduced with great form into the assembly. The four ' *merkers* ' or examiners, sat behind a silken curtain, to pass judgment on his qualifications. One of these had Martin Luther's translation of the Bible before him, it being considered as the standard of the language. His province was to decide whether the diction of the novice was pure, and his grammar accurate. The others attended to the rhyme and metre of the composition, and the melody to which it was sung. And if they united in declaring, that the candidate had complied with the statutes and regulations, he was decorated with a silver chain and badge,—the latter representing good King David playing on the harp ; and he was honourably admitted into the society.

The metrical system of the Master-singers was peculiar to

themselves. Their technical terms cannot be well translated; we shall therefore add the few which we shall notice in the original. Our mineralogical friends are so well content to crackle, and whizz, and thump, through many an Anglo-Wernerian page of quartz, gneiss, trapp, schorl, blue whack, and grey whack, that we humbly hope and trust that, for once, the nomenclature of this marketable poesy may also be allowed to pass muster. The poems of the Master-singers were always lyrical, and actually sung to music. The entire poem was called a 'bar;' and it was divided generally into three, but sometimes into five or more stanzas, or 'gesetze: And each 'satz' also fell into three portions; the first of which was a 'Stole,' the second an 'Abgesang,' and the third a 'Stole,' like the first. The rhymes were classed into 'stumpfe-reime' and 'klingende-reime;' and 'stumpfe-schlag-reime' and 'klingende-schlag-reime' and other denominations were employed, which we shall spare ourselves the trouble of transcribing. 'The poets, singers and merkers,' counted the syllables on their fingers; and if there was a proper number of syllables in the line, it was of no consequence whether they were long or short. The length of the verse, the number of lines, and the order of the rhymes in each 'stole' and 'abgesang,' was variable, and consequently their poems were susceptible of a great variety of forms, which were called tunces or 'weise.' The invention of a new 'weise' was considered as the test of a Master-singer's abilities. There were some hundreds of these 'weise,' all named after their inventors; as, 'Hans Tindeisen's rosemary 'weise;' Joseph Schmierer's flowery-paradise 'weise;' Hans Fogel's fresh 'weise;' and Henry Frauenlob's yellow 'weise,' and his blue 'weise,' and his frog 'weise,' and his looking-glass 'weise.' The code of criticism to which the Master-singers were subjected, was contained in the rules or 'Tabulatur' of the societies; and it certainly was most unreasonably severe. They were actually prohibited from employing 'sentences which nobody could understand,' or 'words wherein no meaning could be discovered;' which unfeeling interdictions are found in the 4th and 5th articles of the Nuremberg Tabulatur. The Master-singers amused themselves by ascribing an extravagant antiquity to their institutions; although their statutes and regulations do not appear to have been completely established till the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. Master Cyril Sprangenburg, indeed, deduced their history from 'the Celtic bards in the time of Abraham;' and this elaborate disquisition gave such satisfaction to the Society, that it was transcribed in vellum, and 'bound with gold bosses, clasps and corners,' and preserved amongst their archives with as much

veneration as the Florentine copy of the Pandects. The charter of incorporation of the 'Twelve Wise Masters,' was said to have been granted by the Emperor Otto and Pope Leo the Fourth. To show the absurdity of the fable, it will be sufficient to observe, that Conrad of Würtzburg, and Frauenlob, and others of yet later date, are said to have been cited by that Emperor in the year 962, to appear before him at Pavia, where, as 'Adam Puschman' gravely records, 'they sung before the professors of the University, and were declared to be the masters and founders of the art.'

The city of Nuremberg was the Athens of these incorporated poets. To the credit of Hans Foltz, the barber and master-singer, who shaved there in the middle of the 15th century, it must be told, that he took great interest in promoting the then newly discovered art of printing; and even set up a private press at his own house. None of his mastership songs have been published; but his *Mystery*, or 'Fastnacht's Spiel,' founded on the old story of 'Solomon and Marcolfus,' went through many editions, and became quite a stock piece. Hans Rosenblut, who followed the trade of an illuminator or letter-painter, also excelled as a dramatic writer; and his best piece, 'the Grand Turk's Mystery,' is yet a favourite at the German fairs; although the Pope's ambassador, and the rest of the 'corps diplomatique,' who figure at the general congress, assembled for the purpose of taking the Sultan's proposal into consideration, are now enacted by the wooden representatives, vulgarly yclep'd puppets. But none of the Master-singers can vie with the industrious Hans Sacks, the shoemaker. Hans was born at Nuremberg in the year 1494; and his father, an honest taylor, placed him, at an early age, in the free-school of the town, where, as he mentions in one of his poems, 'he was indifferently taught, according to the bad system which was followed in those days.' However, he 'picked up a few scraps of Greek and Latin.' In his fifteenth year, he learnt shoemaking; and about the same time, one Nuppenbeck, a weaver and master-singer, instructed him in the rudiments of the 'meister gesang.' According to an old German custom, it was usual for young workmen to travel round the country, for some years before they settled in their trade. Hans confesses, that his conduct during his rambles was not altogether exemplary, but he lost no opportunity of improving himself in the 'praiseworthy art;' and, in his twentieth year, he composed his first 'bar,' a godly song, to the tune of 'Long Marner,' and was admitted to share in the honours to which he had so long aspired. Hans was partial to narrative poetry; but he gained most renown by his plays and farces,

some of which extend to seven acts, and which afforded wonderful amusement to the patient Nurembergers. In the seventy-seventh year of his age, he took an inventory of his poetical stock in trade, and found, according to his narrative, that his works ‘filled thirty folio volumes, all written with his own hand,’ and consisted of four thousand two hundred ‘master-ship songs; two hundred and eight comedies, tragedies and farces; one thousand seven hundred fables, tales, and miscellaneous poems, and seventy-three devotional, military, and love songs; making a sum-total of six thousand and forty-eight pieces, great and small.’ Out of these he culled as many as filled three massy folios, which were published in the years 1558–61. And another edition being called for, Hans could not resist the temptation of increasing it from his manuscripts. During the whole of his life, he continued to work at his trade, although he found leisure enough to spin out a greater mass of rhyme than was ever produced by one man, if Lope de Vega be excepted. Hans had the satisfaction to find that his ‘collected works’ were received as a welcome gift by the public; and, in the year 1576, he died full of years and honour. We have given these details, because the fame of this indefatigable writer has lately revived in Germany; and a reprint of his works, or at least of a part of them, is in contemplation. The humour of his *fabliaux*, or ‘*Schwänke*,’ certainly is not contemptible. He laughs lustily, and makes his reader join him: his manner, as far as verse can be compared to-prose, is not unlike that of Rabelais, but less grotesque. The Frenchman runs on like the witty and extravagant jester of former times; he rattles his ‘marotto’ until you are stunned with the noise. Hans tells his tale like a convivial burgher fond of his can, and still fonder of drollery.

Some of the older German moralizing satires, became very popular in foreign countries. This is not the place to speak of the satirical writings which arose out of the Reformation, and to which they proved such powerful auxiliaries. But the works of this description which were produced long before Luther was called into activity, are nevertheless all stamped with the same character. Their authors were generally deeply-learned, coarse, clear-headed ecclesiastics, primed with the Classics and the Fathers, and yet acquainted with the world; keen observers; dauntless enemies of folly and superstition; but whose wit is dashed with grossness, and whose caustic satire degenerates into abuse.

Caxton’s prose translation of *Reynard the Fox*, in which he says, ‘I have not added, ne mynished, but have followed, as nyghe as I can, my cotype, which was in Dutche’—was printed

ten years before any of the Dutch or German editions of this most favourite allegory made its appearance. According to Eccard, a Count Reginard or Reinhard, who lived in the 9th century, was disgraced and banished by King Zwentibold, the son of the Emperor Arnolph. This nobleman having fled to his castle of Durfos, where he contrived to defend himself by his stratagems, gained the name of 'the Fox,' whilst his own became the popular denomination of that wily animal. Eccard also finds a prototype for the wolf, who, in the allegories of the middle ages, often bears the name of Isengrim, in an Austrian count who rebelled against Zwentibold's father. The exploits of these troublesome vassals are asserted to have been sung in popular ballads, very anciently current in the Low Countries; and these are supposed by the historian to have suggested to Jacquemar's *Gielée of Lisle*, the plan of his '*Nouveau Renard*.' Eccard's conjectures rest upon slender grounds; and the history of the French poems of *Gielée*, *Richebeuf*, &c. is foreign to our subject; but it is necessary to premise thus much, as the Saxon, '*Reynke de Voss*,' is professedly borrowed from the French language. Henry of Alkmaar, the author, describes himself 'as schoolmaster and *teacher of morals* (*trecht leser*) to the Duke of Lorraine;' and as it may be conjectured that he found some difficulty in exercising his vocation, he probably thought it advisable to be able to apologize, as Caxton did. 'If any thyng be said or wreten herein that may greve or dysplease any man, *blame not me but the fore, for they bee his wordes, and not mync*.' The existence of Henry of Alkmaar has been called in question; nor has it been ascertained how far the *Reynke* corresponds with the French romances: It is written with uncommon spirit and freedom, and appears so completely naturalized, that we apprehend nothing but the mere outline of the story can have been imitated from the French. Gottsched has collected a chapter full of 'testimonies' in favour of the *Reynke*, although he entertains some doubts whether James Gulielmus Laurenbergius actually held it to be the next best book to the Bible. Whatever James Gulielmus Laurenbergius may have thought, the English reader will best appreciate its value, when he is told that it nearly equals the humour of the *Nonnes Preeste's Tale*. The general attack on Bruin the bear (*Reynke de Vos*, B. 1. c. 9.) when the priest and the priest's housekeeper, and Rustcoyl's household and neighbours, swarthy Sanders, and bandy-legged Slobbe, sally forth to assail the luckless beast, who escapes by overturning poor Mistress Jutta in the horse-pond, to the inexpressible dismay of her reverend master, can only be surpassed by the whim and bustle of Chaucer's hue and cry.

Caxton translated from the ancient Dutch or Flemish ‘Réynaert de Vos.’ We have compared the first chapters, which agree pretty closely. It was afterwards re-composed and enlarged again and again, in French, and in German, and in Latin, and in English, so that the ‘most pleasant and delectable history of Reynard the Fox’ bears only a general resemblance to Alkmaar’s poem, which we consider as the original of all the prose works. The opinion which has been advanced, that he imitated either the Dutch or English prose, appears wholly untenable. Sebastian Brand’s *Ship of Fools*, was translated into half the languages in Europe. The preacher, John Geiler of Keyserburg composed one hundred and ten sermons upon the follies of the world, which he delivered at Strasburg, taking the illustrations of his text, ‘*Stultorum infinitus est numerus*’ from Brand’s ample cargo. Geiler gives many minute and whimsical pictures of the time, and is more humorous than the Chancellor of Strasburg, who writes, however, with plain good sense, and honestly confesses that he deserves the cap and bells full as much as the crew which he has shipped to Narragonia.

Bouterwek remarks, that ‘the rude inferiority of the German poetry, during the 16th century, forms an unpleasing contrast to its state in Italy and Spain, where the Germans might easily have acquired a taste for elegant literature, if they had been gifted with any perception of its beauties. The military and political relations which Charles the Fifth had with Italy, led crowds of the German nobility into that country. The same monarch introduced numbers of distinguished Spaniards into Germany, where the Spanish language became well known. And yet, in the age of Ariosto and Cervantes, Hans Sachs continued to rank as the first of German poets; and the only dignified epic which Germany possessed, was the stiff allegory of Melchior Pfuitzing.’ However low the ‘adventures of the honourable, valorous, and far-famed knight, Sir Tewrdrannekhs,’ may rank as a romantic poem, it is nevertheless a valuable specimen of the typographical luxury of the Germans, a taste which was justly encouraged by Maximilian, by whom the graphic arts were employed to transmit to posterity the memorials of the unexampled magnificence of his court. Maximilian, like Francis the First, prided himself in being a ‘preux Chevalier.’ At the diet of Worms, he did not think it beneath his rank to descend into the lists, and break a lance with the boastful Frenchman, who had proffered defiance to the Knights of Germany. This monarch showed his partiality for chivalry in the library as well as in the field. He formed a curious collection of ancient manuscripts, which were deposited in the Castle of Ambras in the Tyrol, and which were afterwards removed to the Imperial library

at Vienna. When 'Tewrdaunekhs' first appeared, the known taste of the Emperor gave rise to the supposition that he was the author of the work. This question has been long debated. The authority of Cuspinian, who ascribes it to him, has been considered of great weight: and in the Imperial Library, there is a rough draught of the first seventy-four chapters in Maximilian's handwriting; in the margin of which he has given careful instructions for the composition of the engravings, which ornament the printed copies. This manuscript, however, differs materially from the printed text; and the most probable opinion is, that the Emperor sketched out the plan of the poem, but that it owes its present shape to Melchior Pfuitzing then Provost of St Sebald's church at Nuremberg. In the course of time, the well known bibliographer Panzer succeeded to the parsonage of St Sebald's, and became the inhabitant of the deanery which Pfuitzing had 'rebuilt at his own expense.' The worthy historian of printing adds, that he often 'looked up with pleasure to the inscription on the little stone tablet over his library door' which recorded Pfuitzing's liberality. We can enter into his feelings; for the early editions are certainly amongst the finest specimens of printing which the art has ever produced, although the wood cuts of Hans Schaufelin to which the Emperor was so attentive, have been rather overrated. The poem acquired just celebrity, although it is dreadfully tedious. It contains an allegorical biography of its reputed author. In the character of Tewrdaunekhs, which, when divested of Pfuitzing's spelling, and written Theuerdank, appears a little less terrific, he is represented as wooing the Princess *Ehrenreich*, daughter of King *Romreich*, under which names we are to recognize Mary of Burgundy, and Charles the Bold her father: Theuerdank is led into manifold perils by the treacherous advice of the three Ministers of Romreich's kingdom, 'Furvittig,' or Presumption; 'Unfalo,' or Calamity; and 'Neidelhait,' or Envy. And it is a joyful event to arrive at the conclusion of the poem, when the whole Cabinet is thus disposed of. One is hanged—another beheaded—and the third has his neck broken by being thrown from the top of a high wall.

Poetry long continued thus degraded. The learned lived in Germany like Roman colonists, and looked down upon the barbarous language of the nation with as much contempt as the Prefect of Augusta-Vindelicorum, could have done. The nobility were not devoid of a thirst for knowledge: It was an age of polemics; and those who had embraced the reformation were anxious to be able to repel the objections of their opponents. Public affairs could not be managed without a knowledge of the civil law. But no flowers grew in the path

which they had chosen. There was no opportunity of cultivating composition or oratory. The provincial States held their meetings with closed doors: and, in the general diet of the Empire, their attention was mainly engrossed by deciding who should sit on a chair, and who on an arm-chair; or in devising such acute expedients for allaying the heart-burnings of offended dignity, as that which placed the Prince Bishop of Osnaburgh on the Quer-banck. An insuperable barrier was raised between the nobility and the rotouriers; (we must be allowed to use the French word, and to exult in observing, that no corresponding term can be found in English);—but if it could have been passed, they would have profited little by being bound prentices to the Nuremberg Master-singers. And if any genius arose amongst these industrious professors, their regulations were sure to repress it into dull mediocrity. Amidst all these discouragements, a pleasing ray of poetical feeling may be discovered in these humble productions, the popular song and ballad, by which fame was neither earned nor sought for. The most valuable portion now extant of these compositions, was composed in the sixteenth century. But their history can be traced much higher. The style and manner of our own Border ballads may be reckoned as a portion of the inheritance which we derive from our ancestors, whether they wandered in the Hircynian forest, or the wilds of Scandinavia: And in the Lay of Hildebrand we can discover the phraseology of our latest minstrelsy.

‘ Her furlaet in lante luttilla sitten
Prut in bure, barn unwahsan. ’

The singular and striking analogy existing between the Danish and Scottish ballads, was first discovered by Mr Jamieson; and in the present work he has resumed the inquiry on a more extended scale.

‘ The songs mentioned by Tacitus, in his account of the Germans, those collected by the order of Charlemagne, and those which the Goths brought with them out of the East, are now not to be found; yet it is more than probable, that much more of them is preserved, in however altered a form, than we are aware of,—in the elder Northern and Teutonic Romances, the Danish and Swedish, Scottish and English popular ballads, and those which are sung by old women and nurses, and hawked about at fairs, in Germany. To show the intimate connexion which these have with each other, is the principal object in view in this publication; and the materials brought forward for this purpose have in general one merit at least, that of being altogether new, in any form whatever, to most, if not all, of our readers.

‘ As to the *execution* of the part of this work assigned to the present writer, he begs leave to observe, that he wishes himself to be considered rather as a commentator and editor, than a poetical trans-

lator ; for his translations themselves have been done, to the best of his ability, in such a manner as to supersede the necessity of illustration ; and such pieces have been selected as might best illustrate each other, as well as the general subject of our ballad romance and traditional poetry. Where there seemed to be occasion for throwing light upon, or preserving the memory of, peculiar usages, superstitions, &c. notes have been subjoined.

‘ As to the *dialect* (the ancient Scottish) adopted in these versions, he is under considerable anxiety, being aware that it may be received with diffidence, and its propriety questioned. They were written in Livonia, after a residence of upwards of twelve years in England, and four on the Continent : and it will with justice be concluded, that he must have lost much of the natural facility in the use of his native dialect, which is above all necessary for poetical narrative. Of this he is himself sufficiently sensible ; and therefore would never have attempted to adapt it to original composition ; at the same time that he is far from considering it as a valid objection to his undertaking his present task. Having cultivated an intimate acquaintance with the Scottish language in all its stages, so far back as any monuments of it remain, he might be supposed to have some confidence in his use of it. If in his translations he has blended the dialects of different ages, he has at least endeavoured to do judiciously what his subject seemed to require of him, in order to preserve as entire as possible, in every particular, the costume of his originals. This is one of the strongest features of resemblance between the Northern and Scottish Ballad, in which there is found a phraseology which has long been obsolete in both countries, and many terms not understood by those who recite them, and for the meaning of which we must refer to the Norse or Icelandic of the eighth and ninth centuries. On the other points of resemblance, it will not be necessary to say any thing, as they must strike every attentive observer ; nor can the style which has been adopted be more satisfactorily justified, than by informing the reader, that the general cast of structure, diction, and idiom, has been so sedulously followed, that, for whole stanzas together, hardly any thing has been altered but the orthography. ’ p. 245, 246.

The lay of ‘Trazemund, which has been edited by Messrs Grimm, and illustrated with their usual learning and acuteness, is a very ancient specimen of the German ballad ; the song of this mysterious pilgrim, who had ‘wandered through seventy-two kingdoms,’ and the dark enigmas which he unravels, display the mythological colouring of the Icelandic poetry. In the 14th century, the re-appearance of the lay of Hildebrand, as a narrative ballad, evinces the stubborn vitality of popular poetry. And ‘the Noble Meringer,’ together with other ballads in simple stanzas, and bearing a nearer resemblance to the English style, continue the history of these compositions in the following age.

The verse, by which leisure is assisted, and work is cheered,—which soothes the cares of the high-born damsel, and makes the spinning-wheel of the cottage maid whirl with redoubled velocity, although usually comprehended under the name of popular poetry,—should be considered as distinct from the narrative ballad. It seems that, in Germany, no specimens of this species of poetry have survived, anterior to the fragments which John Gansbein, the town-clerk of Limburg, has saved from the general wreck, by inserting them in his *Chronicle*. Amongst other particulars, he has carefully noted, that in the year 1360, a general change took place in the fashion of popular song, when the musicians also learned to ‘pipe’ in a better style than had been hitherto used. The historian inserts a portion of ‘the Complaint of the Wanton Nun,’ ‘as it was sung and piped by the people.’ And also preserves the memory of a bare-footed monk, a poor lazar, who, according to the severe, but necessary laws of those times; was banished from society, ‘but who was the best song-writer in the Rheinland.’

The war songs of the Swiss are written in a fine strain of genuine ballad poetry. Halb Suter’s song on the battle of Seim-pach (1386), in which Duke Leopold of Austria was defeated and slain, may be given as an instance. The ballad begins in admirable keeping with the omen which warns the husbandman of the approach of the unbidden guests; the description of the Castle of Willison, in flames; and the boasts of the invaders.

‘Die Biene kam geflogen, macht in der Lind ihr nest,
Es redet der gemline Mann, das dentet frem de Gäst.
Da sah man wie die Vesto bey Willison hell biennt,
Den herzog mit dem Necre ein jeder daran kennt.
Sie redeten zusammen in ihrem Uebermuth,
Die Schweitzer wollen in Södten, das jung und alte Blut.’

The wars of Burgundy established the military fame of the Swiss. Their successes raised their patriotism to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; and the same warriors who had fought in the ranks, afterwards caused their cottages to resound with the strains of honest exultation. The ballads of Veit Weber, who was born out of the pale of the Helvetic confederacy, but who supported the cause with the loyalty of a native, are written with all the flush of victory. He hurries over the field of battle, and points out the flying Burgundians ‘driven into the lake, and dying it with their blood, or climbing into the high trees from which they are shot down by the Swiss cross-bow men.’

The fluctuating fortunes of the Protestants under Charles the Fifth, afforded matter for innumerable ditties. The doleful ‘Lament of the Electress Dame Sybila of Saxony,’ and the

‘ Complaint of the Landgrave of Hesse, ’ may be contrasted with others of a less desponding nature ; such as were sung by the well-armed *Lansquenets*, playing cards on the drum-head all the while ; or, as animated the sturdy citizens of Frankfort and Magdeburg, when they had cleared the churches of Papal trumpery, and bade defiance to the Emperor and his Spaniards.

A history of German music is yet wanting. In the few tunes of the ‘ *Master-singers* ’ which are published, we cannot distinguish any national or characteristic melody. Some very ancient tunes of Danish ballads have been recovered and collected by Nyerup and Rahbeck. They possess a full and plaintive harmony, although we do not find in them any vestiges of the ‘ *symphonious singing* ’ which Giraldus imagined the Northumbrians had borrowed from the Danes and Norwegians. Vocal music became a favourite accomplishment in Germany in the sixteenth century, during which several collections of songs were published. Italian composers came to the assistance of the native amateurs, amongst whom are mentioned the names of Orlando di Lasso, Raynardi, and Mancini. Song writing, unfettered by the rules of the ‘ *Masters*, ’ thus found encouragement. It was necessary, of course, to suit every taste ; and the good wine of the Rhein-land, which, by the way, appears to have been the most poetical tract in Germany, came in for its full share of praise. The old German songs, in general, have a pleasing simplicity, and often show a degree of delicacy of sentiment—we do not mean sentimentality—of which there are not the slightest traces in the more bulky productions of the later part of the 16th century. But the few good writers who appeared, perverted their vigorous talents, and employed themselves in coarse and clumsy satires and travesties. At the commencement of the 17th century, some attempts were made for the refinement of the German language, and the preservation of its purity. Academies, the old *nostrum*, were founded ; these produced little benefit : But Martin Opitz (1620) in the north of Germany, and his little knot of poetical disciples—and Weckherlin (1618) in the south, rose far above mediocrity.

After the peace of Westphalia, solid learning and the sciences flourished in no ordinary degree ; but the art of composition in the vernacular tongue, seemed wholly lost. The Germans held an honourable station in the republic of letters : But, until the modern school of poetry and literature was created by Hallus and Hagedorn and Gellert,—their stern jurists covered with learned dust,—their philologists and theologians, each wrapped in an ambient atmosphere of tobacco smoke,—their chymists, worn down, and parched with the heat of the laboratory, and all

speaking a barbarous form of a dead language—formed an uncouth group by the side of the polished and courtly wits of France, and the graceful dignity of their English rivals.

We have hardly left ourselves room to do justice to the authors of the works by which our desultory remarks have been suggested. Hagen and Büsching, who reopened the career of ancient Teutonic literature, have done more for the promotion of these studies, than any of their fellow-labourers. Without yielding to them in acquirements, the brothers, J. and W. Grimm, are sound and judicious archæologists, who have thoroughly investigated every part of the wide field of the antiquities of the middle ages. Görres is a forcible and eloquent writer;—but his imagination is too glowing for an antiquarian; and he is every moment on the point of taking wing from Asgard to Bern.

M. Bouterweck's failings are of an opposite nature. His volume on the history of 'German Poetry and Eloquence' forms part of his extensive history of the literature of modern Europe: It may be consulted with great advantage for the facts which it contains; but his observations savour strongly of hypercriticism and false refinement. The collection of ancient German songs by Arnim and Brartano, is of little value, as the originals are modernized and interpolated; and, although we shall not echo Joseph Ritson's invectives, this mode of proceeding should never meet with encouragement.

The authors of the 'Illustrations of Northern Antiquities,' in introducing the reader to the poems and metrical romances of the Gothic dialects, have reason to assert, that 'their materials are new to British literature,' and their names are sufficient pledges of the ability with which the task has been performed. Mr Weber's former publication, his 'Metrical Romances,' is a lasting monument of his editorial fidelity and learning. A fresh proof is given of the poetical talent, as well as of the industry of the 'enthusiastic Robert Jamieson,' as he is termed by the celebrated Nyerup. And, although the communications of '*W. S. of Abbotsford*' are not very bulky, they form an interesting portion of the volume. We hope Mr Jamieson, in particular, will soon be prevailed upon to perform the promise which the editors have given, of 'extending their researches to the Romances of Russia, and the original Songs of the Letts and Esthonian nations.' His residence on the Continent has enabled him to collect information possessed by no other individual. He well understands the art of combining the useful with the agreeable. And we should not part with him in good humour, if we thought that he would refuse to gratify the curiosity which he has excited.

ART. IX. *The Substance of some Letters written by an Englishman resident at Paris, during the last Reign of the Emperor Napoleon : With an Appendix of original Documents.* Two vol. 8vo. pp. 950. London, 1816.

THIS is undoubtedly a very curious and interesting work ;— though for our own parts we should have liked it better if it had not been quite so long, and if it had contained more facts and fewer reasonings. It is not unlikely, however, that we have taken up this opinion, from our not agreeing with the author in many of the speculations in which he has indulged. He is more intolerant to the Bourbons, and a great deal more indulgent to Bonaparte, than we think reasonable. The book, indeed, is as stout an apology for the Emperor and his party as we can conceive any intelligent Englishman to have written,— and, we doubt not, will be received with all reprobation by the champions of legitimacy, and those who hanker after the complete restoration of the old order of things. Though we do not agree with all the doctrines of the author, however, we think he has done quite right in publishing them ; and are rather well pleased to see a writer of ability and information go a little too far on one side of a question, on which such a herd of servile scribblers have gone a great deal too far on the other. The book is written throughout in the manner of a gentleman and a man of talents, and, above all, with a firmness and manliness that stoops to no disguise or equivocation on the one hand, and breaks out into no bursts of mere passion or folly on the other. The author maintains his opinions with earnestness, and is no ways sparing of his sarcasms on those whom he censures : But his tone is always that of reasoning and reflection ;—and those who are most likely to be offended with his doctrines, will sometimes find it hard to refute them, without endangering the foundations upon which English liberty is built.

The great evil of Bonaparte's despotism, next to the hazard to which it exposed national independence, was the insensibility which it produced to all other sorts of misgovernment. Every state that was opposed to him, was to be flattered or spared, however tyrannically or basely it might conduct itself ; and every one that allied itself to him was to be reprobated without mercy, whatever might be the prudence or correctness of its general policy. The great danger *then* was, lest all the world should be subdued by the military power of France ; and it was held as a sort of treachery to the common cause, to run the risk of offending or disuniting those who were associated in its support, by taking any notice of the habitual tyranny and oppression of which some of them

might be guilty. Even now that the danger is over, we do not very well like to hear of any body's tyranny but Bonaparte's; and the merit of having opposed him seems almost to be regarded as an atonement for every species of injustice. Nothing, however, can be more absurd or more alarming, than the prevalence of this way of thinking. The great danger *now* is from the abuse of legitimate power, and the corruptions of ancient establishments; and the most effectual way of betraying the cause of good government, and ultimately encouraging the return of revolution, is to interdict the free discussion of the political errors and crimes that may still afflict the world—though Bonaparte has disappeared from the scene. The enormities of the restored Spanish government have fortunately been too great to admit of any palliation. The errors of the same family in France are less flagrant indeed, and far more excuseable; but it would be to the last degree dangerous to shut either our eyes or our mouths with regard to them. Nor can we conceive any thing more truly ominous to English liberty itself, than the prevalence of a doubt whether Englishmen have right to publish their opinions upon the faults and errors of foreign governments, and in particular to point out to their countrymen the defects or maladministration of the government of France;—a topic, the discussion of which has, from time immemorial, been popular and perpetual, and productive of the greatest benefits to this country.

Though we think it right, however, to protest for this liberty whenever we may see cause to exercise it, we do not propose at present to enter at any length into that subject. Nor have we referred to the work before us so much for the purpose of discussing any of the matters of controversy which it suggests in abundance, as of calling the attention of our readers to some of the important facts which it discloses. The author, we think, has by far too favourable an opinion of French virtue and Imperial sincerity. But at present we shall not argue these or any other points with him. We wish merely to give an idea of the very interesting Narrative which the work contains.

This Narrative may be divided into three periods,—the last week of the King's first reign,—the hundred days of his successor, —and the final abdication of Bonaparte, and its consequences. No one who contemplates the state of France for the last twenty-five years, and who remembers the opinion uniformly manifested in her greatest distresses, and recognized by the Allies at Chatillon in 1814, can believe that the Bourbon dynasty was recalled by the affection or desire of the people of France. Although indications of such a wish were perceptible in the South, where the royalists have always had the majority, yet

nothing like a national will was manifested ; and in Paris, the city above all others where ‘ bread and shows ’ have the most effect, that novelty was so little coveted or expected, that the restoration was notoriously effected without any participation on the part of the people. No popular enthusiasm, no loyal effusions, no Bourbon standard even—intimated the general wish to the Sovereigns of Europe assembled to decide on the fate of France. A few ladies of the Faubourg St Germaine, with white handkerchiefs in their hands, and the cries of fifty urchins in the Place de Louis Quinze, was all the demonstration of regard for the exiled family which Mons. de Talleyrand could exhibit to the Emperor of Russia, to induce him to support the Bourbon cause. Strange as it may appear, there is no doubt that the declaration of that minister, with respect to that important crisis, is perfectly authentic, namely, that ‘ the people were unwilling—the Legislature alarmed—the Allies incredulous ; that the Senate was prevailed upon to receive the King by the promise of a Constitution—the popular feelings allayed, by the bargain with the Regicides ; and, lastly, the Emperor of Russia overpersuaded by his arguments, and by the concerted demonstration above alluded to.’

But although a miserable manœuvre thus succeeded, in placing the exiled family on the throne ; yet the positive advantages conceded to France in consequence of its adoption of that dynasty—the cessation of a power become odious from its abuse—the prospect of peace, and renewed commercial intercourse with all nations, together with the fatigue of all parties, afforded to a wise monarch many chances of preserving a throne which he had reascended by a sort of miracle.

Our author, in Letters V and VI, inquires how these chances were improved, and traces the conduct of the restored Sovereign—his refusal to subscribe the act which recalled him to the throne—his renunciation of the title decreed to him by the Senate, of the 6th of April—‘ his silly enumeration of the 19 years during which he had reigned over his kingdom *in partibus infidelium* ’—his mention of the Prince Regent of England and of his own rights, to the exclusion of those of his people in his earliest proclamations—his disputed election—his violations of the charter *octroyé* to his people—and, lastly, the tone and character of his court and government, defamatory of the revolution to which he succeeded, and offensive to the habits, character, and interests, of the nation he ruled over.

With an attention to dates and particulars, infinitely valuable in an inquiry of this nature, our author cites the several violations of the charter by the King ; and as almost any one of them would have been construed into a virtual abdication, had

it been committed by our Sovereign, notwithstanding that he reigns, as well as the King of France, by the grace of God, these violations must, in fairness to the rebellious people of that country, be deliberately examined.

1. The first regarded the freedom of religious habits; and in the face of the 5th and 68th articles, (the first of which secures to every worship the same protection, and the second establishes the civil code, and the laws actually existing, not contrary to the charter), an ordinance enforced the discontinuance of labour—shut the shops on Sundays and Holidays—and commanded *that all individuals, of every religion, should rigidly renew the observances formerly insisted on in the procession of the Holy Sacrament.*

2. On the 10th June, contrary to the 8th article, which proclaims the liberty of the press, a censorship is established.

3. By Royal ordinances, of the 15th June and 15th July, the recruitment of the King's guard is fixed, which, by the 12th article, was expressly reserved for the consideration of the Legislature at large.

4. On the 21st June, a high commission court, for the trial of public functionaries is established, contrary to the 63d article, which says—'There cannot be created any extraordinary commission or tribunal.'

5. On the 27th June is violated the 5th article of the charter, declaring the legislative power to reside in the King, Peers, and Deputies;—an impost law of the year 12, regulating port duties, is annulled by the royal authority.

6. On the 16th December, contrary to the 69th article, the officers of all ranks, and military administrators not employed, as well as those absent on leave, are reduced to half-pay.

7. On the 30th July, a Royal Military School is established, giving to the *Nobles* of the kingdom the enjoyment of those advantages which had been granted them by the Edict of 1751.

'One hundred years of previous nobility were necessary to procure admission for any pupil of this ancient school; and this drew a line at once between the old and new noblesse, in opposition to the 3d article of the charter, which made all employs, civil and military, equally open to all Frenchmen.' Vol. I. p. 88.

8. The court of Cassation was re-organized by the King, contrary to the 59th article of the Charter.

9. The 11th article was violated in the expulsion of fifteen members of the Institute.

10. The impost upon the provision of Judges upon letters of naturalization; and upon journals by the Chancellor, without

the consent of the Legislature, violated the 48th article of the Charter.

Now, we are at a loss to know what answer can be given to those charges, by the Monarch 'who never promised in vain.' But even these, according to our author, were feeble in their effect, compared with the incessant industry of the King, his family and his court, in separating his interests from those of New France. We shall extract some passages, which give, at once, a specimen of our author's style, and an account of various attacks made upon the people, in as far as regards the army, their religious habits, and the general character of the country.

1. The sixth letter details the pretensions of the nobles and the priests, and the sanction given to them by the conduct of the Court. The former protested against the Constitutional Charter. The King, on the 4th June, expressed a wish to restore the unsold national property to the ancient proprietors; and his minister, in his speech proposing the law, speaks openly of 'the *sacred inviolable rights* which those who have followed the *right line* must have in the properties, of which, by the revolutionary form, they had been despoiled.'

'When the fears of the King and his friends extorted, during the march of Napoleon, some attempts at justice, a committee was appointed, in the Chamber of Deputies, to examine into the petitions lying unpresented in the Parliament offices. Amongst them were discovered nearly three hundred, which had been kept back by the Abbé Montesquieu, from individuals complaining that they had been refused absolution by their priests, on account of being possessors of national properties. The restitution of these properties was thus made the *sine quâ non* of salvation; and, indeed, at Savenay on the Lower Loire, a sermon was preached on the 5th of March, in which the audience were told, that those who did not return "their own" to the nobles and to the curés, as the representatives of the monks, should have the lot of Jezabel, and should be devoured by dogs.'

I. 96.

The fear entertained of the encroachments of the priests, is thus powerfully depicted.

'The latter played their usual part—God forgive them! From M. de Talleyrand, Archbishop of Rheims, Grand Almoner, corresponding with the Bishop of Orthosia at Rome to procure a bull for the reestablishment of the Gallican church, down to the wretched curé of St Roch, refusing sepulture to his ancient hostess Mademoiselle Rauconr. With the return of the Saturnian sceptre of the Bourbons, religion was also to revisit France, so long deprived of the consolation of continuing the Levitical law. The professors of arts and arms, the scientific sons of the impious Institute, having eaten and drunk, and played their fill, yielded up the stage to the

linsey-woolsey brothers of a more decently wanton court, and its re-invigorated retainers. Sixty covers, spread daily at the Tuilleries, kept alive the gratitude, and the zeal of as many champions of God and the King, whose brethren of the departments, inhaled, at a distance, the steams of the royal refectory. The Court carpenter preferred his uscless block from a scarecrow to a saint;—the wax-chandlers contemplated the inevitable re-illumination of all the extinguished candlesticks of every shrine;—days and nights, all the gates of all the churches were expanded, whilst their rival shops were shut. Relics rattled together from the four quarters of the capital, to be re-adjusted and re-enshrined by a second St Louis. But the King might have given their daily bread to his sixty priests,—he might have said his thousand masses,—he might have devoted his France to the Virgin—or grubbed up his brother's bones;—his Antigone might have shut the Sunday shops, or even have gone the greater length of forbidding the masquerade of the mi-careme (dangerous as refusing both bread and shows at once must be to modern Rome); she might cherish the town of Nismes, and its vow of a silver baby for God Almighty, as the lure and promised reward of her conception of a Man Child. These offences might have been forgotten, or been condemned to ridicule, with the gaiters of his Majesty, and the English bonnet of Madame; but when the people, in the pious propensities of the new Court, foresaw the reinvestiture of the Clergy, when they saw the barns rebuilding which were to receive a portion of their own bread, and the very *fluctus decumanus* of ancient despotism, the fatal tenth wave about to burst upon their heads, the religion of the Royal Family being likely to prove so chargeable, could then no longer be a matter of indifference, or be visited only with contempt. In Paris, the decent piety of the King excited only a smile, whilst the sombre superstition of the Duchess inspired a more serious disgust; but in several of the departments, the triumphant Clergy being more than suspected of a conspiracy against the manners, feelings, and properties of the people, had, in conjunction with their coadjutors the Nobles, excited a hatred which was in daily danger of breaking out into acts of violence. It is undoubted that the mass of Nobles, in many provinces, are indebted for their lives to the return of Napoleon, who, by removing the fears of the lower classes, has also laid asleep their revenge. Lord Chesterfield might fairly say, that a man is neither the better nor the worse for wearing a black coat; but when that colour denotes a class of persons at variance with, and in direct opposition to all the interests and habits of the community, we must not be surprized that it should be at first unpopular, and at last proscribed.' I. p. 103.

2. *The Army.* After commenting upon the breach of the charter regarding their pay, our author says—

'It was easy to see that the part of the King's conduct which required the utmost prudence, was the treatment of the Army, which, in France, is more national, both by its constitution and by the circum-

stances of the times, than in any other country. The great majority of all the male population having served at some time or other, sympathize with the character and fortune of a corps to which they consider themselves as still in some measure attached; and by a happy complacence, fixing their recollections only on the glories, without counting the disasters of their brethren in arms, look upon the soldiery as the repositories of their honour, as the representatives, as the last hope of their country.' I. p. 83.

He then recites the campaign of 1814, and the admiration it excited.

' In short, the French considered the honour of their armies untarnished by the issue of the campaign of 1814; and they were therefore inclined to contemplate the reduction of their pay and force as a treason of the restored family, in unison with their whole system and with their declared wish to efface from the memory of their contemporaries, and the page of history, all the twenty-five years of misfortunes; or, in other words, the triumphs of republican and imperial France.

' At the same time, there were many patriotic and thinking persons, who would have found some excuse for this step, in the poverty of the Royal treasury, and in the difficulty of supporting an army calculated for forty-four millions of subjects, in a kingdom reduced to a population of twenty-eight millions—had there not been repeated proofs of profusion in other instances, and had not the restored Family betrayed, in many ways, a settled disregard of this great national body. Every saloon in Paris abounds with stories of the insults and the vulgar pleasantries of the Duke of Berri, addressed to many officers of distinguished merit. Does he inquire of one, in what campaign he served? and is told "in all;"—In what capacity? "Aid-de-Camp to the Emperor:"—he turns upon his heel with a contemptuous smile, and the officer is noticed no more. Does he learn from another that he has served twenty-five years? "Vingt-cinq ans de brigandage," is his reply. Do the old Guard displease that great Commander the Duke of Angoulême, in performing some manœuvre? They are told that they must go to England and learn their exercise. Lastly, is a Colonel to be degraded? the Duke of Berri tears off his epaulets with his own hand—another time he strikes a soldier upon the parade. The Swiss regiments return to the Tuilleries; but, in addition to this foreign guard, six thousand Nobles, the very old, and the very young, tricked out in fancy dresses, which draw down the fatal curse of ridicule, compose a household force, the laughter of the Citizens, and the envy of the Army. The old Imperial Guard outrageously banished from the capital, and suddenly recalled at the beginning of the ministry of Marshal Soult, are scarcely on their route towards Paris, when fresh jealousies create fresh orders, and the indignant victims are marched back to their quarters. Certain Chouan Chiefs are sent into Brittany, and there distribute decora-

tions and recompenses to those rebels, whom the armies had routed and quelled. Another Chouan lays a plan for enrolling a sort of sacred battalion against the plots of the army; and though apparently prosecuted for this treason, is never punished. Lastly, the invaders of France, destroyed by the army at Quiberon, are to have a monument raised on the spot, as a perpetual commemoration of their loyalty, and the treason of the troops by whom they fell. The apologists and defenders of the King lament and admit the imprudencies I have just detailed. Connected with this debasement of the army, was the suppression of the establishments for the female orphans of the Legion of Honour, which the King was, however, obliged to restore, and the reduction of the pay of the invalids;—add to this, also, the evident attempt to degrade the decoration of the Legion, by the profusion with which the crosses were granted to the lowest agents of Government, even to the clerks of the Post-Office, and the care with which the higher ministers laid them aside. The deductions drawn from this conduct, were most unfavourable to the Royal cause, and left no doubt in the mind of the military, nor of the nation, that the honourable existence of the French army was considered as incompatible with the system of the new Court.' I. p. 84.

' I must not forget to mention, that the reduction of the army was scarcely so unpopular, as the attempt to new model it, by renewing the regiments, and chiefly by the appointment of nearly five thousand officers, either old emigrants or young nobles, totally devoid of all military character or merit. The abolition of the national colours, and the adoption of the flag of La Vendée, though it afflicted the nation, was more particularly affecting to the army, who saw in this step the same determination to tear from them all memorial of their former existence. The Imperial Guard burnt their eagles, and drank their ashes; some regiments concealed, and all regretted their cockades. The friends of the Court affected to consider the mere change of a flag as a trifle; and, in spite of all experience, did not recollect, that nothing is a trifle to which any importance, however imagined, is attached by a whole nation. They showed, that the King was determined to illegitimize all proceedings, as he had said in his letter to the Sovereigns, as far back as the Assembly of the States-General—aye, even his own; or that he forgot that he had worn the tri-coloured cockade himself, from the 11th of July 1789 to the 21st of June 1792.' I. p. 87.

But, above all, the jealousy and hatred of every thing, and of every person appertaining to the Revolution, is well portrayed in the following passage—

' It may be only justice to charge many of the follies of the last short reign upon a weak, discordant administration; but this consideration, although it may diminish the personal culpability of the King, does not prove that the people were wrong in judging him unfit to reign. He might have chosen his ministers amongst their friends; he might have thrown himself into their arms;—whereas,

on the contrary, on many occasions, he gave evidence of his looking upon them in some sort as the accomplices or immediate actors in his brother's murder: For, not content with excluding from public duties, such as had actually been concerned in that deed, he took care to refresh, at every opportunity, his indignant abhorrence against the act, which, whether of justice or vengeance, was at least national, and which, therefore, it was absolutely necessary, for the pride or the repose of all Frenchmen, either to justify or forget. Louis began his reign, by saying mass for the soul of his brother;—he next instituted a fete similar to that of the day, “when every Sovereign in Europe rises with a crick in his neck;” and he quoted the example of Charles II, as a worthy precedent for his proceeding. Little doubt have I, but that his Ministers, at least, would have liked to complete the parallel. Carnôt and Fouché would have looked as well in an execution list as Harrison and Cooke. —Then was performed the last office of paternal piety, by this bone-collecting Court. Between these acts, there was a perpetual playing off of Court horrors and antipathies, at the very sound or smell of regicide. The coaches of the King never drove over the “Place de Louis Quinze,” because in that square his brother lost his head; as little would the Royal Family walk upon the Terrace of the Seine raised by Napoleon, for that commanded a view of the same fatal spot. The Duchess of Angoulême never looked at a Parisian crowd without shuddering, as if beholding the children and champions of revolution. If at the Tuilleries she saw a Lady of the Imperial Court, she passed over on the other side. Her jealousy descended upon the children of those that had hated her father; and from this jealousy the representative of the Orleans branch of the Royal Family was by no means exempt. The manners of this Prince, tinctured with the kindness and facility generally acquired by a variety of fortune and experience, the education he had received in the arms as it were of the Republic, the fate of his father which conferred upon him the fraternity of a common crime; all these considerations endeared him to the French, and drew upon him the suspicion and the hatred of the Court, which arose at last to a height so indecent and ridiculous, that the Court confessor, in his sermon at St Denis, over the interment of the Royal bones, took the opportunity of what is called in our vernacular preaching at the Duke of Orleans, who was twice or thrice tempted to rise and leave the Church. The Court at the Palais Royal became too well attended. I hear that it was shut by a proposal coming from his Majesty.’ I. p. 174.

We cannot help observing, that the anecdote relating to a plot proposed to the Duke of Orleans, and disclosed by that Prince to the King, does not appear to us probable, and at any rate ought not to have been inserted by our author, upon such information as disappointment and jealousy are too likely to have furnished upon such a subject.

The 6th Letter contains a concise and interesting account of the progress of Napoleon from Porto Ferrajo to Paris; and the 8th describes the Royal Court in its expiring moments.

A question, by no means uninteresting, suggests itself at the close of this period, viz. Whether a successful resistance could have been made at any, and at what moment, to the advance of Napoleon. It is manifest, we think, from the facts and observations contained in this work, and from subsequent events, that neither the popularity of Napoleon with the people, nor the attachment of the army, would of themselves have been sufficient to give him so conspicuous a triumph over a rival in possession of the Crown and the capital. If any one will call to mind the opprobrious usage Bonaparte met with but one year before in the very Provinces which now hailed his return, he will be convinced that hatred to the Royal House which now governed them, rather than attachment to their ancient Chief, obtained from the people of France their ready acquiescence in his designs. — The existence of a previous conspiracy in his favour is no longer asserted; and the government of France has ineffectually attempted to give the colour of such a charge to any one of the trials which have already taken place at Paris. As to the army, it is notorious that their allegiance had been offered to other persons, and that the conspiracy of Drouet and Lefevre Desnouettes, (the only one which broke out during the eleven months), had not only no connexion with Bonaparte, but had avowedly another chief in view. By comparing dates, it will be found that neither did the commanders swerve, nor the regiments revolt, until the conviction of the perfidy and imbecility of the Government which they had served when it most needed their assistance, had become irresistible in the whole body. It is true the disgust was universal; but, on the first intimation of the approaching danger, the leaders of the constitutional opposition, among whom our author particularly cites M. Constant and the author of the *Censeur*, rallied round the throne, from a conviction, no doubt, that liberty had more to fear from the power of Napoleon, than from the feebleness of the Bourbons; and, in the hope of profiting by the difficulties of the Sovereign, to extend the rights, and to confirm the liberties of the People.

Wise and liberal councils were undoubtedly recommended; and the unimpeachable virtue of Lafayette and D'Argenson was offered to mediate between the King and his people. It may be doubted, indeed, whether this reconciliation would then have been an available defence; but there is no question, that although a seeming acquiescence was given in the councils proposed, and although the King was made to appear eager to embrace a Constitutional system, yet no act of popular conciliation—no symptom of re-

penitance appeared.—Chateaubriand prayed—and Lally Tollendal wept—and Lainé recanted; but the insincerity and weakness of the Court counteracted the effect of their protestations, and paralyzed the efforts of their more able and patriotic supporters. With us, indeed, it is a matter of serious doubt, whether the priests and nobles, and, in general, those who surrounded the person of the Monarch, did not, upon calculation, prefer flight, and the chance of return with foreign arms, to such a reconciliation with the people as would have alone secured its cooperation in that terrible crisis. There are, however, among those who displayed the most noble energy in that moment, persons eminently qualified to satisfy the world upon those transactions; and to them we look with confidence for a narrative, illustrating the character of the Nation, which demanded liberty, and of the Court, which hated it too much to purchase its own safety at such a price.

In the night of the 19th of March, the King leaves his capital; and, on the following evening, Napoleon arrives.

Paris, on the entry of Napoleon, presented but a mournful spectacle. The crowd which went out to meet the Emperor, remained in the outskirts of the city; the shops were shut—no one appeared at the windows—the Boulevards were lined with a multitude collected about the many mountebanks, tumblers, &c. which, for the two last days, had been placed there in greater numbers than usual by the Police, in order to divert the populace. There was no noise, nor any acclamations; a few low murmurs and whispers were alone heard, when the spectators of these open shows turned round to look at the string of six or eight carriages, which preceded the Imperial troops. The regiments then passed along, and cried out *Vive l'Empereur*;—not a word from any one. They tried the more popular and ancient exclamation, *Vive Bonaparte*;—all still silent. The patience of the dragoons was exhausted; some brandished their swords, others drew their pistols, and rode into the alleys, amidst the people, exclaiming, '*Crie donc, Vive l'Empereur!*' but the crowd only gave way, and retreated, without uttering a word. I. p. 179.

True it is, that although the Bourbons fled from their palace, unpitied and unregretted; yet the return of the adventurer was marked by gloom, and he was saluted by fewer acclamations than had greeted him in the smallest town. Yet it was difficult to say, that the Royalist faction was the predominant one in Paris; for never did a Sovereign receive less consolation than did Louis, when he invited the National Guard to defend his faithful city. But passion had since given way to reflection. The fugitive dynasty appeared by its weakness to offer more satisfactory chances to the lovers of freedom, than the return of a conqueror, strengthened by a popularity to which he had long been a stran-

ger, and who, by the unauthorized resumption of a title which he had forfeited, and by the violent tenor of his proclamations from Lyons, seemed to seek the recovery of his throne, in the same spirit which had formerly deprived him of it.

Our limits prevent us from entering into any detail of the public acts of that short lived reign, or following our author in those numerous disquisitions with which he has, we think, somewhat overloaded the narrative of that interesting period. Suffice it to say, that his style, rather wordy and diffuse—his arrangement prejudicial to the story—and an eagerness of opinion, rather dangerous in the historian, are amply compensated by the able and honest spirit of his political views, and, above all, by his industrious and impartial relation of the measures and faults of the Imperial Government, during the hundred days of its duration. The usurpation of power—the return to despotic passions—the appeal to public feeling and national vanity on the part of the monarch—the menial vassalage and submission of a corrupt aristocracy—the crouching repentance of the *ancienne noblesse* on the one hand; on the other, the resistance of popular feeling—the manly spirit of the public bodies—the license of the press—the unanimous devotion of literary men to the cause of liberty—the republican spirit, the constitutional jealousy of the people, and the submission of the Crown—the desire of peace, even in the army—and the general will in the nation to be free, are alternately offered in the great picture which no common industry or skill have here presented to our observation.

We shall offer but one or two remarks upon the character of the Government and the Nation, during that unparalleled crisis.

Confidently as we maintain the privilege of discussing the character and conduct of all those who fill the eye of the world, and influence its destinies, we desire not at all to enter into competition with those of our contemporaries, who, in a loathsome recapitulation of private vices, endeavour to complete the portrait which they sketch in ignorance and passion; nor can we admire their patriotic distrust of the national feeling, which they seem to think cannot be made sufficiently adverse to a defeated and degraded Monarch, without heaping on his head imputations of a nature only to be gathered in converse with the basest of human beings. For us it is sufficient that he was ambitious, and a hater of liberty; and, by all that we can collect from this work, and from other sources of information, we doubt whether his disposition was in the smallest degree altered, in this respect, by his year of mortification. Like many others, corrupted by high station, he seems always to have been willing to extend the promise of freedom on the peril of the moment; but never to have been satisfied of its actual advantage to the people, or of

its being compatible with the existence of a powerful government. In all the conversations which he held with the eminent persons then labouring to extort from him concessions to the people, he is said to have manifested a total insensibility on this point. And in the Council of State, held to discuss the subject of confiscation, he was so irritated at the attempt to deprive the Crown of this power, that he exclaimed, ' Je vois bien ce que vous voulez, Messieurs ; mais cela ne sera pas. Il faut encore le bras, le *vieux* bras de l'Empereur !—et vous le sentirez. '

Neither had his misfortunes destroyed that entire confidence in himself, nor that belief in the superior intelligence which guided him, and made it impossible for him to share his power. His insensibility to reproach can only be accounted for by this favourite belief, which, indeed, appears at all times to have relieved his conscience from the torment of self-accusation. It is reported, and, we believe, with perfect truth, that when the suicide of Berthier was related to him by one of his ministers, he replied, ' See the power of conscience ! Berthier left France with his family, and all his fortune ; but he had betrayed *me*, and he could not survive it,—while I have never for one night been deprived of sleep ! '

By far the most interesting and important part of this book, is the account given of the last of the three periods into which we divided it, in the commencement of this Article ; and it would, we presume, be difficult to obtain a more accurate, detailed, and impartial narration of the unparalleled crisis which took place after the return of Bonaparte to Paris, than is given by this anonymous writer, who seems, indeed, to be eminently qualified, by his general accomplishments, the opportunities he enjoyed, and the time he has since had to correct his first impressions, to settle our belief as to the *leading events* of that memorable period. We have already stated, that there are many matters of opinion upon which we entirely disagree with him ; and although we give him credit for a most faithful relation of all the outward acts of the French authorities during this struggle, we must be allowed to differ with him in the confidence with which it would rather seem that certain characters had inspired him. We own, that several of those persons, to whom our author inclines to attribute virtues of a higher order, appear to us to have been feeble or treacherous ; nor can we join with him, in attributing great merit to Lanjuinais, the President of an Assembly, which is so well described in the following passage, that we cannot refuse to insert it.

' Thus the king, amongst the other benefits which must make his name dear to Frenchmen, may join that of having brought to a

close the labours of a representation as moderate, as enlightened, and as truly national, as it is possible to assemble in France; a representation less tinctured, perhaps, than might be expected, with the faults incident to popular bodies,—and developing, each day, in circumstances of unparalleled difficulty and danger, qualities both of the head and heart, which will reflect honour on their labours, and, however unsuccessful, will not be wholly lost; for they will serve as an incitement and example for those whose future efforts shall meet with a more deserved and a better fate. The king himself, as well as his nation, must be considered infinitely their debtor, as the resolution of the secret committee, on the 22d of June, compelled Napoleon to abdicate, and saved his capital, if not his crown. It redounds, however, to their glory, that none of them made any merit of this action, as if performed in his favour, or from any other motive than that of saving their country from extremities. The royalists would not have had the requisite courage, which, in France, is to be found only amongst the friends of freedom. These partisans insult them with surviving their functions, and ridicule M. Manuel's quotation from Mirabeau, with a spite which shows how happy they would have been to witness the extirpation of the patriots. Their spirit has been already sufficiently displayed. They did not die on their curule chairs, it is true; but personal exposure is rendered respectable and useful by the time in which it is employed. The senators of Rome who were massacred by Brennus had a very different fate with posterity from those who were whipped naked in the squares by the German Otho, yet the courage of both and their cause were the same. The representatives would not have been shot, but sent to jail.' Vol. II. p. 168.

We believe a more accurate investigation would have informed the writer of these Letters, that great suspicion attaches to the character of Lanjuinais, for having adjourned the Assembly on the 7th of July, contrary to the remonstrances of many of its Members; and by those who had formerly most confidence in his fidelity, it is generally believed that he was informed of the determination to obstruct their reassembling. But the chief point upon which we would warn our readers against the excessive charity of this acute writer, is the character of Fouché, Duke of Otranto, *the real Sovereign of France during that eventful time*, and to whom he gives credit for many more virtues than, upon a fair examination of the facts, we can ever think him entitled to. His repeated reflections on this subject, indeed, and the very prominent figure which the personage in question makes in this extraordinary crisis, have induced us to attempt a short sketch of his life and character, taken from a pretty careful observation of his public acts during the manifold changes of the last quarter of a century.

He plunged into the Revolution at an early age; and, either from enthusiasm or fear, very soon became attached to the

violent party in the Convention--assisted it in overturning the Girondine faction—and finally executed, and boasted of having executed, against that party and the Royalists at Lyons, cruelties which would have done honour to Robespierre himself, to whose ruin, after the murder of Danton, he especially contributed, on the 9th Thermidor. From that hour, Fouché seems to have sought reconciliation with the moderate party,—but in vain. He was, with the rest of the Jacobins, expelled the Convention,—his arrest was decreed,—and he escaped only by flight. In his concealment, he published an address to the Convention, which, in place of justifying himself, accused that Assembly of having authorized and provoked all the violent measures of which he had been the organ.

From that period to the year 1796, he was an object of suspicion as a Terrorist. Whenever a Jacobin conspiracy was discovered, he uniformly disappeared from the scene, and only reappeared when the attacks of the Royalist party drove the Directory to seek aid from the Jacobins. In every such crisis, he resumed their principles, and sought eagerly for employment, from which he was only excluded by his former bad reputation. In 1797 he was sent on a mission to Italy—reappeared on the 18th of Fructidor, and was proposed for the ministry of the Police—but again rejected; and it was not until the revolution which took place in the Directory in 1798, that he obtained that ministry. Syeyes then prevailed through the aid of the Jacobins, but immediately became their enemy;—and Fouché, who, as in 1794, hoped to reconcile himself with the nation, gave to his administration a very mild character, although he secretly protected the Jacobins, and with difficulty escaped himself from the vengeance of the wily Director. Upon the return of Bonaparte, whom Syeyes unwillingly associated to his designs of overturning the Directory, Fouché conducted himself with such address, that, although known to be the friend of the Jacobins, and himself under the *surveillance* of Thurot his chief secretary, who had orders to arrest him upon the first symptom of treachery, he outrode the storm; and, upon the 18th Brumaire, he remained in office, and without delay attached himself to Bonaparte.

Now, for the first time, his repentance could manifest itself in an effectual manner;—the minister supported his master in organizing a mitigated despotism; and, profiting by the violence of Bonaparte, he obtained for himself the reputation of a protector of all parties, and, in spite of his former crimes, his name became universally popular in France. Nothing, indeed, was so easy as this manœuvre to those who knew Bonaparte.

The Emperor issued a violent decree—Fouché made the nature of it known before it was promulgated—blamed it in conversation—then only half executed it.—The Emperor was angry,—the minister executed it entirely:—But, in the mean time, he was known to have blamed it, and to have retarded its execution. Sometimes, too, the Emperor was persuaded, in the interval, to mitigate its severity, so that, even by the delay, Fouché, no doubt, contributed to preserve the lives and fortunes of many of his countrymen.

Bonaparte soon perceived his Minister's game;—but the fear of his influence, and the power of his agents, was such, that he did not send him away till the end of three years.—At last the blow was struck.—Fouché quitted his first ministry; and although he had transported 130 republicans for a conspiracy, in which he declared they were not concerned, and conducted to the scaffold four Frenchmen for a plot of which he denied the existence,—although he had let many royalists be shot, and had banished many more,—he had universally, on his retirement, the character of being a staunch friend both of the Royalists and of the Republicans.

The government of his successor, Regnier, was distinguished by the trial of Pichegru and Moreau, and the murder of the Duke d'Enghien. In that season of gloom and terror, Fouché was again longed for; and Napoleon, in spite of his suspicions, found it prudent to replace him.—He continued to practise again his old game—delay—bold and mysterious conversation—blame of his master's plans,—which he nevertheless executed, when resignation was the alternative.

In 1810, Bonaparte suddenly abused him in Council; obliged him to accept the government of Rome; then dismissed him from the ministry; sent him from Paris, and arrested him on the road. Fouché threatened discoveries, and escaped into banishment and obscurity, where he remained until the first abdication of the Emperor. Fouché at first dreaded the counter-revolution; but seeing M. de Talleyrand in possession of the government, he not only took courage, but aspired to complete his whitewashing, by becoming the Minister of Louis XVIII.

His conduct during the 11 months of that reign, was conformable to this project. To the patriots, he insisted on the necessity of a popular ministry. To the princes, with whom he continually intrigued, he promised the consolidation of the monarchy, as he had effected that of Napoleon, and expressed sincere contrition for the death of Louis XVI. To the Jacobins, he declared his adherence, and promoted their projects and conspiracies. His conversation was of a piece. He abused the Bourbons—then said they might be saved by making him a mi-

nister;—occasionally announced a plot,—which he assured the Royalists he endeavoured to prevent for the sake of the King,—and the Jacobins to save their heads. A little treachery towards all parties heightened the zest, and proved the authenticity of his communications—and increased the anxiety which was to make his assistance valuable.

When Napoleon landed, Fouché offered himself to the Court. The Princes negotiated with him; but after the first conference, orders were given to arrest him.—Some have thought, that this arrest was a stratagem, to insure the employment of Fouché by the Usurper:—And the conduct of the former to Bonaparte, and the indiscretion of the Royalists, who never ceased to count upon him, and to quote the proofs of their intelligence with him, might seem to warrant this notion; but we are more apt to attribute to the habitual distrust and weakness of that family, an act which, after all, could never conceal from Napoleon the constant intrigues of Fouché with the discarded dynasty. It is well known, that he had said to one of the emigrating royalists, ‘*Sauvez le Monarque—Je reponds de la monarchie.*’ This, it is true, may be attributed to the habitual lightness of his conversation, which is so great, that it is well known that when the Duke of Wellington reproached him with having asserted to the Chamber, in his message from the Government, that the Allies insisted on the restoration of the King, and challenged him to prove the truth of the assertion, he replied—‘*Que voulez vous de plus? Le Roi n’est-il pas dans son Palais? C’est tout ce qu’il faut.*’

Bonaparte, dependent and timid as he was at his last return, had no option about employing Carnôt and Fouché; and the conduct of the latter from that moment became problematical. On the one hand, he used all means to attach to the Imperial government, all those whose popularity gave strength to it. It is equally certain, that if he meditated at that time the overthrow of Napoleon, he did not confide his project to those friends of liberty whom he had rallied round the Eagle, although many of them were his intimate friends. On the other hand, he did not fail to revert to his old tactics. In conversation, he blamed and treated with ridicule and contempt the projects of the Emperor, whose government, he said, ran great risks. He allowed the Royalists to write such libels as no government can permit; and exhorted the Republicans to attack, so that his house was the enemy’s camp. He is said to have promoted the war in La Vendée; but of this charge there does not appear sufficient proof. After the battle of Waterloo, Fouché was named President of the Government; and was entrusted with the conduct of the negotiations. Whatever doubt may exist as to his intentions before, there can exist none as to his conduct after the abdi-

cation of Napoleon. He alone acted; and managed to keep his colleagues in a state of entire subserviency. They feared they might impede his measures by acting without his directions; and his mode of paralyzing their efforts, was to absent himself, whenever measures were likely to be proposed by any other person. It was known he was gone to Lord Wellington;—delay was the consequence;—and Fouché gained a day, which was lost to his country! Thus he got over the time, from the 22d June to the 7th July, without giving any explanation to his colleagues, nor to the Chambers, nor even to his intimate friends, whose lives were in danger from his impenetrable silence.

As to the negotiations with the Allies, he had but one proposition to make—but one remedy for all evils;—‘Make me minister—I answer for the rest.’ He stipulated neither for France nor for her constitution, nor for individuals—one single individual excepted. To him, without a doubt, is owing the return of the Bourbons without any condition whatsoever. Any other man at the head of the provisional government,—backed by the national representation which was devoted to liberty, and by an army of 70,000 men, with 800 pieces of cannon,—by the National Guard well disposed, as their attachment to the Tricolor has since proved,—would have saved the liberty of his country even with the present dynasty. But Fouché looked only to himself; and as his first idea in 1794 was to recover the place in society which he had forfeited by his crimes, so his last thought in 1815 was reconciliation with the Court which he had so grievously offended. In one word, Fouché having become a rich and important personage, under the auspices of usurped dominion, was desirous to complete his titles after the fashion of legitimacy. Accordingly, he betrayed his country,—abandoned his friends,—signed the warrants for their death, and the lists of their proscription,—and succeeded, as such persons usually do, for a time. But at last he found himself alone in the wilderness he had created. He would then have returned to a better system; but it was too late. His Reports are eloquent and able, but they accelerated his downfall. He was the minister of Louis XVIII.; but he had been the judge of Louis XVI.; and he is now wandering over the face of the earth, perhaps less respected than any one of those whom he had, but a few weeks before, delivered to the vengeance of the Court.

We have not room to comment upon, or to extract several passages which we had marked of characteristic description, of which the third letter affords an admirable specimen; and which, even in that style, may be advantageously contrasted with certain quaint, glaring, and elaborate performances on the same subject, which have probably been perused, and by this time

nearly forgotten, by most of our readers. It is here, indeed, that an exuberant zeal in the cause of political justice, and somewhat of an excessive tendency to argumentative discussion, have diversified the work with dissertations upon Congress, the Slave Trade, and the merits and demerits of individual politicians, to a degree that takes somewhat from the unity of the design, and deprives the work of that character of perfect impartiality which ought always to prevail in an *Historical Memoir*: But we venture nevertheless to affirm, that these Letters afford materials for the future historian, considerably more valuable, both as to accuracy, copiousness, and connexion, than any other work of the same description which the unparalleled interest of the subject has yet brought before the public. Perhaps a less conscientious adherence to the form and substance of the communications actually made to his friends at the several dates, might have improved the volume now submitted to the world at large, by suppressing reasonings important no doubt in themselves, but, as our author must well know, not very likely, however deserving of attention, to guide the conduct of nations, even if the same circumstances were to recur. On the other hand, the scrupulous and intrepid fidelity of the writer in narrating events which refute his own predictions,—his eagerness to speculate, and his willingness to retract,—his admiration converted to blame,—his uniform preference of principles to persons—afford pledges of undeviating truth which we have rarely witnessed,—and abundantly compensate for those defects of arrangement, and that general looseness and diffuseness of style, which, in an author of such powers, can only be accounted for by the fact of his having now published, with little alteration, a series of letters, actually written to his private friends, with the copiousness and carelessness which belongs to such compositions.

ART. X. *On the Fire-Damp of Coal Mines, containing an Account of an Invention for Lighting the Mines, and Consuming the Fire-Damp, without Danger to the Miner.* By SIR HUMPHRY DAVY, LL. D. F. R. S. &c. &c. London, 1816.

BACON could say with truth, at the time when he wrote, that science could hardly boast of a single experiment which had served to increase the power, to diminish the suffering, or to augment the happiness of mankind. ‘*Jam per tot annorum spatia, vix unum experimentum adduci potest, quod ad hominum statum levandum et juvandum spectet, et Philosophicæ speculationi-*

bus ac dogmatibus vere acceptum referri possit. * Were the great Reformer of philosophy now to return to the earth, he would have the satisfaction to see how vast a change had been produced by that method of philosophizing, from which he had anticipated such wonderful effects. In the powerful assistance which the navigator has derived from the united efforts of the mathematician and the astronomer, and in those helps which so many of the arts are continually receiving from mechanics and chemistry, he would perceive the strongest illustration of the maxims of his own philosophy; and the clearest proof, that he who first recommended experiment and induction, has a right to stand in the first rank of the benefactors of the human race. In contemplating the many fruits that had sprung from the reformed philosophy, we are not sure that he would have derived more satisfaction from any single object, than from that which has just been announced. We certainly know of none on which the admirer of science, and the lover of mankind, have greater reason to congratulate one another.

The effects of those explosions produced in coal mines, by what is called the Fire-damp, have been long known; and, of late years, by their frequency and extent, have been peculiarly terrible. By a single explosion in the Felling Coalery, near Newcastle, no less than 101 persons were destroyed in one instant, and nearly as many families plunged in the deepest distress. All the care taken to ventilate the mines, on the most approved principles, appeared insufficient to prevent the recurrence of such catastrophes: the danger seemed to increase, as the works were continued to a greater depth, and many began to despair of finding a remedy sufficiently simple and economical, (for the maxims of trade subject the expense even of saving men's lives to economical regulation), to be used in mines; and they who estimated the value of a man, as of any other machine, by the work he can perform, were alarmed by a danger, which must lay them under the necessity of paying him not only for his labour, but for the risk he was to run.

The hydrogen gas united to certain carbonic matter, obtained from the coal strata, being disposed to take fire when of a certain strength, from the contact of flame, was known to constitute the fire-damp, which had been shown by Dr Henry to be light carburetted hydrogen, of the same nature in several respects with the gas obtained from the distillation of coal. It is produced the most abundantly from the deepest mines; and the great sources of it are certain fissures in the broken strata in the neighbourhood of Dykes, from which currents of it issue in great

* *Novum Organum*, Lib. I. Aph. 73.

quantity, and sometimes for a long course of years. The abundance of the gas thus spontaneously extricated from the strata, is very probably to be accounted for, as Sir HUMPHRY DAVY suggests, from the consolidation of the coal having been effected under a great pressure.

The chief scene of these explosions was the North of England; and Sir HUMPHRY DAVY having gone into that country, visited the principal colneries near Newcastle, for the purpose of becoming fully informed of the facts, of ascertaining the condition of the workings, and the state of their ventilation.

He met there with the best reception, and with every possible assistance, as might naturally be expected, from the gentlemen acquainted with these colneries, and from the inspectors and viewers of the mines, who could not but be glad to see the matter in the hands of so skilful an experimenter, and one so deeply informed in chemistry, both theoretical and practical.

Having here satisfied himself that the degree of light necessary for working the mines was more than could be obtained by the use of phosphorus, or of electricity, or by any means different from active inflammation, he proceeded to make experiments on the fire-damp itself, in order to discover whether any of its properties might present the means of defending it from the danger of explosion. The purest fire-damp which he obtained was from a blower in the Hepburn coalery; it contained only $\frac{1}{7}$ th of atmospheric air, with no other contamination whatever. The most impure or the weakest fire-damp contained $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of atmospheric air: A hundred cubic inches of the first mentioned specimen weighed exactly $19\frac{1}{2}$ grains: One measure of it required to its complete combustion by the electric spark, nearly 2 measures of oxygene, and they formed about one measure of carbonic acid. From a number of other experiments he concluded, that the opinion generally entertained by chemists respecting the fire-damp is perfectly correct, and that it is the same substance with the inflammable gas of marshes, the true nature of which was first found out by Mr DALTON, who showed, that it consists of 4 parts of hydrogen in weight 4, and one of charcoal in weight 11.5. *

The next inquiry was into the combustibility or explosive power

* The gas at *Pietra Mala* in the Appenines, which issues from the earth and burns at the surface, has been long remarked by travellers. It issues from a stratum of schist; and Sir HUMPHRY, from his experiments on it, concludes it to be of the same nature with the fire-damp, viz. a light hydro-carbonate, requiring two volumes of oxygene for its combustion, and producing one volume of carbonic acid gas.

of the fire-damp, when diluted with different proportions of atmospheric air. When mixed in equal parts, they burnt by the approach of a lighted taper, but did not explode. The results of a number of other experiments of the same kind, made it appear that the mixture which possessed the greatest force, was one of 7 or 8 parts of air to 1 of gas; but, nevertheless, the report produced by 50 cubical inches of that mixture, was less than was produced by 5 cubical inches of a mixture, 2 parts of atmospheric air with 1 of hydrogene.

It then occurred, that it was very material to determine the degree of heat required to explode the fire-damp when it was mixed with the due proportion of air. It was found that a common electrical spark would not explode five parts of air and one of fire-damp, though it was able to explode six parts of the former with one of the latter. Very strong sparks from the discharge of a Leyden jar, seemed, however, to have the same power of exploding different mixtures of those fluids as the flame of a candle. Well burnt charcoal, ignited to the strongest red heat, did not explode any mixture of air and fire-damp; and charcoal could even be blown up to whiteness by an explosive mixture of air and fire-damp, without producing inflammation. An iron rod at the highest red heat, and even at the common degree of white heat, was equally inefficient; but, when in brilliant combustion, it produced explosion.

Thus, in respect of combustibility, it was found that the fire-damp differs materially from the other inflammable gases. Olefiant gas, mixed with such a proportion of air as to render it explosive, is fired both by charcoal and iron heated to a dull red heat. Gaseous oxide of carbon, which explodes when mixed with two parts of air, is likewise inflammable by red-hot iron and charcoal; and the case is the same with sulphuretted hydrogene.

The next object of Sir HUMPHRY's experiments, was the degree of expansion of mixtures of air and fire-damp during their explosions, and likewise their power of communicating flame through given apertures to other explosive mixtures. He found, that in explosions at the moment when the expansion was greatest, the volume of the gas was not increased in a greater ratio than that of 3 to 2. This, we must observe, is a much smaller expansion than is produced by the heat of ignition in other elastic fluids. In the firing of gunpowder, the expansion of the air is estimated by Robins at four times its bulk in the common temperature of the atmosphere; and there is reason to think that he has considerably underrated the quantity of it.

These experiments were connected with the propagation of the flame: those that followed were more immediately directed

to that object. In the conveyance of flame from one explosive mixture to another, he found, that the narrowness of the tube of communication formed a great obstacle; in so much, that a mixture of 1 part of gas from the distillation of coal, and 8 parts of air, could not be made to explode in a glass tube $\frac{1}{4}$ th of an inch in diameter; although the above mixture, by containing some olefiant gas, was more inflammable than the common fire-damp. In like manner, when he exploded mixtures of fire-damp and air in a jar, communicating with the atmosphere through an aperture of half an inch, and with a bladder having in it an exploding mixture, through an aperture of $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an inch; the flame passed into the atmosphere, but did not communicate with the mixture in the bladder. Here, therefore, was a limit certainly determined to the width of the apertures, by which flame could be communicated from one explosive mixture to another. This was a discovery of great importance, and obviously pointed at a method, by which the flame might be restrained within certain bounds, without the communication between the gases themselves being entirely cut off. SIR HUMPHRY concluded, and indeed with great probability, that this phenomenon depended on the heat lost during the explosion, by the contact of a large cooling surface, which brought the temperature of the first portions exploded, below that required for the firing of the contiguous portions. Thus he found, that metallic tubes resisted the passage of the flame better than glass tubes of the same diameter, metal being a better conductor of heat than glass. In this way, the high temperature required to the inflammation of the fire-damp, furnished the means of confining the flame within certain bounds, notwithstanding the material of the combustion was diffused all round, and the parts every where in contact with one another. A more difficult problem than to prevent the communication of flame in such a case, and one more unlikely to be resolved, cannot easily be imagined. A covering for the flame was to be provided, penetrable to light, and penetrated by the inflammable substance that was on fire within, and yet impenetrable to the flame, which it must not permit to escape. By pushing the same experiments farther, such a covering was actually found; and it was discovered that the flame of the fire-damp would not pass through very fine wire sieves or wire gauze. It was also observed that mixtures of azote and carbonic acid, thrown into an explosive mixture of air and fire-damp, deprived the latter of its power of explosion. Carbonic acid more effectually allayed the exploding power than the azote, probably on account of its greater capacity for heat, as well as its better conducting power proceeding from its greater density.

The safety lamps and fire sieves constructed from these experiments, were very properly subjected to the severest trials; trials, indeed, much more severe than they could ever meet with in the mines.

‘ I submitted the safe-canals,’ says Sir HUMPHRY, ‘ tubes, and wire gauze fire-sieves to much more severe tests. I made them the medium of communication between a large glass vessel filled with the strongest explosive mixture of carburated hydrogen and air, and a bladder half full of the same mixture, both insulated from the atmosphere. By means of wires passing near the stop cock of the glass vessel, I fired the explosive mixture in it by the discharge of a Leyden jar. The bladder always expanded at the moment the explosion was made, a contraction as rapidly took place, and a lambent flame played round the mouths of the safety apertures, upon the glass vessel, but the mixture in the bladder did not explode; and, by pressing some of it into the glass vessel, so as to make it replace the foul air, and subjecting it to the electric spark, repeated explosions were produced, proving the perfect security of the safety apertures, even when acted on by a much more powerful explosion than could possibly occur from the introduction of air from the mines.’

These experiments led to several excellent contrivances, which simplified themselves as they proceeded, and ended at last in the *Safe-Lamp*, made of wire gauze, in the shape of a cage or cylinder. The apertures in the gauze should not exceed $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an inch in diameter; and though the thickness of the wire is not of much importance, as the fire-damp is not inflamed by ignited or red-hot wire, yet from $\frac{1}{8}$ th to $\frac{1}{4}$ th of an inch is found most convenient. The wire cylinder, that serves as a cover to the lamp, and is fastened to it by a screw of four or five turns, should not be more than two inches in diameter. If it is larger, the combustion of the fire-damp within, renders the top inconveniently hot. The size of the lamp, according to the dimensions in the figure which Sir HUMPHRY has given, is one inch six-tenths for the diameter of the wire cylinder, and six inches and a half for its length. This is screwed down on a cylindric box, containing the oil and the wick, and about two inches and a half in diameter. The gauze cylinder is defended by six strong upright wires, fixed in the upper part of this box, and supporting a cylindric top of metal, to which is fixed the hook or ring by which the lamp is carried. A small cylinder, obliquely projecting from the side of the under part of the lamp, serves to convey the oil to the wick. The whole is so perfectly simple, so easily used, and so little in danger from accidents of any kind, that it is singularly accommodated to the circumstances in which it is to be placed, when it has to encounter ignorance, and the carelessness which even the most imminent danger cannot repress for a continuance of time.

When this lamp is used, and where the fire-damp has a certain degree of strength, the whole of the wire cylinder is filled with flame; the fire-damp burning with a greenish blue colour, so that this lamp serves to consume the damp, and, of consequence, not only to discover the enemy, and defend from his attack, but also, finally to destroy him altogether. In no instance could the motto be better applied, *NATURA PROPRIIS ARMIS VICTA.*

It is not necessary to say much in commendation of an invention which speaks so forcibly by the effects it has already produced. It has been received by the miners at Whitehaven and Newcastle as a gift from Heaven, which, by its action equally excited their thankfulness and their astonishment. We have read with much satisfaction, a paragraph from the Newcastle Journal, which far outweighs all other praise.

That when Sir H. DAVY lately passed through that town, a deputation from a general meeting of those interested in the coal trade of the Tyne and Wear, waited on him to testify their respect and admiration of his great and splendid discovery of the Safety-Lamp for exploring mines when charged with inflammable gas. ‘Messrs Watson and Buddle,’ it is added (coal-viewers very much distinguished for their skill and accuracy), ‘have made a variety of trials with this lamp, in places which it was impossible to approach with a common candle, without certain destruction, and have completely proved its safety and utility.’

If we might presume to add any thing on the subject, it would be with respect to what may be called the scientific merit of this discovery, and of the experiments which led to it. The safe-lamp is a present from Philosophy to the Arts, and to the class of men farthest removed from the influence of science. The discovery of it is in no degree the effect of accident; and Chance, which comes in for so large a share of the credit of human inventions, has no claims on one, which is altogether the result of patient and enlightened research. The author of this invention had been too long trained in the school of Experimental Investigation, not to be well aware, that the riches of Nature and the resources of Art are not to be found but in the diligent and scrupulous examination of Phenomena. He began, therefore, with inquiring into the peculiar nature of the gaseous substances, by the inflammation of which such terrible effects had been produced. When he perceived the high temperature required for their inflammation, it immediately occurred, that, on this circumstance, some defence against its violence might perhaps be founded, and some limits set to the rapidity of its communication. By following this suggestion through a train of laborious, difficult,

and often dangerous experiments, the obstacle which this principle set to the communication of flame from one portion of the fire-damp to another; the effect of narrow tubes, of perforated plates, and finally, of wire-gauze, came all successively in view. Through the whole, we find a series of experiments judiciously directed to their object, and steadily pursued, till, without the intervention of any thing casual, they led to the simple and effectual contrivance which has just been described.

This is exactly such a case as we should choose to place before BACON, were he to revisit the Earth, in order to give him, in a small compass, an idea of the advancement which Philosophy had made, since the time when he had pointed out to her the route which she ought to pursue. The great use of an immediate and constant appeal to experiment, cannot be better evinced than in this example. The result is as wonderful as it is important. An invisible and impalpable barrier made effectual against a force the most violent and irresistible in its operations—and a power that, in its tremendous effects, seemed to emulate the lightning and the earthquake—confined within a narrow space, and shut up in a net of the most slender texture—are facts which must excite a degree of wonder and astonishment, from which, neither ignorance nor wisdom can defend the beholder. When to this we add the beneficial consequences, and the saving of the lives of men, and consider that the effects are to remain as long as coal continues to be dug from the bowels of the earth, it may fairly be said, that there is hardly, in the whole compass of Art or Science, a single invention, of which one would rather wish to be the author. It is little that the highest praise, and that even the voice of national gratitude, when most strongly expressed, can add to the happiness of one who is conscious of having done such a service to his fellow men. We hope, however, that some distinguished mark of such gratitude will not be wanting, to a person, who, by disarming one of the most powerful agents of destruction, has so well merited a Civic Crown. In this, indeed, the honour of the giver is more interested than that of the receiver: The latter may not admit of much increase; but it nevertheless becomes those, who administer the affairs of a free People, to show themselves grateful for benefits conferred even on the humblest and most obscure of their fellow citizens.

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CONTENTS OF No. LII.

- ART. I.** The Speech of Charles C. Western Esq. M. P., on moving that the House should resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take into Consideration the distressed State of the Agriculture of the United Kingdom, March 7th, 1816. And The Speech of H. Brougham Esq. M. P., in the House of Commons, April 9th, 1816, upon the State of the Agriculture of the United Kingdom - p. 255
- II.** The History of Persia, from the most early Period to the present Time: Containing an Account of the Religion, Government, Usages and Character of the Inhabitants of that Kingdom. By Colonel Sir John Malcolm, K. C. B. - - - - - 282
- III.** Aus Meinem Leben, Dichtung und Wahrheit Von Goethe - - - - - 304
- IV.** The Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland, being a History of the House of Commons, and of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of the United Kingdom, from the earliest period. By T. H. B. Oldfield. And Historical Reflexions on the Constitution and Representative System of England, with Reference to the Popular Propositions for a Reform of Parliament. By James Jopp Esq. - - - - - 338
- V.** The Narrative of Robert Adams, a Sailor, who was wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa in the Year 1810; was detained three Years in Slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert; and resided several months in the City of Tombuctoo - - - 383
- VI.** The Life of James the II., &c. collected out of Memoirs, Writ of his own Hand, &c. Published from the Stuart MSS. at Carleton House - - - 402

CONTENTS.

ART. VII. A Narrative of Events which have recently occurred in the Island of Ceylon, written by a Gentleman on the Spot	p. 431
VIII. The Lay of the Laureate. Carmen Nuptiale.* By Robert Southey Esq., Poet-Laureate, &c. &c.	441
IX. A Letter to a Member of Parliament, on the Slavery of the Christians at Algiers. By Walter Croker, Esq. of the Royal Navy	449
X. The City of the Plague, and other Poems. By John Wilson. Author of the Isle of Palms, &c.	458
XI. The Story of Rimini, a Poem. By Leigh Hunt	476
Quarterly List of New Publications	492
Index	506

THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JUNE, 1816.

N^o. LII.

ART. I. *The Speech of CHARLES C. WESTERN, Esq. M. P. on moving that the House should resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take into Consideration the Distressed State of the Agriculture of the United Kingdom, March 7th, 1816.* London, Budd. 1816.

The Speech of H. BROUGHAM, Esq. M. P. in the House of Commons, April 9th, 1816. upon the State of the Agriculture of the United Kingdom. London, Longman & Co. 1816.

AT no former period of the history of this country, was so great and so general a distress ever known to prevail, as that which has lately visited us, and of which the pressure unhappily still continues. The sufferings of the people during the scarcities of the years 1796 and 1800 were partial, and of short duration; and if provisions were dear, work was not scarce, nor was the charity of the upper orders of society cramped in the means of relieving the wants of the poor. The distresses of 1810 were confined to the class of mercantile men; and, even among them, those persons only suffered who had indulged more or less in speculation. The exclusion of our manufactures from the Continent in 1812, and the rupture with America, produced a more general depression in publick affairs: But the land did not suffer immediately and directly; and the revocation of the Orders in Council, and the abandonment of the system out of which they sprung, operated an almost instantaneous relief; which being followed by an abundant harvest, and the destruction of the French-continental system, effectually relieved the labouring state of our national resources.

During the last twelve or eighteen months, however, the country has been suffering severely in every direction; in its agricul-

ture and its manufactures; its home trade and foreign commerce. The return of peace, after unexampled victories, has brought no relief, but has rather confirmed our apparent ruin; and all classes of men more or less feel the effects of some hidden rottenness in our system, the causes of which no one seems able to discover, much less to remove. Perhaps we should sufficiently prove the unprecedented nature and amount of these distresses, by merely stating the known fact, that they have, for the moment, silenced all party differences, and presented the spectacle of statesmen, generally opposed to each other in the most hostile attitudes, laying aside for the moment all animosity, and joining in the attempt to probe and heal, in the State, wounds equally painful and dangerous to its inhabitants of whatever description.

But although these considerations may suffice to evince the general extent of the evil, we conceive that a more particular illustration of it may form an acceptable introduction to an article, professing chiefly to treat of its nature and causes, with a view of calling the attention of the publick to the remedies that have been proposed. The admirable speech of Mr Western, contains the most striking details upon this part of the subject. The county of Norfolk, as he justly observes, from the excellent state of its agriculture, has probably suffered less than many others. He adds, that it may perhaps be taken as a fair average of the whole kingdom. This we think very probable, from considering, that if, on the one hand, its agriculture be highly improved,—on the other, its soil is by no means of a rich description. Now, in that county, 540 bailable writs were issued in 1814, and 670 in 1815; and the number of executions during the same period, rose from 96 to 174. In Suffolk, the number of bailable writs and executions increased during the same period from 430 to 850. In Worcestershire, they rose from 640 to 890; and of the 216 parishes in that county, 186 were in arrear for property and assessed taxes during the currency of the year 1815. In one of the hundreds of the county of Sussex, 26 parishes out of 32 were in arrear; and in another hundred, 15 out of 20. The remaining four hundreds, of which Sussex consists, were believed to be nearly in the same predicament. But the Isle of Ely exceeds all other districts, in the dreadful augmentation of its distresses. One of the hundreds into which it is divided, occupies about a third part of the Isle. The number of arrests within its bounds, in 1812 and 1813, were *fifty*; in 1814 and 1815, *two hundred and three*. In the same period, the number of executions had increased from *seven* to sixty; and the sums for which the process was issued, from 765*l.* to 18,522*l.*, besides distresses for rent-taxes to the amount of 11,000*l.* To this

must be added the fact, that in the Isle and adjoining parishes, there are now nineteen farms untenanted. But, it must be observed, that these statements are almost altogether derived from the proceedings in the Sheriff's office, which are very far from giving a complete view of the effects produced by the agricultural losses. Distresses come not within that department, unless where goods are replevied, which of late has seldom been done, from a conviction, that the delay of a sale could do but little good. Farmers, too, being rarely within the bankrupt laws, * generally settle their debts when they become insolvent, by deeds of trust and composition, of which no record is to be found, except perhaps in provincial papers.—Still further accounts of distress in the same county, from which the worst of these details are taken, that of Cambridge, have recently come before Parliament. It appeared from a petition, referred to in Mr Brougham's Speech, that, in one parish, every individual, with a single exception, was wholly ruined;—that this gentleman had to pay the whole poor-rates of the parish, and that his income was accordingly entirely absorbed. In some parts of the West of England, particularly Devonshire, whole districts are reduced to misery; and, in Ireland, the evil exceeds even the worst examples known in Great Britain. The tenants are there throwing up their farms in bodies; selling their little stock, and quitting the country. Large tracts of country are literally laid waste, as if the ravages of pestilence, or famine, or war, had swept every thing away before them; and proprietors, who used to receive thousands a-year of rent, have now not nearly so many hundreds, and, in some cases, scarcely any thing at all. Upon the causes of the evil, men may dispute;—of its terrible extent, no one can entertain a doubt.

It is a judicious remark of Mr Western, (to whose industry and perseverance the country is so much indebted for bringing the subject forward, thoroughly acquainted as he is known to be with all its details), that we shall in vain look for those causes, if we are resolved to find a single principle only; for several circumstances have undoubtedly concurred in producing the existing state of things. We shall now, as briefly as the nature of the subject will permit, explain the history, and, in doing

* It is one of the inconsistencies of the English law, that a farmer cannot be made a bankrupt, as such, because *his* dealings are supposed to be more beyond the reach of change than those of a merchant, who yet depends on the same winds and weather. To say, that the farmer does not gain his living by buying and selling, as much as the manufacturer, is a mere absurdity.

so, exhibit, we think, the cause of the evil complained of;—premising, that as we hold it at all times our duty to shun every thing like party violence, (and the offence we have occasionally given to both the regular parties of the country, is some proof of our success in the pursuit of moderation and impartiality), so do we feel the present to be an occasion that calls more especially for the utmost calmness and candour. The Parliamentary leaders, who have treated this momentous question, have indeed set a signal example of those qualities to their followers out of doors, and have carried on their inquiries rather after the manner of scientific investigation than political discussion.

We conceive, that much of the misconception prevalent with respect to the causes and nature of the present distresses, arises from the belief, that they have suddenly come upon the country at the return of peace: But nothing, in our apprehension, is more evident, than that the evil was gradually preparing, and that its approach was only accelerated by the course of events. We must recur to a somewhat more distant period to trace its origin and progress.

The war which broke out in 1793 produced the usual effect of all such political changes, by checking for a while the commerce and manufactures of the country, impairing its credit, and to a certain degree impeding the progress of its agriculture, which like every other pursuit had begun to flourish during the former years of peace, and had partaken in the progress then made by all the sciences and arts. But in no other war did these effects last a shorter time; and they were succeeded by a very unusual stimulus to every branch of industry, afforded by the distressed state of the Continent, and the immense naval superiority which our arms soon obtained. These circumstances gave us a sort of monopoly which we had never before enjoyed, at least in any thing like the same degree—and our manufactures very soon advanced, instead of suffering or remaining stationary through the war. It was not, however, during the first two or three years that the principal effects were perceived. Our attention should rather be directed to the period between 1797 and 1808, in order to have a clear view of the progress which the country made both in trade and agriculture. And we are now to trace the peculiar circumstances, some of them novel in their kind, many of them unexampled in degree, but at all events new in their combination, which concurred to promote the cultivation of the country during those ten remarkable years.

We have already adverted to the progress of our arms. The victory of Lord Howe in 1794, the neglect of the French navy during the confusion of the Revolution, and the loss of the cc-

lonies by conquest and internal commotion, had gone far to destroy the enemy's commerce. Holland had fallen under his dominion, and Spain followed her example. The defeat of the Dutch fleet in 1797, and the capture of the settlements in Guiana, as well as of Ceylon and Trinidad, with the interruption of all direct commerce between Europe and the Spanish main, soon ensued; and our trade and manufactures gained in proportion as our competitors were driven from the market. The progress of our manufactures produced its usual and natural effect upon cultivation.

The scarcity of 1796, and the still greater and more general scarcity of 1800, gave a stimulus to farming which it is impossible to overlook, and would be difficult to exaggerate. The high price of wheat after the former bad harvest, and of all kinds of grain after the latter, occasioned a vast portion of land to be thrown into cultivation which had before been untilled, either in grass or in waste. And when the subsequent progress of enclosures still further increased the cultivated portion of the country, it only slowly replaced the proportion of grass lands ploughed up between 1797 and 1802. The effects of these two bad seasons have been compared to the corresponding effects produced by the destruction of the French colonies, upon the cultivation of sugar. We have formerly explained this at great length, in our Numbers for November 1807 and January 1809; but we may, for the sake of illustration, here remind the reader how the sugar market was affected by the events now alluded to. After St Domingo was destroyed in 1793, and Guadaloupe partially ravaged soon after, so large a part of the whole sugar grown in the world was taken out of the market, that prices rose to an extravagant height; and this tempted every one who had land fit for producing the article, to avail himself of the facilities afforded by the African slave trade, and break it up into cane pieces. The proprietors of old plantations, in like manner, bestirred themselves to increase by all means their produce—until in a few years the thing was prodigiously overdone, and not only the blank was supplied, but a great deal more was produced than the demand, now much diminished by the events of the war, could carry off. The consequence was, a fall of prices as much below the ordinary standard as they had in 1794 and 1795 been above it. The ruin of many planters, and the distress of all, ensued. The inferior lands were thrown out of cultivation, and the excessive culture of the others was restrained, until, the supply being considerably reduced, the prices attained the level necessary for repayment of the expenses of cultivation and the subsistence of the cultivator.

The peace, by opening the market, and reducing the cost of culture and management, has since still further relieved the West Indian body : but those who were incumbered with debts, and had to pay a fixed pecuniary interest ; and those who had bad lands, lands producing inferior sugars, or lands peculiarly expensive to cultivate, suffered most severely, and, in very many instances, were wholly ruined. In this, as in several other respects, the case of the colonial distresses very closely resembled the present sufferings of the agricultural interests at home.

About the same time with the scarcities of 1795 and 1800, the vast expenditure of the Government produced a similar effect in augmenting the prices of corn, and encouraging cultivation. It is true, that the money raised by taxes, and spent in war, would, if left in the pockets of the people, have ultimately reached the same point through different channels ; nay, it would have raised to a greater amount the capital of the country, and thus given a still more extensive impulse to its manufactures and its productions. But the operations of finance and war brought capital much more suddenly into play, and compelled a far larger sum to be expended yearly in the purchase of agricultural and manufacturing produce, than would have gone naturally to that quarter. had their savings been left in the hands of individuals. The gradual increase of capital, and consequently of expenditure in the natural way, operates equally upon all branches of industry ; and, if it raises the amount of production in a given time, it likewise creates a permanent extension of the demand for produce. When so many millions are at once raised by taxes, and spent in consumption, a great stimulus is rapidly applied, and a great increase of production follows ; while the termination of the war leaves a large part of the supply without any demand. Besides, the expenditure of Government is always wasteful, and tends to raise the market in a much greater degree than the same sums spent by private individuals.

The progress of agriculture, which was urged forward by these circumstances, was still further precipitated by the state of the circulation subsequent to 1797. The stoppage of the Bank of England was followed by the extension of paper credit all over the country. New banks were everywhere established, and the old ones greatly increased their discounts, thus affording to farmers and speculators in land, a facility of carrying on their schemes wholly unknown in former times. No class of the community received so large a share of this accommodation as the agriculturist, whose security was better, and whose habits were less adventurous.

At the same time with the powerful encouragements already

mentioned, there happened two events, operating in the same direction, the extension of our colonial possessions, and the completion of our commercial monopoly; events resulting from the war, and tending powerfully to augment the cultivation of this island, now become the great emporium of trade, and the spot where much of the colonial rents ultimately centered. It is unnecessary to enlarge on this tendency; every one knows how directly the agriculture of any district is promoted by the existence in its neighbourhood of any great town, which serves as a place of transit for the traffic of other districts; and, by the war, England had become such an entrepôt for the rest of the world. Every one is aware how speedily the rents of foreign possessions, received in any district, find their way to the improvement of that district; and England had now become, by conquest, the intermediate receiver of almost all colonial rents, and the ultimate receiver of money from the residence of some planters in this country, as those of Tobago and the Dutch settlements, and nearly all the mortgagees of those colonies.

It deserves to be added here, that partly from the general progress of arts and sciences, and partly from the peculiar incentives to agricultural pursuits already enumerated, vast improvements in every thing connected with farming took place about the period to which we are referring. There would be no end of enumerating the inventions for economizing labour, and increasing production, to which the last twenty years have given birth. But we shall close this branch of the subject with stating the general result of all the particulars mentioned, from Mr Brougham's Speech.

'The improvements in most parts of the country have been going on so visibly, that the most careless observer must have been struck by them. Not only wastes have disappeared for miles and miles, giving place to houses, fences, and crops; not only have even the most inconsiderable commons, the very village greens, and the little stripes of sward by the way side, been in many places subjected to division and exclusive ownership, and cut up into corn fields in the rage for farming; not only have stubborn soils been forced to bear crops by mere weight of metal, by sinking money in the earth, as it has been called,—but the land that formerly grew something has been fatigued with labour, and loaded with capital, until it yielded much more. The work both of men and cattle has been economized, new skill has been applied, and a more dexterous combination of different kinds of husbandry been practised, until, without at all comprehending the waste lands wholly added to the productive territory of the Island, it may be safely said, not perhaps that two blades of grass now grow where one only grew before, but I am sure, that five grow where four used to be; and that this kingdom,

which foreigners were wont to taunt as a mere manufacturing and trading country, inhabited by a shopkeeping nation, is, in reality, for its size, by far the greatest agricultural state in the world.' p. 14, 15.

We are now to enter upon a new period, and to trace the operation of causes similar in their kind, but opposite in their tendency. The declension of agriculture produced by these, is the evil at present complained of. The effects of the over cultivation now began to be felt. The enclosures and improvements of the preceding years had come into play—the land was yielding its full crops—when there happened some of the best harvests that had ever been known. Of this description were the years 1812, 1813 and 1814. As the operation of the political circumstances tending to quicken agriculture, had, in 1795, 1799 and 1800, been accidentally aided by the scarcities of those years, so, the effects of the political circumstances now beginning to depress agriculture, were assisted by the accident of extraordinary abundance in 1812, 1813 and 1814. The discomfiture of the French arms at this period, and the certainty of peace in the course of a few months, operated most remarkably upon prices. In 1813, wheat and flour fell about one half between January and November; partly, no doubt, owing to the excellent harvest, but, in a great measure, to the events on the Continent, which, during the autumn of that memorable year, rendered the prolongation of hostilities beyond a few months eminently improbable. Peace then came; and the Government expenditure was suddenly diminished by about fifty millions a year. If any example were wanting to illustrate the effects of this change, we might appeal to the state of Ireland, the great market for victualling the navy. No part of the empire has suffered so much; and the cattle which used there to furnish the ships' provisions, have, since the peace, been poured over into this country, so as to affect, for the first time, the rents of districts depending wholly upon grazing, and which had hitherto kept up at their usual rate.

Nor are the commercial difficulties of the country to be overlooked, in tracing the retrograde steps which agriculture was now fated to make. If the monopoly of war had rapidly extended our trade, the cessation of that monopoly must now have cramped it, at least until new channels could be found into which it might flow, after the confusion ever attendant upon a change, whether from peace to war, or from war to peace, should have subsided. But, indeed, long before this change happened, our mercantile affairs had begun to suffer the most serious embarrassments. The distresses of 1810 had never been

recovered ; and the complete execution of the enemy's project, of excluding us from the Continent, effected by the cooperation of our own wretched policy, had, in 1812, increased those distresses to a still more alarming degree. The American war, which followed, added to the mischief ; and subsequent events have done nothing to repair the injuries then inflicted upon our commerce. Indeed, the sudden opening of the Continent in 1814, produced a scene of speculation almost equalling the most famous commercial delusions recorded in history. The following sketch of it is extracted from Mr Brougham's Speech.

' After the cramped state in which the enemy's measures, and our own retaliation, (as we termed it), had kept our trade for some years, when the events of spring 1814 suddenly opened the Continent, a rage for exporting goods of every kind burst forth, only to be explained by reflecting on the previous restrictions we had been labouring under, and only to be equalled (though not in extent) by some of the mercantile delusions connected with South American speculations. Every thing that could be shipped was sent off ; all the capital that could be laid hold of was embarked. The frenzy, I can call it nothing less after the experience of 1806 and 1810, descended to persons in the humblest circumstances, and the furthest removed, by their pursuits, from commercial cares. It may give the Committee some idea of this disease, if I state what I know to have happened in one or two places. Not only clerks and labourers, but menial servants engaged the little sums which they had been laying up for a provision against old age and sickness ; persons went round tempting them to adventure in the trade to Holland, and Germany, and the Baltic ; they risked their mite in the hopes of boundless profits ; it went with the millions of the more regular traders : the bubble soon burst, like its predecessors of the South Sea, the Mississippi, and Buenos Ayres ; English goods were selling for much less in Holland and the north of Europe, than in London and Manchester ; in most places they were lying a dead weight without any sale at all ; and either no returns whatever were received, or pounds came back for thousands that had gone forth. The great speculators broke ; the middling ones lingered out a precarious existence, deprived of all means of continuing their dealings either at home or abroad ; the poorer dupes of the delusion had lost their little hoards, and went upon the parish the next mishap that befel them ; but the result of the whole has been much commercial distress—a caution now absolutely necessary in trying new adventures—a prodigious diminution in the demand for manufactures, and indirectly a serious defalcation in the effectual demand for the produce of land.

' The peace with America has produced somewhat of a similar effect, though I am very far from placing the vast exports which it occasioned upon the same footing with those to the European market the year before ; both because ultimately the Americans will pay,

which the exhausted state of the Continent renders very unlikely ; and because it was well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States, which the war had forced into existence contrary to the natural course of things. But, in the mean time, the enormous amount of, I believe, eighteen millions worth of goods were exported to North America in one year ; I am informed nearly sixteen millions went through the port of Liverpool alone ; and, for a considerable part of this, no returns have been received, while still more of it must have been, selling at a very scanty profit. The immediate effect has been a sensible increase of the difficulties which I have already described as flowing from the unexpected opening of the European market in the impoverished and unsettled state of the Continent.' p. 22—24.

With the period of greatest agricultural supply, of extreme commercial depression, and of sudden diminution in the demands arising from government contracts and war expenditure generally, an event coincided, which was calculated to increase all the burthens now pressing so heavily upon the cultivator ;—we allude to the rapid change in the state of the currency, and the consequent stoppage of all accommodation. The Bank of England almost at once drew in its issues of paper, to the amount of three millions below what they had been upon an average of some years ; for, at one period, they had been six millions higher. The country banks, now under the influence of alarm,—lessened in a much greater degree their usual discounts. All classes of speculators felt this sudden and unexpected change severely ; but most especially speculators in land, who had been led into their operations and supported in them by the extreme facilities afforded by dealers in money and credit during the late times.

‘ The improver of land (Mr Brougham observes) has to deal with property not easily convertible into money, and his adventures extend necessarily over a long course of years. Persons in this situation soon found their borrowed capital withdrawn ; when the fall of produce made it difficult for them to pay the interest, they were suddenly called upon for the principal ; they had gotten into a situation which no prudence could have enabled them to avoid, because it was the result of events which no sagacity could have foreseen ; they had for many years been tempted to speculate by a facility of obtaining capital or credit, which in a month or two was utterly withdrawn ; and before the least warning had been given either by the course of events, or by the dealers in money and accommodation, a support was removed which the most cautious of men might well have expected to be continued indefinitely, or, at any rate, to be gradually removed. I beg leave, in illustration of this matter, to remind the Committee how those undertakings have been carried

on which I before described as extending so greatly the agriculture of the country. A man of small fortune, or a farmer making considerable profits by the high prices of the period I have so often alluded to, saw an opportunity of making a desirable purchase, upon an enclosure, or a sale in his neighbourhood. He had scraped together a couple of thousand pounds, perhaps; but the sum required for buying, and then improving the land, was four or five. The banker supplied this difference, and by his accommodations enabled some middleman, trading on credit, to supply it, and the cultivator had every reason to hope he should, in a few years, be able to repay it by the continued prosperity of farming concerns. At any rate, he reckoned upon paying the interest and not being called upon for the principal, in security of which he probably deposited the title deeds of his purchase as a pledge. The extension of cultivation caused by these very operations, together with the other circumstances to which I have referred, rapidly lowers the price of all produce; the alarm of money dealers begins to spread;—hardly able to pay the interest which is in reality a fourth more than it was while the currency was depreciated 25 per cent., he is called upon to pay up the principal itself; destitute of any thing that can be turned into money, he is fain to abandon his purchase with all the improvements which his savings and his toil have made upon it; and the lender finds himself in hardly a better situation, without the means of obtaining payment, and with title deeds in his hand, which he can turn to no account, unless he brings the land into the market. Now, the certainty of such a measure lowering its price, prevents this step from being taken; and, accordingly, great as the distress has been, very little land has been actually sold; not so much as ought to have been, is thrown out of cultivation; good money, to use the common expression, is thrown after bad; the money dealer becomes, from necessity, a land jobber; and the distress continues pushing its shoots in all directions, round the whole circle of trade, until, by reaction, the farmer suffers again indirectly, and the total amount of suffering is, if I may so speak, augmented by its universality, and the connexion of its parts. Nor should I be at all surprised if things were to grow worse before they got better; at least I am very certain that the price of land will be lower before it is higher, from the undoubted fact of many sales that must take place, having been delayed as long as possible in the vain hope of the necessity being evaded.’ p. 26—29.

While produce was fetching a high price, and accommodation was easy in the money market, the cultivator did not feel the pressure of those enormous taxes which the necessities of the war had occasioned. But these began to crush him, in proportion as his former supports were withdrawn. In 1792, the revenue was about fifteen millions a year; it had now increased to about sixty-six. In one year we had expended above one

hundred and twenty-five millions; this year, the publick expenses are above seventy-two millions, and the permanent peace establishment is calculated at sixty-five millions. It is only necessary to state this prodigious change in the financial system of the country, in order to perceive how materially the land, on which so large a proportion of all imposts falls, must have suffered from the drains upon the people, which the war has rendered necessary. Many of the taxes, imposed since 1792, press upon agriculture with a peculiar weight. In assessed taxes, it is estimated, that a farm of 400 acres, and 5 or 600*l.* rent, pays above twenty-two pounds additional. Direct taxation has also raised the expense of all articles of leather, including, of course, the boots and shoes of the labourer. Labour, in general, has been still further raised in price, by taxes affecting the necessaries of life. The Malt tax in every way operates most severely upon agriculture. It raises the price of beer, which, in most parts of England, is consumed as an article of almost prime necessity by farm servants and labourers. It diminishes the demand for the farm produce, and it increases the farmer's expense of living. The duty on malt since 1792, has been raised from 10*s.* 7*d.* to 34*s.* 8*d.* per quarter, of which 16*s.* is war duty; that on beer, from 5*s.* 7½*d.* per barrel to 9*s.* 7¼*d.*; and that on spirits from 7*d.* to 21*d.* per gallon of wash; the total revenue thus collected from barley being 12,350,000*l.* If any further explanation is required, how these and other taxes affect the farmer more than the other classes of the community, independently of the duties more directly laid upon agricultural produce, we may observe, that when taxes have raised the price of labour, the cultivator is affected by the rise very differently from the manufacturer. His produce has lately been upon the decline, and he therefore cannot throw the additional cost of production upon the consumer. But, what is still more material, the law throws upon the land the whole weight of maintaining the poor, and keeps all labour, manufacturing as well as agricultural, below its natural price, at the sole expense of the cultivator. *

* Whatever may have been the intention of the Legislature, (and the meaning of the statute of Elizabeth is sufficiently plain), yet, from a defect in the powers of the act, the money raised for the support of the poor, is paid entirely by the land. Persons in trade only pay in so far as they are also owners of real property. Thus a manufacturer who is deriving ten or twelve thousand a year from his trade, is rated as if he only had a large building worth four or five hundred a year beside his dwelling-house, while his neighbour, who possesses a farm of the same yearly value, pays as much; that is, the man of ten thousand a year in trade, pays no more than the

man of five hundred a year in land. Yet, only observe the difference between the two in the relation to labour and to the poor. The farmer employs a few hands—the manufacturer a whole colony;—the farmer causes no material augmentation in the number of paupers—the manufacturer multiplies paupers by wholesale;—the one supports—the other makes paupers, manufactures them just as certainly, and in something of the same proportion as he manufactures goods. The inequality of this distribution is plain enough; but I am now speaking of it in its relation chiefly to the subject of wages. From the abuse of the poor laws, it has become the prevailing practice to support by parish relief, not merely persons who are disabled from working by disease or age, but those who, though in health, cannot earn enough to maintain them; and, by a shortsighted policy, wholly unaccountable, the custom has spread very widely of keeping down the wages of labour by the application of the poor rates, as if any thing could equal the folly of paying rates rather than hire; of parting with the disposition of your own money, and of paying for labour, not in proportion to your own demand for that labour, but in proportion to some general average of the district you chance to live in. I pass over the inevitable effect of this arrangement, in raising the total amount of the sums paid for labour, and in throwing upon one farm the expenses of cultivating another less favourably circumstanced; it is enough for my present purpose to remark, that the whole effect of the system is to make the land pay a sum yearly,—levied in the most unequal manner—applied in the least economical way,—for the purpose of lowering the wages generally, and lowering the wages of manufacturing as well as agricultural labour. From this unquestionable position, I draw two inferences, I think equally undeniable, and bearing directly upon the subject of our present inquiry;—the one is, that the effects of taxation in raising the price of labour are not distributed equally over all classes of the community, but fall exclusively upon the land, the land paying for the rise which the taxes have occasioned, both in agricultural labour, and in all other kinds of work;—the other is, that, even if the fall in the price of provisions should apparently restore wages permanently to their former level, the real rate of wages would still be raised, and the real costs of cultivation be augmented, unless the poor rates also had been brought back to their former amount. The sum now levied upon the land for this purpose, exceeds eight millions. Before the American war it was less than two. I think I have said enough to show how immediately, how severely, how exclusively the rise in the taxes from fifteen to sixty-six millions has pressed upon agriculture; how impossible it is to expect substantial relief as long as that pressure continues.' p. 37–39.

We have now traced the causes of the present distress; and we shall proceed to notice the remedies which have been proposed, as well as those which have perhaps been too little attend-

ed to. A great part of the evil is, in our opinion, temporary, and may be expected to pass over the heads of those who are at present the most alarmed by it. But a considerable portion is of a more permanent nature; we mean, the jeopardy in which those speculators find themselves, who, having purchased, or partly purchased, partly borrowed, when the currency was depreciated, with the project of selling at a still higher price, now find themselves compelled to part with their land at a reduced rate, and pay back the borrowed money at a higher rate. For such persons there is perhaps no remedy to be found, except it be in the forbearance of creditors, which, we believe, mutual interest is likely of itself to inculcate.

There are some remedies which we may mention, in the first place, for the purpose of laying them out of the way, as either wholly exceptionable or inefficacious, or both. It has been proposed to grant a loan of Exchequer bills to the farmers, in the same manner as loans have been given at different times to the mercantile body. Upon this project it is necessary to remark, that the popular objections to it which the trading interest have raised, are very ill founded. The right of the landed interest to this species of assistance, is fully as incontestable as their own. When the Grenada planters, and the merchants generally, at the stoppage of the Bank in 1797, and during the stagnation of all trade in 1811, obtained large advances, they had not more pressing claims of distress to urge than the cultivator has at the present time. If, therefore, the latter could show, that such an aid as the country could afford to give would do him an effectual service, there could be no objection to his demand of it. But the misfortune is, that this mode of relief is objectionable on better grounds. It would be quite impossible to lend sums sufficiently considerable to meet the difficulties complained of. A plan has been suggested in Parliament, of advancing to each farmer who applies for it, a sum equal to half a year's rent, upon security being given for the repayment. It is unnecessary to observe, how very trifling the relief thus afforded would prove. What the farmer complains of, is a lowering of prices from 70s. or 80s. to 50s. or 60s.,—say a fall of 20s. a quarter upon wheat, or three pounds an acre, supposing the average produce to be about three quarters. Taking the average rent at 30s., (which is certainly too high), the proposed plan would terminate in relieving by 15s. a pressure of 3l.; and, in order to obtain this trivial aid, the farmer would become a Crown debtor, and be liable to the process of extent, with all its dreadful consequences, both to himself and his other creditors. We may fairly question, whether such assistance

would ever be applied for upon such terms. But to afford any more liberal aid of this kind, would be manifestly impossible. Suppose a whole year's rent were so advanced, and that only one-fourth of the farmers obtained it, this would require a sum of above twelve millions Sterling ;—a sum which it would greatly incommode our finances to raise by Exchequer bills, in addition to the loans and issues of the year, and which, after all, would hardly be worth the expenses, trouble and risk, at which the farmer would obtain it.

A bounty upon exportation has been suggested ; and Mr Western is an advocate, we are sorry to see, for this expedient. So many occasions have offered themselves to us for exposing the impolicy of all such projects, that we shall not stop here to refute it upon general principles ; but one consideration is sufficient to show how inapplicable it is to the difficulty in question. If we have succeeded in showing, that one of the principal causes of our present sufferings is the weight of taxation, how futile must the proposal appear, of seeking to relieve or palliate those sufferings by a measure, the very essence of which is a considerable augmentation of the publick burdens ! The downfall of the Income-tax, and the War Malt-duty, have already begun to afford some relief to the community. The bounty recommended would force us to abandon this step towards amendment, as far as regards the Malt-duty ; for two or three millions must be raised by some such tax, to pay the expenses of the bounty.

The removal of the permission to warehouse foreign corn, has also met with Mr Western's countenance, and, we think, unfortunately. The existence of corn in the warehouse, which cannot by law be brought into the market, is obviously a matter of mere indifference. How, then, can the permission to warehouse affect the market ? It is said, that were this permission withdrawn, the corn of home-growth would be warehoused. But surely it will, in the present state of the law, be kept in private stores, exactly to the same amount, and, for the same reason, namely, that the market price does not tempt the grower to sell it. We are told, however, that the permission tempts merchants to bring foreign corn over, before the returns have reached the importation price ; and that the grain thus collected is ready in a moment to be poured into the market. But it must be obvious, that were no such permission given, the same corn would be prepared on the other side of the water, and brought over as soon as the point fixed by the law was reached ; so that the length of the voyage is the only respite which the grower could derive from altering the present ar-

rangement in this particular;—a circumstance wholly immaterial, when it is considered, that as soon as the returns have indicated the average required, the ports are opened until the stated period elapses, and the average at its expiration has fallen below 80s.

We have already spoken of the proposal for assisting farmers with money by way of public loan. A much more sound view is taken by those who, observing that the distress is in so many cases of a temporary nature, and that if the pressure of the moment were escaped, a total recovery would be effected,—remarking, too, that private loans are rendered extremely difficult by the state of the usury laws,—have proposed to repeal all restrictions upon contracts relating to money, and leave the borrower and lender to make their own terms, like all other parties in mercantile transactions.—That the usury laws have materially augmented the difficulties of the cultivator in these times, we can entertain no doubt. Money is not to be had, except by way of annuity; so that both the insurance of about two per cent. is to be paid by the borrower, the expenses of the transaction are thrown upon him, and the rate of interest is directly raised by the difficulties and risks of the business. Even upon real security, ten, twelve, and fifteen per cent. are now paid for loans effected in this expensive manner; whereas, but for the usury laws, it might in all probability be had for six, seven or eight. There can be no doubt, therefore, that persons who wished to borrow, in order to help them through the difficulties of the times, would have been greatly benefited by a repeal of these absurd and barbarous laws. But to undertake their abrogation at this particular crisis, would, as it seems to us, be unwise, on account of those persons who have already borrowed upon mortgage, and whose creditors would immediately call up their money, or demand a higher rate of interest, were the restriction suddenly taken off. A considerable increase of the difficulties, under which the landed interest labours, would thus be produced; for it is plain, that a good portion of the money which is now lent to landholders, would be diverted from their use, and not returned to them at the advanced rate of interest. We rejoice, however, to see so favourable a disposition in Parliament, for revising the laws in question; and we trust, that as soon as the present distresses have subsided, the subject will be fully brought forward. The more it is discussed, the more certain is the repeal of those laws, which no man of sound understanding can now be found hardy enough to support. Mr Bentham, to whom is due the rare praise, of having at once begun and finished the task of

opening mens' eyes upon this subject, has been prevailed upon to reprint his inimitable performance, since the question began to attract notice in the House of Commons. It is our intention to take up the subject in our next Number; and we are willing to hope, that a short period of repose from the recent troubles in the political system, will enable the Legislature to distinguish this age, by eradicating one of the most pernicious errors, which the darkness of early ages, and the blind deference to authority, of more civilized times, has ever planted in society.

We have now stated the remedies which appear to be inapplicable, inadequate, or in other respects objectionable; and shall proceed to notice the sounder views which have been taken of the means within our reach, to alleviate, if not to remove, the evils complained of. We pass over one remedy, which the distresses themselves will enforce, the throwing a considerable portion of expensive and inferior land out of cultivation. There can be no doubt that much land has been taken into tillage of late years, which never ought to have been broken up; and, generally speaking, the land which is cultivated at the greatest cost, will be the most likely to be abandoned.

The subject of the Wool laws, is the first which presents itself under this head. Our readers are probably aware, that although the equally barbarous and absurd penalties formerly imposed upon the exportation of sheep and wool, are no longer in force, yet there are precautions taken amply sufficient totally to prevent the exportation. Now, why should the wool-grower be prohibited from finding a market for his commodity, in order that the manufacturer and consumer of the article may purchase it cheap? It must be confessed, that a strong case of danger from exportation ought to be made out, before so unjust a distinction can be tolerated. The mere inconvenience to manufacturers, of augmenting their expenses, and lessening their profits, is no sufficient reason for continuing such a monopoly. The long existence of that monopoly is not a much more satisfactory ground of defence; although, unquestionably, after the policy of the law has for a length of time been drawing more capital and labour into a particular line than would naturally flow thither, the change to a better system ought to be made gradually, in order to avoid, as much as possible, those sudden convulsions, so prejudicial to the mercantile interests of a community. But the present distresses of the agriculturists deserve to be considered, in relation to this subject; and if a material relief can be obtained, by repealing the monopoly laws, nothing short of the most imminent danger to the manufacturing interests can justify their con-

tinuance. The two points, then, involved in this question, are, the extent of the benefit to the farmer, and the nature of the risk to the manufacturer, which may be expected to result from a repeal of the obnoxious laws. With respect to the first point, there is abundant reason to believe, that much benefit would be derived from whatever tended to prevent a depression in the price of wool. Hitherto it has been kept up, notwithstanding the fall of all other prices, chiefly by the orders in the market for the clothing of foreign troops; and accordingly, the wool-growing districts have generally escaped the severe pressure under which the other parts of the country have laboured. The good price of this article has had the effect of supporting the growers of it under their other losses, and has thus kept much stock out of the market, which would otherwise have been thrown in, and augmented the general glut. But the persons best informed upon the subject, observing the fall in wool that is already beginning, do not hesitate in expressing their belief, that it must speedily decline to its former low prices, unless the growers are allowed access to the foreign market. The manufacturers, however, assert, that the exportation of wool would destroy the manufactures in this country. They contend, that the long coarse wool used in carpet, worsted, and other manufactures, is peculiar to Great Britain; and that if it were exportable in the raw state, the low rate of wages in foreign countries would enable them to undersell us in every open market. Into the details of this question we cannot at present enter. Indeed, the facts upon which its decision must turn, have not been investigated with sufficient attention; and the Committee, to whom the House of Commons referred the inquiry, unfortunately rested satisfied with reporting, that the price of wool had not fallen low enough to entitle them to consider its depression as a cause of the prevailing distresses. We purpose, however, with such materials as are within our reach, to resume the discussion separately upon an early occasion.

It has always been found, that the mercantile and manufacturing bodies have possessed greater influence with the government, and have been more ready to use it, than the agricultural classes. The former, inhabiting large towns, act together in bodies, and are generally much better informed, as well as more alive to every thing that concerns them. The latter live dispersed and isolated; they have no facility of combination, nor indeed any habits of publick business; they are indolent, and averse to disturbing the tranquillity which is congenial to their condition: they are, besides, generally deficient in point of information. No minister ever touched the commerce of the country with im-

punity ; it is easier to raise a pound from the land, than a penny from trade. Sir Robert Walpole jocosely observed, that when he had to deal with the landed interest, all went on smoothly—they came quietly to be shorn ; but if he only touched the trader, it was like shearing a hog—more cry than wool. The result has generally been, that the mercantile body have both escaped their share of the publick burdens, and have obtained from the State, extraordinary encouragements of every kind, chiefly in the shape of monopolies in their favour ; while the landed interest, at whose expense always, in common with the rest of the country, and frequently in a more peculiar manner these monopolies have been established, have been too indolent, or too weak, from their ignorance and dispersion, to offer any effectual resistance, and even to defend themselves.

We have just been considering one remarkable instance of such a monopoly, in favour of the manufacturer, at the cost of the landed interest ; we shall now allude to another, in which the colonial body has obtained a monopoly, not perhaps so material from its effects, but still more rigorous in the principle of its operation. For the encouragement of the plantations in North America, it was deemed expedient to prohibit the cultivation of Tobacco in the mother country. The 12 *Car. II. c. 34*, imposed a duty of forty shillings per rod or pole, upon all grounds planted with tobacco. This heavy duty, with all the advantages of soil and climate, does not seem to have been a sufficient protection to the colonies ; for, three years afterwards, it was found necessary to increase the penalty, and add others. By 15 *Car. II. c. 7*, the duty was raised to twelve pounds a rod ; and even this seemed to have been insufficient ; for the 22. 23. *Car. II. c. 26*, orders all constables and other officers, under penalties, to enter the grounds, and pluck up and destroy the tobacco plants, after stating, that notwithstanding the former acts, the culture of tobacco was increasing. This statute appears to have effectually put a stop to it in England ; but towards the end of the American war, the act not being deemed to affect Scotland, a considerable cultivation of the plant took place there, chiefly, we believe, in the neighbourhood of Kelso, where above 1000 acres are said to have been successfully planted in this manner. To prevent this, the 22 *Geo. III. c. 73*, was passed, extending the penalties of the former statutes to Scotland, and with decisive effect. It should seem that this policy was not capable of thriving on the west of St George's Channel ; for the prohibition was repealed as to Ireland by the 19 *Geo. III. c. 35*, upon the ground that it was expedient to encourage the sister kingdom in the growth of every thing which did not interfere with the interests of the larger island. The

reader may perhaps think that a sufficient share of absurdity is perceivable in this policy, as far as we have hitherto traced it ; but a greater inconsistency remains to be noticed. The whole object of the prohibition, or nearly the whole, was the encouragement of our colonies in North America. But they were now no longer ours ;—they had become to all intents a foreign state ;—nay, a state peculiarly the object of jealousy, and especially of commercial jealousy ;—and yet we continued, and to this day maintain in their favour, the prohibition of tobacco-planting in our own dominions !—and, having once prevented the English farmer from growing it, to encourage our fellow-subject the colonial planter, we still continue the prohibition to encourage the planter become an alien, and even while he is an enemy.

Now, it seems extremely reasonable, were it only for the sake of consistency, to repeal the prohibition, and allow the English farmer to grow tobacco if he finds his profit in it. Two objections have been urged against this measure. It is said that the soil and climate are not adapted to tobacco-planting. We do not believe they are fitted for the culture of a very fine species ; but that good tobacco might be grown is clear, from the evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons. * It is grown in Holland ; and the evidence showed, that ours was better than the Dutch. It is said to require very good land, and Mr Arthur Young states the expense of the rent and planting an acre at five pounds each ; the value of the crop being, at an average, fifteen pounds. Certainly, unless the cultivation is peculiarly costly, this is a very valuable crop ; it is equal to a wheat crop at the high price of 100s., and it cannot be a very scourging crop, for the evidence describes it as always followed by wheat. Mr Young's reasons for believing that it could not be grown to advantage, resolve themselves very much into the difficulty of the process, and the inferiority of British to Virginia tobacco. But there seems no reason to doubt that the former could be got over, and that the latter would be balanced by its greater cheapness, which would adapt it to the consumption of the lower classes. At all events, the history of the prohibition shows, that there was at one time a very material advantage to be derived from this kind of tillage ; and the removal of the penalties would best show, whether it could now be turned to account upon an extended scale. The only other reason against this measure is, the apprehension that the revenue might suffer. About two millions a year are raised upon tobacco by customs and excise ; and it is said that a lower duty would be necessary to protect the tobacco home growth. There seems reason to believe, however, that

* The Select Committee on Seeds, Wool and Tobacco.

the same duty being imposed, the saving of the expense of the voyage would be sufficient to give the preference required; and the slightest attention to the structure of the acts for raising duties upon hops will suffice to prove, that tobacco-grounds might be subjected, without any difficulty, to a similar duty.* In the midst of our present agricultural distresses, no experiment should be hastily rejected, which promises a fair chance of success, unless it can be shown that serious risk would be incurred by trying it. In the present case it should seem, that the simple failure of the experiment is the worst effect that could follow from making it.

Nothing in the whole compass of our domestic policy demands more imperiously the attention of the Legislature, than the state of the Poor-laws; and more especially at the present moment. The severity with which the operation of these laws has been felt, we have already had an opportunity of noticing; they, in fact, throw upon the land the whole burthen, and wholly prevent the equal distribution of any temporary difficulties among the different branches of the community. It is impossible to conceive a more injurious plan to all parties, than the present mode of maintaining paupers. The landholder pays most unequally. Not only he supports the poor whom the manufacturer brings upon the neighbourhood, but he lowers the wages of all labour at his own single cost. Moreover, he pays his proportion of this cost, not in respect of the occasion he himself has for labour, but in respect of the circumstances of his land; so that the proprietor of a farm which is easily cultivated, from the land being good or chiefly in grass, pays much more than one whose farm requires great labour to cultivate, and is of very inferior value; the former, in fact, paying for labour which he never uses; the latter having his labour cheap at his neighbour's expense. To the poor themselves and to the lower orders, generally, the effects of the system are most prejudicial. It has gone far to ruin their character, by lowering their independent spirit; and if it does not directly encourage idleness and improvidence, it removes the most powerful incentives to economy and industry. The magnitude of the evil, already enormous, is daily increasing: This is its essential nature; within its bosom are the means of constant and rapid expansion; nor can any man tell what a height it may attain, if no obstacle be offered to stay its progress. A change in the law itself, or even

* See particularly 9 Ann. c. 12. See also the arrangements for raising the duties on *manufactured* tobacco. 29 Geo. III. c. 68.

such an improvement of it as would check its abuse, would confer the most lasting benefits upon the country, and would speedily bring relief to the distresses of the agricultural body. First, suppose the law were to remain unaltered, but were only restored to its original intendment, relief would be given with a far more sparing hand to the poor, whom no natural incapacity prevented from working; the wages of labour would no longer be made up, as they now are, partly of pay and partly of parish relief; and the charge of maintaining the poor would be borne by the gains of trade, by the income of professions, and by the profits of money lent at interest to the government or to individuals, as well as by the rent of land. Such was unquestionably the original intention of the Legislature; but to recal the practice to a conformity with the law, new enactments would be required, especially in order to obtain from the various sorts of income, an assessment proportioned to their amount. But it is manifest, that the means are within our power, of applying a more radical cure to this great vice in our political system. The Poor laws, or their perversion, having destroyed all scruples in the minds of the people about receiving parish relief, they now calculate upon this as a source of their support, and contract marriages, in the certainty that their offspring must be provided for. The ordinary checks of prudence which used formerly to prevent a couple from marrying, until they had a fair and reasonable prospect of providing for their family, are now wholly removed. Until the habits of the people are brought back to what they once were, this freedom from all restraint multiplies yearly the numbers of the poor; and as there is no probability of any such change being effected, as long as the cause of the evil remains, the only conceivable method of eradicating that cause effectually, ought in wisdom to be adopted before it is too late. There may be objections to withdrawing relief from persons already entitled to receive it;—there may likewise be reasons for not withholding it from the children of marriages already contracted;—but there can be no good reason against refusing it to children of marriages hereafter to be contracted, giving previously a certain notice, that, from a particular date, the couples who may chuse to marry, must look to themselves alone for the support of their children. This arrangement, the strictly legitimate consequence of the principles so clearly developed by Mr Malthus, would with absolute certainty remedy the great evil so justly complained of. It would gradually, but not very slowly, effect its purpose;—its operation would begin to be felt almost immediately, and in little more than twenty years it would leave no poor to be provided for,

except those who are incapable of working, from accident, disease, or age. There may be a question whether even these ought not to be left dependent upon private charity, but, at all events, the poor from want of employment, should look to this source of support alone.

It is usual to reckon the burthen of Tythes as standing on the same footing with poors' rates, and to view them both as taxes upon the land. This, however, is inaccurate; the rate is strictly a tax or impost upon the rent of land; the tythe is a part of the gross produce which never belonged to the landowner, but was always the property of another person, viz. the church or the lay impropriator. It may be doubted, then, how far this subject enters into the question immediately before us: certain it is, that the principal effect produced by tythes is in the discouragement of cultivation, where capital is to be laid out in improvements. But as there can be no doubt that any arrangement would be beneficial which might relieve the cultivator from the vexation attendant upon the present divided tenure of his property, perhaps the existing distresses are a sufficient ground for discussing the subject in connexion with the points under consideration.

The peculiar kind of joint tenure, by which the tythe owner and the landholder possess together, gives rise to all the anomalies and inconveniences of the present system. Both have an interest in the produce, but one only is burdened with the expense of raising it; and the interest which one of the proprietors has in his share, is quite different from that which induces the other to adopt the line of conduct which is most for the benefit of the land; for it is a life interest, and the party in possession has no regard for the reversioner. We speak now of spiritual persons;—lay impropriators are in a somewhat different predicament, although it is clear that they show a regard to the interests of the land over which their rights extend, far inferior to that of other proprietors. In truth, neither lay impropriators, nor spiritual persons ever consider themselves as landowners, properly so called. To put an end to this species of joint tenantry, so prejudicial to improvement, so pregnant with inconvenience to all parties, and so fertile in disputes between the clergyman and his flock, utterly inconsistent with the comfort of the one, and the instruction of the other, seems the object of all plans that have been devised for the commutation of tythe. But there seem to be objections of a peculiar nature against any compulsory change of the system. It is an interference with the rights of property; and this must never be thought of, unless upon grounds which entitle the legislature to interpose for the plain and manifest advantage of the whole community. We do

not contend that there is any thing more inviolable in tythes than in other property; on the contrary, the legislature has repeatedly interfered with it, for the obvious benefit of the country. By the statute of Edward VI. barren land was exempted from tythe for seven years, although the Church's right of property to the tythe, was as unquestionable during those years, as at any other time; but it was plainly the interest of the Church, as well as the rest of the community, that the insuperable obstacle to improving waste lands should be removed; and the Church, but for its removal, had little or no chance of ever receiving tythe from those wastes at all. Madder has been exempted altogether from the payment of tythe, upon a principle somewhat different; not that the real interest of the Church, as in the former case, required such an interference with its property, but because the expense of cultivating madder is so great, as to prevent it altogether, if it pays any tythe; and consequently the Church, if it gains nothing, at least cannot be said to lose any thing by the entire exemption. In Scotland, our readers well know, the change which freed the land-owner for ever from tythe (or *teind*) was effected somewhat hastily, and with very little management, by a monarch as scrupulous in his regard for the Church, and as much cherished by her in return, as ever sat upon the throne. The preamble of the famous *Decret-Arbital* of Charles I. in 1629, sets forth, that it is 'expedient for the wellbeing of the realm, the better providing of kirks and stipends, and the establishment of schools and other pious uses, that each heritor (proprietor) shall have and enjoy his own teind;' and therefore decrees, that all teinds shall be valued and sold according to certain rules for making the estimate. This was ratified in Parliament by the act 1633, cap. 17. Such a summary abolition of tythes, so quietly assented to, forms one of the most extraordinary events in the history of ecclesiastical affairs; and it is to be regretted that so little light has been thrown by historians upon the steps by which the change was brought about, and the causes which predisposed all parties in so religious an age and country to acquiesce in it. We are far from recommending any violent proceeding of this kind to the sister kingdoms, any more than we should wish to see England follow the example of that never-to-be-lamented Irish Parliament, which first by a vote of the Commons, and afterwards by a law, at once abolished tythe of agistment as unconstitutional, and ruinous to the Protestant interest. We only quote these passages in ecclesiastical history, by way of proving that church rights, how sacred soever, have been encroached upon by the legislature in every part of the United Kingdom, when the common weal required the infringement.

Various measures have been suggested, for gradually and justly effecting a change in this oppressive branch of the public economy. According to our view of the subject, that plan is the most consistent, both with fairness and wisdom, which aims only at giving facilities for every kind of bargain between the land-owners and the proprietors of the tythe. The parson and the owner cannot, as the law now stands, make any bargain which shall be in force beyond the incumbency of the former. It seems an obvious, and at the same time a safe change, to allow such bargains, under restraints which may prevent the incumbent from sacrificing, for an advantage to himself, the future interests of the living. If all leases of tythes, for example, were good, which should be granted for one and twenty years, with the consent of the patron and ordinary, there seems no reason to apprehend any improvident use of the Church revenue, while the land-owner would have one way afforded him of obtaining a relief from his burthen. But it might be safe, under similar restrictions, to allow of bargains for the total redemption of tythe, the mode of effecting the commutation being pointed out by other legislative restrictions. Thus, it might be required that the price to be paid, or a certain proportion of it, should be a reserved corn rent; and as the Church is entitled, not merely to a compensation of tythes, at the present time payable, but for those which new enclosures, or improvements of old lands, may create, the probable increase might be taken into the account, in estimating the price of redemption; or, should such a calculation be found impossible, an arrangement might be made, for reviewing, at stated periods, the terms of the bargain, and awarding an increase, according to the change that should have taken place in the interval. The investment in land, of the price to be paid, where the redemption was effected without a rent, would obviate much of this difficulty; for the Church would then benefit by the improvement of the estate so purchased. Transactions of this kind have been carried into effect in some parts of England, by means of private bills; and, in the late discussions upon the subject, instances were mentioned, of bills for enabling the parties to levy a rate, in order to make up what was deficient in a fund raised by the sale of waste lands; and, even where there was no waste to be appropriated for the purpose, a case was said to have arisen, of a redemption being effected by a rate levied for the purpose of raising a sum to be invested in the purchase of an estate for the parson. The expense of such bills, and, still more, the difficulty of binding persons who may at one moment agree to apply for them, and, the next, draw back, as soon as others have come into the

plan, presents the greatest obstacles to this method becoming general. But nothing could be easier than to allow parties to bind themselves, without the costs of a bill, and thus to enable any considerable number of tythe-payers to conclude a bargain with the parson, under the inspection of the patron and ordinary. It is probable that, at first, no very great number of such transactions would take place, nor would it be desirable that there should; as the price of land would thereby advance in a manner unfavourable to the design of the parties. But as soon as the advantages of the scheme were perceived, the practice would spread; and it is probable, that, in the course of a few years, the commutation would be effected in every part of the country where the evils of the present system are the most severely felt.

The objections to such plans are chiefly founded upon an alarm for the temporal interests of the Church. But those interests seem to be safely entrusted to the parties who have the management of all other ecclesiastical concerns. It can hardly be supposed that the patron and ordinary should consent to the spoliation of a benefice, even if the incumbent were prevailed upon to sacrifice its future emoluments for a temporary advantage to himself. The principle of commutation has been extensively acted upon in many instances. When commons are enclosed, the usual practice is, to allot a certain part to the parson in lieu of tythe, and to give him, by the enclosure act, powers of leasing and raising money for enabling him to turn his share to account. Nor is it uncommon to allot an additional share of the waste, in order to relieve the old enclosures in the parish from tythe. No one ever supposed, that the concerns of the Church were put in jeopardy by such compacts; on the contrary, the value of livings has always been greatly raised by them, while improvements were carried on, which the payment of tythe would for ever have prevented. It has been apprehended by some, that such arrangements would convert clergymen into farmers. This, however, is not found to be the case where the experiment has been tried; they have let their lands to farm like other landlords; and, indeed, if a parson is disposed to cultivate the ground himself, he may do so as a farmer under the present laws. At all events, the injury arising from his so doing, is a very doubtful one; the occupation is innocent, and it is not degrading; and his dignity and usefulness suffer much less by it than by the perpetual disputes with his flock, which arise from the tythe system. We are unwilling to pursue this interesting subject further at present, than to remark, that if any serious evils were found to arise from the change, the law

might be revised, and the facilities of making bargains (which alone we are recommending) might be withdrawn, or modified as the result of experience should prescribe.

The last point to which we shall call the reader's attention, in treating of the remedies for the present distresses, is the grand evil of Excessive Taxation. Unless means are speedily devised for lightening this intolerable burthen, all other methods of relief appear to be unavailing. The revenue of sixty-five millions which our permanent peace establishment is to cost, exceeds, by a great deal, what can be borne by the land, from which so much of it immediately is drawn, upon which so much more ultimately and most unequally falls. Above forty millions of this prodigious sum is for the interest of the debt, and the expense of reducing it. Does any man doubt that a large part of this may well be spared? Some have proposed to abate the interest; but the proposition has created alarm in the public mind.* No objection of the least weight has ever been urged against diminishing the amount of the sinking fund. Six or seven millions of it might be taken without even materially affecting the price of stocks, as we have fully explained in a former Number; and taxes to this amount might, in consequence, be taken off. Why, then, it may be asked, does not the Government adopt a measure which the distresses of the country so loudly call for? The reason is plain:—The Ministers are resolved to keep up an enormous and unprecedented peace establishment; and, as they have not the means of paying for it by the produce of the taxes, over and above the sum raised for the interest and charges of the debt, ‡ they are determined to reserve the sinking fund, in order to use it in paying for this establishment. At present, the pretext for not touching the sinking fund is, that they cannot relieve the whole country at the expense of the stockholder;—a vain and hollow deceit;—for the stockholder would suffer nothing by the change. But the truth is, that they will not lower the peace expenses of the country; and to keep those at nearly their present amount, they are prepared, both to maintain the unbearable load of our present taxation, and to encroach upon the sinking fund.

* See this subject handled ably in the pamphlet upon the Income Tax, by the Reverend Mr Glover—by far the best tract to which that question gave rise.

‡ The ways and means of this year have been made up of a surplus unapplied from last year's votes and loans from the Bank.

ART II. *The History of Persia, from the most early Period to the present Time : Containing an Account of the Religion, Government, Usages and Character of the Inhabitants of that Kingdom.* By Colonel SIR JOHN MALCOLM, K. C. B., K. L. S., late Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia, from the Supreme Government of India. In Two Volumes. 1815.

IF we neglect the fluctuating limits of transitory possession, and look only to the landmarks placed by nature, the boundaries of the Persian empire seem distinctly traced by the courses of the Indus, the Oxus and the Tigris; the shores of the Caspian, and the arid tracts which skirt the Indian Ocean. The primitive inhabitants of this extensive region, too, have in all ages been advantageously distinguished from the adjacent nations. Their tall and graceful persons are neither disfigured by the harsh features of the Arabian physiognomy, nor the darker tints of their Indian neighbours. Their skill in horsemanship, their expertness at military exercises, the acuteness of their understanding, and the vivacity of their conversation, appear at all times to have merited praise; whilst their insincerity and falsehood, the usual vices of slaves, seem as justly to have attracted censure. In all these respects nothing is changed. They are still richly endowed with the gifts of nature; but the invariable laws of the Medes and Persians have decreed, that despotism, in its most pernicious form, should defeat the objects of her bounty; and that, with less glory, less wealth, and less enjoyment, the subjects of Futeh Ali Khan, at the present day, should display the same natural talents, and the same inherent defects, which marked the slaves of Darius, dispersed through twenty satrapies.

The origin and remote affinities of nations are soon lost in obscurity. Yet, of all historical monuments, the least disputable, and most enduring, is its language. The modern language of Persia is the off-spring of the antient Pehlavi, itself a descendant of the still more venerable Zend. We consider this language as having existed, in its present form, only since the Arabian conquest, and the Pehlavi to have prevailed from the time of Arbaces the Mede, who threw off the Assyrian domination. The writers who have treated of the intermediate period, always consider the Zend as a sacred language, confined to religious ceremonies, and of the highest antiquity. For the slender means we possess of judging of the Zend and Pehlavi, we are solely indebted to M. Anquetil du Perron. The result of an examination will demonstrate, that the languages of

Persia and India were, at one period, the same, or kindred dialects of one original tongue; and the resemblance is the most striking in the most antient specimens. Yet it is sufficient to turn up a modern Persic dictionary, in order to discover, that innumerable words are regularly derived from Sanscrit roots of similar import; or a modern grammar, to trace the same inflexions buried in the more complex structure of the Sanscrit. Many Persian words, names and titles, preserved by Greek writers, and which are destitute of meaning in modern Persic, present a distinct and appropriate sense in the cognate language. The fact, indeed, is little calculated to excite surprise, as the two countries are contiguous. Had the antient records of Persia been transmitted to an enlightened age; or did the traditions which survive, without replacing them, merit the name of history, we might expect to see unfolded the nature of that connexion which spread the language of the Brahmans from the shores of the Brahmaputra to the banks of the Tigris; and to ascertain whether it was unaccompanied with any of the remarkable institutions, which have, in all ages, distinguished the sons of Brahma.

The work which has given occasion to these observations, contains one unbroken chain of narrative, deduced from the first dawn of civilization to the present day, and extracted from native sources. This immense undertaking is rendered still more complete, by a very comprehensive view of the actual state of Persia, derived from personal observation, aided by all the resources of diplomacy, and all the advantages of a perfect acquaintance with the language. Detached portions of Persian history have long been before the public, but these have never been assailed by the touchstone of criticism. The eminently useful, but unreadable work of D'Herbelot, terminates with the reign of Shahrokh in A. D. 1446. Since that period, all we know of Persia is derived from the unconnected accounts of travellers, merchants and missionaries, with the exception of the reign of Shah Nadir. The ample vacancies left by these defective sources of information, are ably supplied in the work before us, which we consider an important acquisition to the stock of general knowledge, and an honourable addition to the literary fame of the country which has produced it.

We are informed by Herodotus, that the Medes were originally called Arii, an appellation which they afterwards changed for that of Medi. It is very remarkable, that whilst the first name continues at this day to designate the whole of the extensive country whose limits we have traced, the latter name of Medi is scarcely to be met with in the writings of any native historian.

We say, scarcely ; for although the fact is little known, there still exist Persian documents which mention the Medes. Airan, (which, though thus spelt, is pronounced Iran), is the name of Persia from the earliest times to the present day. In the inscription at Taki Bostam, deciphered by M. Sylvestre de Sacy, Shahpur styles himself, king of kings, of Iran and Aniran. We had ventured in a former Number to state our conjecture, that the Arii were so named from the Sanscrit word *Aria*, respectable ; an epithet which the Hindus familiarly apply to themselves ; and which they would not scruple to extend to any nation divided into four casts. We were pleased to find our conjecture confirmed by the unsuspected testimony of Mula Firoz, a fire-worshipper of Bombay, who informed our author, that the title assumed by Shahpur was, ' king of believers and of unbelievers,' in Sanscrit *Aria*, and *Anaria*. The herd of writers who servilely copy Ferdosi, pretend indeed that the name of Airan, is derived from Airaj, a son of Faridun :—but the whole story in which this is found is manifestly fabulous.

From the elevation of Dejoces to the throne of Persia until the Macedonian conquest, the political revolutions of Persia have been traced by the historians of Greece. The singular attempt of Richardson, to gain credit to the meagre and fabulous traditions of the modern Persians, in opposition to the clear and concurrent testimonies of nearly contemporaneous Greek writers, can only be regarded in the light of an ingenious paradox, destitute of any solid foundation. Yet the accounts of the Greeks, and the traditions of the Persians, appear at first sight completely at variance. Neither the series of events, nor the names of the actors, display the slightest coincidence ; and the admission of the one appears virtually to banish the other to the regions of chimera. General Malcolm does not undertake the perilous task of reconciling the historians of the east and west. He admits that the Persians possess no documents that merit the name of history, antecedent to the fall of the Arsacidæ. Yet if we admit the lucid arrangement of facts, as digested by our author according to a system now proposed for the first time, we shall be able, in a very great number of instances, to refer the traditional narratives of the eastern writers, to their actual prototypes in authentic history. It proceeds on this most allowable postulatam, that little reliance is to be placed on similarity of name. Many of these names were probably titles ; and it is obvious, that Herodotus, Ctesias, and Moses of Chorene all disagree in the names of the Persian monarchs. In preference, therefore, to this fallible criterion, we should assume similarity of character, person, or adventures. The exposure of a prince by his

maternal grandfather; his being saved by the minister; and bred up in concealment by shepherds, marks the identity of Cyrus and Khosru. The bodily deformity of hands with fingers reaching below the knee, readily betrays Artaxerxes Longimanus, in the disguise of Ardeshir Derazdest. Some of these coincidences, indeed, had long since been indicated by Sir William Jones; but that great scholar had not extended his attention to the whole series of monarchs. The attempt is certainly exposed to objections: but, unless we greatly mistake, no system can be adopted that is open to so few, or where the coincidences are so frequent or so happy. Should it be considered satisfactory, it may instruct us in the mode in which the ravages of time operates in defacing the history of nations: Brilliant eras, and successful monarchs, outlive its depredations; the memory and names of the obscure and unfortunate are blotted from the page.

The fragments of Persian history, which in the form of traditions were carried down the stream of time, reached Firdousi. It was unfortunate that a poet should be the collector. It was still more so, that, ignorant of the immense chasms in his materials, or unwilling that they should be suspected by others, he has joined together facts widely remote, and stated, as consecutive, what time and circumstances had placed at a distance. If our readers can suppose a period, when the history of England shall be known to its inhabitants only by tradition, and the names and memory of the unfortunate princes Richard I. and John completely forgotten, but some particulars of their reigns, and the whole length of them added to that of Henry II., of whom Henry III. is declared son and successor, they will then be qualified to appreciate the nature and extent of the errors which have been transmitted by Persian writers, under the name of history. They continue to disfigure their narrative until the overthrow of the Arsacidæ. The errors of Firdousi, indeed, are lost in the animation and beauty of his versification. His prose copyists must find their excuse in their admiration of Firdousi.

The first dynasty of Persian kings is that of the Peshdad, from two words, signifying 'former benefactors.' It commences with the origin of the empire, and terminates with the period of anarchy which preceded the elevation of Dejoces to the throne, about the year 696 before Christ. The first name which occurs on the list is that of Cayumrath. Mohamedan writers value themselves exceedingly on their knowledge of genealogy. Even in times much more recent, no considerable person must be introduced, without tracing his pedigree back to Noah. In the present instance the difficulty was not great; for

Mirkhond informs us, quite positively, that ‘Cayumrath was the son of Shem, son of Noah,—may the blessing of God rest on both!’ Firdousi, on the other hand, who professes to follow Pehlvi records, in which the names of the patriarchs do not occur, furnishes no pedigree; but says he was the first king who governed the earth. We must, however, remark, that in calling him the first king, Firdousi has certainly mistaken the genuine traditions of the Chuebers. Both the Zendavesta, and Beharam, priest of the fire temple at Shahpur, represent him as the first human being. His name in Sanscrit, Cayanrit, signifies body of clay; which seems also to be meant by his Persian title of Gilshah, or king of clay. The priest above quoted, accordingly, places Hushang, a remote descendant of Cayumath, at the head of the Peshdad.

The empire of Airan was at this time occupied by the Devas. In our remarks on Moore's Pantheon, we ventured to state our reasons for concluding that these magicians were Brahmans,—for whom Deva is one of the most common appellations at this day. The reign of Hushang, and of his successor Tahmiras, was spent in endeavours to expel them. In our review of the publication above referred to, we showed that they were not altogether unknown to the western world; and cited a passage from Suidas, with a parallel one from the Shah Nama, to prove that they both alluded to the same event, the introduction of fire worship, which Hushang probably substituted for the idolatrous rites of the Brahmans. Suidas calls Hushang, Perseus; and Tahmnas he calls Merrius.

To the next prince, who far exceeded his predecessors in magnificence and glory, and to whom the majestic ruins of Persepolis are attributed by his credulous countrymen, Persian writers have assigned the name of Jemshid, or Ajemshid, and a reign of 700 years. The name appears to have been Ajem; for ‘shid’ is expressly stated to be an epithet, signifying brilliant. Instead of persecuting the Devas, he availed himself of their superior science in the construction of magnificent edifices, and for the instruction of his subjects in literature and the arts. By the universal concurrence of Persian writers, he divided his people into four casts; thus adopting one of the most remarkable institutions of the Devas. His treasures, his magnificence, and the splendour of his reign, are still proverbial amongst his countrymen, and were long celebrated by western nations.

• *Num tu, quæ tenuit dives Achæmenes,
Aut pinguis Phrygiæ Mygdonias opes
Permutare velis crine Liciniæ?*

• ‘Jem jah,’ magnificent; as ‘Jem’ is the expression daily ap-

plied at this time to persons distinguished by munificence. In the latter part of his reign, he disseminated idolatry amongst his subjects, and was driven from the throne by the Assyrian invasion. In his flight, he captivated the affections of a princess of Zabul; and her posterity, like a future race of Persian monarchs, might boast their descent from Achæmenes.

In reviewing these antient fables we may remark, that in the reign of Ajem the history of a dynasty is included; and we are authorized by Baharam, the priest of Shapur, to reduce its duration from 700 to 116 years. Western historians have recorded little concerning the state of Persia previously to the Assyrian conquest. Some fabulous particulars concerning Perseus and Andromeda, and some concerning Jason and Medea, the latter of whom gave her name to the Ariei, include almost all that Grecian tradition has preserved of their antient transactions. These last seem even to gain the assent of the sceptical Strabo, extorted by the monuments still existing in his time, which attested their residence in that country. Ctesias, whose names seldom accord with those of other writers, calls the last king of the Medes who resisted the invasion, Pharnus; and states that he fell in battle.

The Assyrian domination is typified in the Persian traditions, under the form of a blood-thirsty tyrant, tormented by two insatiable dragons, sprung from his shoulders in punishment of his crimes; and from whose tortures a momentary relief only could be procured, by the application of human brains. Its duration is stated by Ctesias at 1360 years; Paterculus gives it 1070; and Herodotus 520 years. According to the Persians, the reign of Zohac, or the Dragon, was 1000 years: his residence was not in Persia, but at Nuvehet, an immense city on the banks of the Tigris; in which it is easy to recognise the antient Niniveh.

The hero who led the Median youth to the banks of the Tigris, and, after a long siege, conducted with various success, overthrew the Assyrian dominion, or the tyranny of Zohac, is named Arbaces by Diodorus. Moses of Chorene in one place calls him Varbaces, and in another Rhodanus. Velleius Paterculus calls him Pharnaces, and the modern Persians Feridun. This conqueror is said to have married an Assyrian princess. Moses of Chorene, therefore, calls his descendants 'Stirps Draconis.' The widow of Astyages he also calls Draconum Mater:—the name of Astyages being manifestly a corruption of Azdehac, which signifies a dragon. Diodorus has supplied no details of the reign of Arbaces; and those afforded by the Persians are manifestly fabulous.

The names of the four descendants of Arbaces, who succeeded him on the throne, is all that is transmitted to us by the Greeks, previously to the period of anarchy which preceded the elevation of Dejoces. The Persians supply the same number of sovereigns during that interval, and satisfactorily account for the anarchy by a Scythian invasion, which during the space of twelve years spread confusion and terror through the empire of Airan. If, as Sir William Jones supposes, the Pehlavi language differed from the Zend, chiefly in an admixture of Assyrian words, it may be inferred, that the Zend was the language of Persia anterior to the Assyrian conquest, and the introduction of the Pehlavi a consequence of that event.

In recording the obscure traditions, which the modern Persians consider as the primeval history of their country, we have not thought it necessary to advert to the pretended discoveries of Mohsun Fani, promulgated in the *Dahistan*. This writer, a native of India, who lived in the middle of the 17th century, asserts, that from the perusal of Pehlavi records, and his conversations with persons who secretly adhered to the doctrines of Hushang, he had discovered that a dynasty of princes, named the Maliabadian, had, during an immense number of ages, ruled the empire of Airan, before the birth of Cayumrath, whom the Moslems consider as the first king, and the Guebers as the first created human being. It would ill become us to speak dogmatically of a work honoured with the approbation of Sir William Jones; yet we may be permitted to remark, that Mohsun Fani has merely given a transcript of the Indian system, in which we trace the fourteen Menus under other names, governing the earth during cycles of years; and the four yugas or ages, during which mankind gradually sink deeper in vice and misery. He produces no authority for his facts; nor explains how the discovery of so large a portion of primeval history was reserved for the seventeenth century, and for a native of Cashmir. Yet what inducement, it may be asked, could influence Mohsun Fani to invent statements so extraordinary? To this, we apprehend, a very obvious answer may be given. The *Dahistan* was composed during the reign of the great Mogul, Shah Gehan. The eldest son of this monarch was first universally suspected, and afterwards publicly accused of a design, either to explode, or at least very materially to alter, the Mohamedan system of faith. By a reference to our review of M. Anquetil du Perron's translation of the *Upanishat*, in which we have given a copious extract from the preface written by the Prince Dara Shekah, the nature of the speculations in which he indulged may be very clearly collected: and they certainly give plausibility to the charges brought against

him. They at least prove, that tenets the most repugnant to those of the Coran, found in him a complacent disciple. Now the disquisitions of Mohsun Fani on the twelve different religions were equally calculated to excite the curiosity, and to kindle the munificence of a prince of this disposition: and they supply an instructive specimen of the studies fashionable at the learned court of Dara Shecah.

The second dynasty is that of the Caian, or of princes who had the title of Caï (a word of unascertained signification), prefixed to their name. It commences with the elevation of Dejoces to the throne in 696, and terminates with the Macedonian conquest and the death of Darius in 330 before Christ. It embraces, in short, the whole of that period, during which the history of Persia is preserved by the historians of Greece. Our readers may not be unwilling to see the manner in which sovereigns, whose names are familiar to them from childhood, are honoured or forgotten by the historians of their own country.

1st, Dejoces raised to the throne during a period of anarchy, which in the course of a long reign he effectually succeeded in repressing, cannot be mistaken in the person of Caï Cobad. Ctesias names him Arsæus; and this we conceive was really his name, for the author of the Bahman Nama calls him Arsh. The name of Dejoces, assigned to him by Herodotus, appears to be a corruption of Zohac, and to indicate his Assyrian extraction,—his descent from the gens draconiana, as Moses of Chorene styles them.

2d, Phraortes is totally omitted in the list of Median monarchs. He subjected the province of Fars to the Median yoke, and fell at the siege of Niniveh. Few oriental historians ever heard of the Medes, or knew that Persia constituted an independent principality. In the Majamlat ut Tuarikh, however, a work distinguished by the originality of its information, we find that ‘some historians assure us that Caï Caus was son of Aphra, and grandson of Cobad; but the truth is, he was son of the latter.’ Without this casual information, discredited by the author who cites it, we might in vain have sought the Persian records for the name of Phraortes.

3d, Cyaxares. This prince is identified with Caïcaus, by the eclipse predicted by Thales, whilst engaged in battle with the Lydians. This eclipse the Persians have converted into a supernatural blindness, the effect of magic, which seized him and his army in the midst of the engagement. Totally ignorant of the Lydians, they have disfigured the facts connected with this event. Another coincidence is the invasion of Persia by the

Scythians, whilst this prince was engaged in a distant expedition.

4th, Astyages, the last of the Medes, is unknown to Persian tradition. Yet the circumstances of his reign, connected with the birth, exposure, and concealment of Cyrus, are related without essential variation; and are attributed to a king of Scythia, whom they consider as the maternal grandfather of that hero. We have already stated, that his name is an obvious corruption of Azdehac, a dragon.

5th, Cyrus. The romantic events of his infancy and youth, and the brilliant exploits of his reign, betray this hero under the name of Khosru. We may remark, that national vanity appears to have had little share in thus defacing the Persian records; for no details of his conquests are given, excepting those which relate to his dethroning his grandfather. It is stated generally, that he subdued all the adjacent countries, that he carried his arms into distant regions, and that in his reign the empire of Aïron attained its highest aggrandizement. His fame, too, is stated to have surpassed that of all preceding and subsequent monarchs. The Moslems assert, that he is considered as a prophet by the Guebbers.

6th, Cambyses and Smerdis Magus. In his comparison of Grecian history with Persian traditions, our author has hitherto been supported by similarity of character and circumstance, or by the accidental discovery of chasms in the Persian accounts. But here native historians present nothing analogous to the facts recorded by the Greeks. The frantic Cambyses, and the Magus who for a short time personated his brother, are utterly unknown to the chroniclers of Persia.

In their room, we are told that Lohorasp succeeded to the throne by the will of Khosru, being the grandson of a brother of Caïcaus. Two circumstances alone bear any resemblance to the events which really occurred at this period. 1st, We are informed, that a general of Lohorasp conducted a successful expedition into remote regions in the west, during which he laid waste Jerusalem—vestiges, in all likelihood, of the invasion and conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. 2d, The death of Lohorasp, like that of Smerdis Magus, was attended with a general massacre of the Magi. This prince had resigned his throne to his son Kyshtasp (Darius Hystaspes), and retired to Balkh (Bactria), where he had erected a pyræum, to end his days in devotion. When Kyshtasp adopted the religion of Zorodast, Balkh became the chief theatre of the new rites. The King of Scythia, to put a period to this impiety, attacked Balkh, overthrew the pyræa, and massacred the Magi who officiated in them. Lohorasp, who had become a proselyte and a

priest, fell with the others. The Magophonia, or general massacre of the Magi, at the death of Smerdis Magus, (who is called Oropastes, evidently the same with Lohorasp, by Justin), is attested by Herodotus. These circumstances combined, seem to prove that the incorrect traditions of the Persians relate to this period of their history.

7th, Darius Hystaspes is called Kyshtasp by the Persians. Ferdousi gives some marvellous stories of his expedition into the countries between the Euxine and Caspian: but it is astonishing that the great feature of his reign, the change which he effected in the religion of his country, is passed over in silence by the father of history, although occurring almost in his own time. The account which Herodotus gives of the religion of the ancient Persians, relates to the period antecedent to Darius. It is impossible to doubt that the last of the Zoroasters flourished at the court of Darius, converted that Prince and the whole of the reigning family to his doctrines, and that their zeal and example soon spread them over the whole empire.

8th, Xerxes. The name and reign of this unfortunate monarch is blotted from the page of Persian history. Kyshtasp had a son called Aspendiar, who was declared successor during his father's lifetime. His distant expeditions into remote countries in the West, and his extraordinary adventures there, furnish the theme of many Persian romances, and are mentioned by historians, though without any details. According to them, however, all this occurred in the reign of Kyshtasp, who survived his son. The name of Spendadates occurs in Ctesias about this time; though applied to a different person, it is probably the same word which the modern Persians have converted into Aspendiar.

9th, Artaxerxes Longimanus. The deformity of hands reaching below the knee, demonstrates this monarch to be Ardeshir the Long-handed. He was son of Aspendiar, son of Kyshtasp. He is called also Bahman, a word without meaning in modern Persic, but in Sanscrit, (and probably in Zend), it signifies 'possessed of arms,' alluding to the length of his. The traditions of his country have assigned to Artaxerxes, a reign of 112 years. This period, however, evidently comprises not only his own reign, but those of his successors, the short-lived Xerxes II., Sogdian, the reign of 19 years of Darius Ochus, and the long and luxurious rule of Artaxerxes Mnemon. The names of the three first are entirely overlooked by the native historians, and the last is confounded with his grandfather, the first Artaxerxes. The existence of this chasm in their tradition is demonstrated by the incestuous loves of Artaxerxes Mnemon and his daughter, a fact recorded by Persian historians; who add, in equal contradiction to truth

and probability, that this Princess succeeded her father on the throne, which she ultimately resigned to her son. This son, whom they call Darab, from a fabulous narrative of his exposure by his mother, in order to conceal her incestuous amours, and whose adventures bear no similarity to those recorded of Artaxerxes Ochus, occupies, in Persian writers, the interval before the accession of Dara II. The conquest of Persia by Alexander, and the termination of the dynasty of Caïan, establish his identity with Darius Codomannus.

From this collation (we fear a tedious one) of the monarchs recorded by Grecian writers, with their respective representatives in Persian traditions, from the election of Dejoces to the death of Darius, it appears, that of 18 Princes who reigned successively in Persia, the names of 10 are totally unknown to the historians of that country. The same period presents only one instance of interpolation, in the pretended reign of the daughter of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Would it be rash to infer, that such is the usual operation of time on the history of ancient dynasties; and that the oblivion of short or inglorious reigns is more naturally to be expected, than the interpolation of imaginary ones?

The history of the Arsacidæ, or the Ashcadian dynasty, presents only an obviously mutilated catalogue of proper names. In the year 250 before Christ, Arsaces, or Ashe, took possession of Hyrcania (Jorjan), from the Selucidæ, and founded the dynasty named from him. It was subverted by Ardeshir Babegan in A. D. 226. Scarcely any particulars are recorded of the events of these five centuries. Ferdousi overlooks it entirely, and passes at once from the death of Alexander to the rise of Ardeshir, only remarking, that the intervening period was one of confusion and anarchy, during which many petty sovereigns ruled contemporaneously in certain provinces, of whom none acquired the undisputed supremacy of the whole empire. These Princes are now known to Eastern nations, by the Arabic (and consequently recent) appellation of *Maluc al Tuaif*, or Kings of tribes. They probably called themselves *Parthæ*, a word which may be derived from *Partha*, a sovereign, in Sanscrit. Yet these petty sovereigns, as they are now considered by their countrymen, occasionally carried their arms to the shores of the Mediterranean, defeated Crassus, and alarmed Rome herself, in the plenitude of her power.

Ardeshir Babegan traced his pedigree from Sasan, a descendant of one of the Caïan family; and the dynasty which he founded retains the name of Sasanian. From his victory over Arduan, the last of the Arsacidæ, in A. D. 226, until the conquest of Persia by the Mohamedans, and flight of Yezdighird, the last of

his descendants, in A. D. 641, includes a period of 415 years. During this time, the Persian empire probably enjoyed an equal degree of power, prosperity and civilization, with that it possessed under the monarchs of the Cæian dynasty. Indeed, the sculptured rocks and ruined edifices, which, besides the page of the historian, are all that remain to attest the magnificence of the antient kings of Persia, seem, to us, all referable to this period. The name of the throne of Jemshid, now given to the mutilated columns near Persepolis, is far from convincing us that they were constructed during the reign of a monarch, who must have lived before the Assyrian invasion under Ninus. The sculptures indeed may, and most probably do, represent events long anterior to their own erection.

From the entire subjugation of Persia in the middle of the seventh, that country, during the two subsequent centuries, constituted a portion of the empire of the Caliphs. This period was sufficient to destroy the records, and nearly to extirpate the rites and doctrines of the antient Magi. Their superstitions, introduced in the time of Darius Hystaspes, and remodelled by the first of the Sasanian princes, had probably lost much of their influence, and all their zeal. New habits, a renovated vigour, and almost a new language, were the effects of conversion to Islamism. It was sudden, sincere, and universal. The Commanders of the Faithful, dissolved in the luxurious gratifications of their voluptuous palaces at Bagdad, had only to dread the infidelity of their own officers, deputed to rule the remote provinces of their immense empire. During this period, the history of Persia must be traced in the annals of the Caliphate. In the year 820, the first independent sovereignty was established in Khorasan; and from that time to the present day, the same state of society has continued to prevail, attended by a recurrence of the same events, produced by different agents.

From the defection of Tahir Zulyemnin, who governed Khorasan for the Caliph Mamun, until the dethronement of Shah Tahmasp, the last prince of the house of Sophi, in the year 1732, nine centuries elapsed. Within that eventful period, fourteen dynasties of princes rose and fell, of whom the last only retained the throne during 230 years. A few indeed were contemporaneous; and four political revolutions were the effect of invasion and conquest. Three dynasties of Tartar kings owed their thrones to the swords of their founders, Alparslan, Chenghiz Khan, and Timur; but they supported them by the permanent establishment of their rude but martial countrymen in the heart of Persia. These tribes have, ever since, constituted the most warlike part of the population, and retain, in their

adopted sites, their original language, their nomadic habits, and their devotion to their respective chiefs, to whom alone they confine their allegiance.

' Le premier qui fut roi, fut un soldat heureux.' •

The history of all these dynasties is very nearly the same. A military leader, dissatisfied with the court, and of an enterprising genius, attaches to his standard companions of a similar character. His first successes are rewarded by an ample spoil, which generosity or policy induces him to divide. Numbers flock to his banners. Ambition and avarice are his auxiliaries; and he has only to contend against a feeble sentiment of attachment for an unknown prince, who possibly might not possess a single quality calculated to inspire it, and whose name had furnished a sanction to every species of misrule. The people remain passive spectators of the approaching contest: and the royal phantom vanishes as soon as it is attacked. The commander, who now ceases to be a rebel, commences the functions of sovereignty. Bred up in habits of business, and inured to the conflicts of active life; aware that he possesses power by a precarious tenure, he endeavours to make himself respected as well as feared: his discipline is severe; abuses in the administration are corrected; and every department of the state rigorously scrutinized. A comparison of his rule with the luxurious indolence and effeminacy of the preceding reign, is entirely to his advantage. At his death, he transmits to his successor a throne supported by the experience of its beneficial effects, and defended by an army formidable by its numbers, its discipline, and its attachment. His son, who probably fought and conquered by the side of his father, pursues the same policy, extends his dominions, enforces his regulations, and enacts new ones, the result of experience. The kingdom becomes great and prosperous; and it is in this reign that it probably reaches the utmost elevation it is destined to attain. The third monarch of the dynasty, born to a throne, and enervated by sensual delights, retains the civil polity of his ancestors, but delegates to others the ruder task of fighting his battles. He is usually a great patron of literature, and aims at a different sort of fame. If his talents be considerable, his manners popular, and the state of the circumjacent countries favourable to tranquillity, he too is succeeded by his son, who is probably the last of the race who mounts the throne; and these Saturnian years roll round again. Such is the brief outline of a Mohamedan dynasty, on the supposition most favourable to peace, viz. that the authority of a despot survives him long enough to regulate the succession.

A tranquil succession is, however, affected by other circum-

stances. In the Turkish dominions (and the practice was followed by the later monarchs of the house of Sophi), the royal offspring continue immersed in the Haram, during the life of their father. Without partisans, without friends, without personal merit, and altogether unknown to the public, the choice of the sovereign is allowed to select from his descendants, the individual most worthy of a throne. But, in other Mohame dian states, this custom (favourable undoubtedly to the peace of the empire) has never been adopted. The young princes have usually been delegated as viceroys in distant provinces; and the whole of their subordinate sway is devoted to preparation for that contest, which naturally and almost invariably occurs on the demise of the crown. Emir Timur died in A. D. 1405. Bediazeman, the last of his posterity who reigned in Persia, was not driven from the throne until 1517; but each year of the intermediate period witnessed the sanguinary conflicts of his posterity, for a power to which each asserted an equal claim.

But the operation of those moral causes, which, in despotic states, continually tend to produce change, may be suspended by the salutary influence even of a false religion. The sacred character of the commanders of the faithful, preserved, through a long succession of degenerate princes, a limited dominion and immense pretensions to the house of Abbas, which was at last overthrown by idolatrous hands. The supposed transfer of this spiritual supremacy to the descendants of Othman still continues to regulate the succession to the Turkish throne. The house of Sophi, descended from the prophet, and sanctified by the devotion of the first Sophi, claimed and obtained the distinction of champions of Hyder, and heads of the Shiah faith. To this invisible ægis, several of his successors doubtless owed their security, when their tyranny provoked, and their effeminacy invited the progress of revolt. But this shield was only efficacious in warding off the attacks of their own sect; the orthodox Afghans deemed it meritorious to dethrone and chastize the heretical calumniators of the companions and successors of the Prophet.

In the year 1747, Nadir Shah, the conqueror and the tyrant of Middle Asia, fell by the hand of assassins. He had previously extinguished the fortunes of his house, by depriving, in a fit of jealousy, the eldest and ablest of his sons of sight. ‘Your crimes have forced me to this dreadful measure,’ was, we are told, the speech that Nadir made to his son. ‘It is not my eyes you have put out,’ replied Reza Culi, ‘but those of Persia.’

‘The morning after the murder of Nadir, presented a scene of the greatest confusion. Ahmed Khan, a chief of the Abdali tribe

of Afghans, supported by a corps of Ushecs, made an attack upon the Persian troops, but was repulsed. He left the army: and proceeding by rapid marches to Candahar, not only obtained possession of that city, but took a large convoy of treasure which was coming from Cabul and Sind to the Persian camp. By the aid of these means, this leader laid the foundation of a kingdom, which soon attained a strength that rendered it formidable to surrounding nations.'

The feeble descendants of the mighty Nadir soon disappeared from a scene for which they were unqualified. His grandson Shahrokh, who had been deprived of sight like his father, was, during some years, suffered to support a petty court by the revenues of the city of Mashhed, and its immediate environs. But the compassion inspired by his misfortunes could not save him from a danger which continually menaced his precarious existence. He had the misfortune to possess, and he was unable to relinquish, some of the most valuable jewels, which Nadir acquired in the plunder of Delhi; and the means adopted to force them from him, by the chief who ultimately succeeded to the fortunes of Nadir, terminated in his death in the year 1796.

The death of Nadir dissolved the allegiance, and excited the ambition of the heads of tribes both of Persian and of Tartar origin, several of whom were also provincial governors. At this period, the inhabitants of Persia may be considered as divided into four great classes.

' 1st, The first and most powerful, if united, are the native tribes of that nation, who continue to live in tents, and change their residence with the season. The great mass of this part of the population, whose habits are pastoral and military, are to be found along those ranges of hilly countries which, commencing near the entrance of the Persian Gulph, stretch, parallel with its shores to Shuster, and from thence taking a north-westerly direction, extend up the left bank of the Tigris, as high as the province of Armenia. The region that has been described, includes Carman, almost all Fars, a part of Irac, and the whole of Curdistan. The inhabitants of these countries are divided into many different tribes; but there cannot be a stronger proof of their coming from one stock, than that the languages which they speak are all rude dialects of the Pehlavi. There is a considerable difference in these dialects, but not so much as to prevent the inhabitants of one province understanding those of another. From the period of the introduction of the religion of Mohamed, there never had been a king of Persia of this race. That country had either been governed by monarchs of a Tartar or an Arabian family. The numerous tribes of native Persians had consequently always been regarded with apprehension; and a jealous policy had sought, by transplanting them to distant quarters of the empire, and by fomenting internal divisions, to weaken their strength.'

' 2d, But the great balance to their power were the Tartar, Turk-

ish, or Turcoman tribes, who had at different periods accompanied conquerors from beyond the Oxus, from the banks of the Volga, and from the plains of Syria, into the kingdom of Persia. The usages of these tribes, in all that related to their rude habitations, their mode of life and of warfare, were the same as the others; but they had continued distinct, from the difference of their language; and that circumstance alone (had other motives been wanting), would have kept alive a spirit of rivalry and hatred in the minds of these two great classes of the military population of Persia. The Turkish tribes, though not so numerous as the Persians, were more powerful, because more united and more wealthy. They had, through all the revolutions of that kingdom, been kept more concentrated, as they formed, from the period of the conquest of Togrul Beg, till that of Abbas the Great, the force on which the different races of monarchs chiefly depended.

‘ 3d, The citizens and cultivators of Persia were not warlike; though the former had, on many occasions, by their gallant defence of their lives and property, acquired a high reputation for valour. Almost all the towns and villages were walled; and, in a country where the science of attack was but little known, the efforts of the inhabitants (part of whom were always a militia), in repelling attack, were often successful; and consequently, though this part of the population seldom furnished many recruits to an army, their attachment was, in scenes of civil warfare, of great consequence to the Chief whose cause they espoused.

‘ 4th, The fourth class of the inhabitants of Persia consisted of a number of tribes of Arabians, who entirely occupied the level country between the mountains and the shore of the Persian Gulf. This tract, which resembles the Peninsula of Arabia more than any of the interior provinces of Persia, had been long abandoned to this race, who had, from the most early ages, possessed a superiority over the Persians at sea. The latter, indeed, seem at all periods of their history, to have at once dreaded and abhorred that element. The Arabs had consequently not only possessed themselves of the islands of the Gulf, but of almost all the harbours along the coast. Their children had maintained these possessions, yielding at times a real, and at others a nominal, obedience to the government of Persia: but their poverty, the heat of the climate, and the barrenness of the soil of the countries they inhabited, combined with the facility with which these tribes, who inhabit the coast, could embark in their boats, have at all times aided the efforts made by this race to maintain themselves in a state of rude independence.’

After six years of anarchy and civil war, the domination of Persia fell to a chief whose birth and character seemed the least likely to succeed in the midst of political convulsions. ‘ Carim Khan was of the Persian tribe of Zund. This chief was not of high birth, and had obtained^a no command in the army of Nadir; but he was distinguished for his good sense and cou-

rage.' The moderation and humanity he displayed in a subordinate situation, were his chief recommendations to the highest. ' His soldiers even respected the principles of their leader ; and the eyes of all were directed with admiration and astonishment to a chief of a barbarous tribe, who refrained from plunder, and showed, amid scenes of violence and confusion, so marked a love of order and of justice.'

The most formidable competitor for the supreme power was Mohamed Hassain Khan, grandfather of the present king of Persia. From his native province of Mazanderan, this chief issued at the head of his tribe, and followed by a large army flushed with recent success over a powerful rival. In 1756, he drove Carim, whose military talents do not appear of the first order, from Ispahan, and laid siege to the city of Shiraz, in which that chief had shut himself up. The brave defence of this capital obliged his rival to retire ; and, in the following year (1757), Mohamed Hassain fought and fell in the defence of his hereditary possessions in Mazanderan. From this period, until his death in 1779, Carim Khan reigned over the whole of Persia, with the exception of the two eastern provinces, Khorasan and Candahar, dismembered by the Afghan government of Cabul.

' The internal commerce of Persia, as well as its agriculture, had greatly revived during the latter years of Carim Khan. That prince gave the most particular encouragement to all the industrious classes of his subjects, and to none more than the Armenians who were settled in his dominions. The possessors and cultivators of the soil in Persia have to pay but a very moderate proportion of its produce to the government : but, as the monarch can impose arbitrary fines and requisitions, he may be said to possess the power of taxation at pleasure. The condition of this class, therefore, is almost as dependent for their happiness on his personal disposition, as any other in the community. They enjoyed under Carim as much consideration as he was able to give them ; and he was, on all occasions, ready to redress the wrongs they suffered, from the oppressions of the officers placed over them. All the cities in Persia flourished under this prince ; but none in any degree to be compared with Shiraz. Carim, perhaps, was first induced to make this city his capital, by the circumstance of its being central to the pasture lands of those tribes on whose support he chiefly depended, and from the attachment which its inhabitants early showed to his interests. He was at great pains to strengthen its defences ; and he improved and ornamented the city itself with a number of useful and magnificent buildings, and beautified its environs by the erection of some fine edifices, near which were planted luxurious gardens. Under his auspicious sway, says his Persian biographer, " the inhabitants of that favoured city passed their leisure hours in the society of moon faced damsels."

sels ; the sparkling goblet circulated ; and love and pleasure reigned in every breast. ” ’

Carim Khan died at an advanced period of life, being nearly eighty years of age.

‘ When I was a poor soldier,’ he often said, ‘ in Nadir Shah’s camp, my necessity led me to steal, from a saddler, a gold embossed saddle, which had been sent by an Afghan chief to be repaired. I soon afterwards learnt that the man, from whom it was taken, was in prison, and sentenced to be hung. My conscience smote me, and I replaced the saddle exactly on the place from whence I took it. I watched till it was discovered by the saddler’s wife, who, on seeing it, gave a scream of joy, fell down upon her knees, and prayed aloud, that the person who has brought it back might live to have a hundred gold embossed saddles. I am quite certain, he added, smiling, that the honest prayer of the old woman has aided my fortune in the attainment of that splendour which she desired I should enjoy. ’

‘ Carim was one day on the point of retiring from his judgment seat, harassed and fatigued with a long attendance, when a man rushed forward in apparent distraction, calling out in a loud voice for justice.—“ Who are you ? ” said Carim. “ I am a merchant,” replied the man, “ and have been robbed and plundered by thieves of all I possess. ”—“ What were you about,” said the prince, “ when you were robbed ? ”—“ I was asleep,” answered the man.—“ And why did you sleep ? ” exclaimed Carim, in a peevish and impatient tone.—“ Because,” said the undaunted Persian, “ I made a mistake, and thought you were awake. ” The irritation of the royal judge vanished in an instant. Turning to his Visier, he bade him pay the amount of the man’s losses, from the treasury. “ We must,” he added, “ try to recover this money from the robbers. ”

Writing was an accomplishment which this justly celebrated Chief never possessed, and he retained through life the dialect of his native tribe, which from its rudeness is universally denominated by the other inhabitants the barbarous dialect.

‘ This prince, as he was one day sitting in public, commanded his jester (a necessary appendage to a Persian court), to go and bring him word what a dog, which was barking very loud, wanted. The courtiers smiled at this sally of the monarch. The jester went as desired ; and after appearing to listen some time with a profound attention, he returned, and said with a grave air—“ Your Majesty must send one of the chief officers of your own family, to report what that gentleman says ; he speaks no language, except the barbarous dialect, with which they are familiar, but of which I do not understand one word. ” The good humoured monarch laughed most heartily at this ridicule of his tribe, and gave the wit a present. ’

It is now time to call the attention of our readers to a per-

sonage of a different character, and who, though an eunuch, was the founder of that dynasty, now seated on the throne of Persia. 'The Turkish tribe of Cajar had been long settled in Syria. They were brought from that country to Persia by Timur, and were one of the seven tribes who combined to raise Shah Ismael, the first king of the Sophi race, to the throne.' Abbas the Great divided this tribe into three branches, one of whom he settled at Asterabad, a small province of Mazanderan, to protect that country from the predatory inroads of those independent tribes of Turcomans, who dwell along the eastern shores of the Caspian.

Aga Mohamed Khan was the son of Mohamed Hassain Khan, the chief of this tribe of Cajars. We have already alluded to the hostile irruption of his father from Mazanderan, his siege of Shiraz, and subsequent death in the defence of his hereditary possessions. His son, Aga Mohamed, had been seized when an infant by one of the successors of Nadir, who had the barbarity to command, that he should be deprived of his virility. When his father was defeated and slain, he fell into the power of Carim Khan, by whom he was latterly treated with great kindness and indulgence. The whole of that time which he passed as a prisoner at Shiraz, was employed in preparing himself, by the study of men and books, for the great scene in which he was destined to act. He took advantage of the confusion which ensued on the death of Carim Khan in 1779, fled with almost incredible speed to Mazanderan, and immediately declared himself independent.

'He was at this period thirty-six years of age. Though his frame was slender, he was, from his frugal diet and his habits of exercise, capable of suffering any fatigue or hardship. He might be said to live on horseback; for every moment that he could spare from other occupations, was given to the chase, which was, in fact, his only amusement. His heart is said to have been as hardened as his body; but the natural severity of his temper was, during the whole of his progress to that sovereign power which he attained, after a struggle of eighteen years, checked by his prudence, which led him not only to conciliate his friends by kindness, but to forget his wrongs, and even to forgive some of the most inveterate of his personal enemies.'

After the death of Carim Khan, the brothers and nephews of that chief contended for the supremacy; and successively fell the victims of their ambition. During this period, Aga Mohamed was chiefly occupied in establishing his authority over his own tribe, and extending his dominions on the banks of the Caspian.

‘ He also repaired the fortifications of Tahiran ; which city, he appears, at this period, to have resolved to make his capital : a measure to which he was induced, from its vicinity to Mazanderan, and its central situation amid the pasture lands of those Turkish tribes, on whose support he chiefly depended. ’

In the year 1789, Latif Ali Khan was the only surviving representative of the house of Carim Khan. He was grandson to the brother of that chief ; and, by his military talents, and popular manners, appeared calculated to reestablish the fallen fortunes of the Zund family. But he imprudently disgusted the first magistrate of Shiraz, who was justly respected by the inhabitants. This officer, in the absence of Latif Ali, took possession of the city, and immediately applied to Aga Mohamed for assistance. This was instantly accorded ; but the young chief, with a courage and heroism worthy of a happier fate, attacked and defeated two successive armies sent for the relief of Shiraz. But in 1792, Aga Mohamed advancing in person at the head of a large army, compelled the young hero, after prodigies of valour, performed with a force altogether disproportioned to the occasion, to seek his safety in flight. From this period, until that of his death in 1795, Latif Ali continued an illustrious fugitive, occupied in the vain endeavour of collecting a force sufficient to resist the constantly increasing strength of his more fortunate rival.

‘ At the death of Latif Ali Khan in 1795, we may pronounce that Aga Mohamed Khan was the actual, as well as the acknowledged sovereign, of the provinces of Asterabad, Mazanderan, of Ghilan, of the whole of Irac, of Fars, and of Carman. The situation of these countries, which extend from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, could only be deemed settled and obedient by a comparison of their condition to Khorasan, and other parts of the empire, which had been broken into a number of petty principalities at the death of Nadir Shah ; and had, subsequent to that event, thrown off their allegiance to those rulers who assumed the title of sovereigns of Persia. ’

The principles and character of Aga Mohamed will be best developed by his conduct towards his own brother Jafer Culi Khan. This chief had declined appearing at Court for some time after his brother's elevation. The most pressing entreaties, the most solemn assurances of safety were lavished, to induce him to repair to Tahiran ; and the government of Ispahan was to be the reward of compliance. ‘ When he reached Tahiran, he was welcomed with every appearance of cordiality ; and the night passed in peace. Next day, Aga Mohamed Khan, after giving him some instructions regarding his conduct at Ispahan, observed, “ You have not, I believe, yet looked at my

new palace; walk there with Baba Khan; and, after you have seen it, return to me." He went to look at it; and, at the moment he entered the portico, some assassins, who had been stationed there, fell upon him and slew him. The body was carried to Aga Mohamed Khan, who mourned over it with the appearance of the most frantic grief. He desired Baba Khan (the name by which he always called the present monarch, who was then quite a youth) to approach. When near, he bade him observe the corpse of the bravest of men, and the best of brothers. Then loading the young prince with abuse, he exclaimed, 'It is for you I have done this! The gallant spirit that lately animated that body would never have permitted my crown to rest upon your head! Persia would have been distracted with internal wars. To avoid these consequences, I have acted with shameful ingratitude, and have sinned deeply against God and man!'—'These sentiments,' General Malcolm adds, 'might have been sincere: the public expression of them had the effect of mitigating the universal horror at this murder.'

'The tributary prince of Georgia, the aged Heraclius, taking advantage of the distracted situation of Persia, had, by a formal act, transferred his allegiance from the kings of that country, whose paramount authority his ancestors had acknowledged for centuries to the Sovereigns of Russia. His motive for this measure was declared to be a desire to release his Christian subjects from the violence and oppression of Mohamedan superiors, and to place them under the protection of a great nation of their own religion.'

The Empress Catherine accepted the overtures of Heraclius; and a formal treaty was executed in July 1783, by which she guaranteed to this prince all his possessions.

It was not till the year 1795, that Aga Mohamed Khan had leisure to punish this defection. He led on his army in person. At his approach, the cities of Ervan and Shisha submitted, and, advancing to Teflis, he encountered and defeated Heraclius, who fled to the mountains, whilst his capital exhibited a scene of devastation and carnage. An inhabitant of Georgia, who has given an account of this invasion, states, that General Goodavitch was within six marches of Teflis, in command of a Russian force of sufficient strength to have defended that capital; but that he refused to advance, though repeatedly solicited by Heraclius to come to his aid. 'General Malcolm thinks it more probable that he was unable to collect in time his dispersed forces.'

Aga Mohamed Khan had not yet been invested with the royal tiara, though long in possession of sovereign power. After the conquest of Georgia, he yielded, with well-dissembled reluctance,

to the entreaties of his courtiers. 'Recollect,' said he, 'that, if I do, your toils are only commencing; for I cannot consent to wear the Persian crown, without as much power as has been enjoyed by the greatest sovereigns of that country.'

In the year 1796, the Empress Catherine directed her armies to enter Georgia. They expelled the Persian garrisons left there by Aga Mohamed; made themselves masters of the coast of the Caspian, from the confluence of the Terek, to that of the Cyrus, and reduced the principal strongholds north of the Araxes, which General Zuboff crossed, and established his camp in the celebrated plains of Mogan. At this critical period, the death of the Empress occurred; and the first act of her son and successor, the Emperor Paul, was to recal the army under General Zuboff.

Aga Mohamed told the assembled leaders of his army, that the Russians had presumed, during his absence in Khorasan, to invade the opposite frontier of his dominions. 'But my valiant warriors shall be led against them; and we will, by the blessing of God, charge their celebrated lines of infantry, and batteries of cannon, and cut them to pieces with our conquering sabres.'—'Do you think,' said he to his minister, after the chiefs had retired, 'I will do what I have told them?' 'Undoubtedly,' was the reply.—'Can a man of your wisdom,' rejoined Aga Mohamed, 'believe I will ever run my head against their walls of steel, or expose my irregular army to be destroyed by their cannon and disciplined troops? Their shot shall never reach me; but they shall possess no country beyond its range. They shall not know sleep; and let them march where they choose, I will surround them with a desert.'

But Aga Mohamed had no opportunity of putting his tactics to the trial. He marched early in spring 1797; but the Russians had already disappeared, and the conqueror of Georgia was assassinated soon after by two of his domestics.

On the death of Aga Mohamed, his nephew Futteh Ali Khan (whom we have already mentioned under the familiar title of Baba Khan); hastened from Shiraz, of which he had been governor. He was instantly proclaimed King, but not publicly crowned till the beginning of 1798. Since his accession, Futteh Ali has made some progress in establishing his power over the greatest part of Khorasan. Even the chiefs of that country who have not been subdued, yield a nominal obedience and an occasional tribute.

'The Persian Monarch has not been so successful in maintaining the north-western frontier of his kingdom. Georgia;

after a warfare continued with various fortune for many years, has at last become a province of Russia; and the garrisons of that nation now extend to the banks of the Araxes, and along the southern shores of the Caspian.' The Shah is advantageously known in this country, by the pleasing address and bushy beard of his ambassador, who graced for a time the metropolis of our Isle. Of his reign, General Malcolm has furnished few particulars: but his silence is eloquent.

It was our resolution to claim the attention of our readers to the luminous and able account which General Malcolm has exhibited of the ancient and modern religion of Persia—its doctrines, its ceremonies, and its effects. We also had wished to extract some portion of the new and curious information he has furnished relative to the sect of Sufis, whose mystical absurdities are conveyed through the medium of delightful poetry. The picture he has delineated of the present state of manners, science, literature and finance, would each have deserved more than a casual mention; but the length of observation and of extract in which we have already indulged, compels us to take our leave of this valuable and instructive publication.

ART. III. *Aus Meinem Leben, Dichtung und Wahrheit* VON GOETHE. Easter Theil, pp. 515. Tübingen, 1811. Zweiter Theil, pp. 573. Do. 1812. Dritter Theil, pp. 538. Tübingen, small 8vo, 1814.

THE German Muse has, of late years, been by far the most prolific of the sisterhood, and has certainly cause enough to be proud of some of her offspring;—although, in her time, she has been delivered of a more numerous litter of moon-calves and sooterkins than any of her kindred; and malicious people pretend, that, in the countenances even of her handsomest children, there may be traced a strong likeness to their mishapen brethren. For our own parts, however, we give no credit to that ill-natured surmise; and, considering the German literati as in a great measure the pupils of the English, we cannot help viewing them with parental fondness for their well-meant endeavours,—although, as yet, they have not been able to equal us in the manufacture either of Manchester goods or of Shakespeares.

The astonishing rapidity of the development of German literature, has been the principal cause both of its imperfections, and of the enthusiasm of its warmer admirers. About five-and-twenty or thirty years ago, all we knew about Germany was—

that it was a vast tract of country, overrun with hussars and classical editors;—and that, if you went there, you would see a great tun at Heidelbergh; and be regaled with excellent old hock and Westphalia hams; the taste for which good things was so predominant, as to preclude the slightest approach to poetical grace or enthusiasm. At that time, we had never seen a German name affixed to any other species of writing than a treaty, by which some Serene Highness or another had sold us so many head of soldiers for American consumption, at a fair and reasonable market-price; or to a formidable apparatus of critical annotation, teeming with word-catching and billingsgate in Greek and Latin. When it was discovered, all at once, that these laborious scholars had been suddenly metamorphosed into poets, novellists, and dramatists of all descriptions, it was natural to expect that the effect should be heightened by the contrast, and that we should make amends for our long contempt by a sudden burst of praise and admiration. It could not be long, however, till it was discovered, that the very rapidity of this creation had infallibly filled it with imperfections, and that a sudden and entire revolution in the taste of a nation was not the best preparation for a national taste either just or durable. It has been our good fortune, that the canonical succession of genius amongst us has never been interrupted, but has been transmitted, in regular descent, from the first fathers of poetry and eloquence, to the present inheritors of their glories. The great wits of every age have been proud to acknowledge the benefits which they derived from the example of their predecessors. The rugged and moss-grown oaks of the sacred forest are still standing in green old age, in the midst of the towering and vigorous stems which have sprung from the same roots, and have been nourished in the same healthy soil. The German Parnassus, on the other hand, was, till lately, a wide uncultivated waste; and when its possessors became ashamed of its sterility, they employed all possible pains to convert it at once into a picturesque plantation. They crowded it, therefore, with seedlings and saplings of every tree, and with exotics from every clime; and the consequence was, that many of them withered and died—whilst others shot up with a rank luxuriance of vegetation, and sprouted into a thousand uncouth varieties.

The earlier of the German writers, those who flourished about the time of Goethe's youth, were denied the advantages of national models; and, instead of being guided by public opinion, or directed by national taste, they had the double task to perform,

of creating the love of elegant literature, and of satisfying that desire in proportion as they succeeded in exciting it. Under these circumstances, they began by being imitators—implicit servile imitators; and, with the usual felicity of copyists, the spirit of the originals escaped them, whilst all their faults were carefully preserved.—The followers of the French tripped along, bedizened in trumpery and tinsel. They too would say soft things, and be witty freethinkers, and smart philosophers: But the liquor which might have been sparkling champagne at Ferney, proved vapid *swipes* when uncorked and unbottled in the stove-heated atmosphere of Leipsick or Weimar. Our self-love may incline us to judge more favourably of those who looked to England for their models; but our confidence in their judgment will be shaken, when it is recollected that Milton is only a sharer in the applauses which they bestow with still greater liberality on the Ossian of Macpherson!

Bolder heads, however, aspired to the merits of originality; and as they were freed from those salutary restraints by which the rash absurdity of wit is kept within due limits, they soon became outrageously original. There was no general feeling which it was necessary to conciliate by avoiding too wide a departure from habitual modes of thinking:—a restraint, as useful in the world of literature, as the rules of politeness are in common life. They addressed themselves to readers who had no fixed opinions of their own, and few of whom would dare to object to any thing which they saw in print. Unawed by the apprehension of efficient censure, the most worthless and paltry of the scribbling tribe assumed the portliest shapes, like shrivelled apples swelling themselves up *in vacuo*; and the more an author's writings were unlike what had been written in any other age or nation, the more he taught his public to consider him as a genuine German, and as displaying, in all its effulgence, the character of the nation.

These gross and palpable deformities are diminishing; but the era of good taste and sound judgment has not yet arrived. This sounds harshly—but we are afraid the proofs of it are too strong to be resisted. With the single exception of Schiller, they have no writer of chaste or elegant *prose*. Good poetry is common to every age, but prose alone is the test by which mental refinement can be unequivocally ascertained. There is another decisive indication that their literature has not attained maturity. They have not learnt that every kind of composition should preserve a character of its own, consistent to its nature and intent. In the early stages of society, the chieftain prides himself on being a good boat-

builder, or in cooking his own dinner. When civilization advances, it is discovered, that although it is highly useful to be able to handle a hatchet, or to turn a spit, it is yet more advantageous that trades and employments should be divided amongst the community, instead of centering in each of its members; and people then keep to their own occupation, to that to which they have served their apprenticeship, without attempting to dabble in the handicrafts of their neighbours. The commonwealth of literature passes through analogous gradations of refinement. At the revival of letters, and for a long time afterwards, every one conceived that he could not sustain his intellectual rank, unless he was a proficient in every branch of study; and that the readiest way of displaying his universal acquirements was, to make a show of excelling precisely in that department of learning which was most unnecessary in his particular calling. He placed himself in the Antipodes, to prove that he had circumnavigated the globe. Those ornaments which were least suitable, were deemed the most satisfactory. The white bosom of Florinda was praised in syllogisms and problems. Citations from Ovid and Petronius adorned a godly book. And an argument before the judges in Westminster Hall, on the validity of a surrebutter, was supported by a text from St Paul, or a verse from the Psalms of David. When men are first made to perceive the importance of learning, they dote upon it; and some time must elapse, before they can comprehend that any portion of those stores which are so much better than houses or land, can ever be misplaced or irrelevant.

This tinge of barbarity, is by no means discreditable to the intellectual powers, because it is the result of an earnest attachment to literature, acting on a vigorous, but untutored understanding; and it may be justly predicated of the Germans. But the same imperfect perceptions of fitness and propriety, which would have made their works pedantic in the last age, have disfigured them in ours with ostentatious quackery and puling affectation. Erudition is no longer the sole path to distinction, although it continues to be one of the principal highways. We now respect superior intellect, whatever the task may be in which it has chosen to employ itself. Equal honours may be gained by pursuing the most opposite directions—by deep research, or by the most boundless luxuriance of fancy—by bold inquiries into the truth of received opinions, or by vindicating these opinions with conscientious ability. The candidate for fame is at liberty to follow the doctrines of the Academy or the Portico; he may grasp the crown of roses, or aspire to the wreath of immortal bays. But when he has elected his pro-

vince, he must be content to keep within it: He must not be an Epicurean whilst he bears the staff and wallet of the cynic; nor philosophize with Plato, whilst his brows are encircled with the voluptuous garland. The Germans are perpetually sinning against this plain and obvious precept; each individual labours out of his vocation. The German novelist gives broad hints that he is qualified to hold a disputation 'in omni scibili et de quolibet ente,'—The German Professor strives to be an amiable Adonis in his college gown and ruff.—In theology the Germans are all for reason, and will admit nothing but what can be demonstrated.—In history and science they are all for faith, and are ready to believe every thing that can be said.

The quality which Madame de Stael has termed the poetry of the soul, contributes in seducing them to disobey the warning voice of sober reason; it gives a morbid vivacity to their faculties; it turns them into day-dreamers and visionaries and mystics; and is the chief ingredient of those lamentable characteristics—the mingled rant and sickliness of German literature. It is one and the same spirit which successively engaged them in the earnest study of the suns and moons and smaragdine tables of Trismegistus, and the blue griffins and red eagles of Basil Valentine; or set them to ruminate over the interlaced circles and pentagons and cabalistic mottoes of Jacob Behmen, with all the intensity of admiring devotion. And when Kant and his categories succeeded to as much veneration as had been enjoyed by the chemical monk and the mystical cobbler, it is hard to decide whether they gained or lost by the exchange. Even in those pursuits which, from their severe tendency, would seem to exclude its influence, it betrays them into crazy theories and bottomless systems, where the wildest analogies are substituted for facts, and in which the place of argument is held by that species of dexterous combination, which, when properly applied, constitutes wit, but which, when misapplied, is attributed to a more dangerous infirmity, sometimes suspected to be of kindred descent. Thus, in the infancy of science, old Bombast revealed the astral signatures of plants; and refuted the popular opinions respecting showers of blood, by sagely asserting, that they were only common rain which assumed that colour *by passing through the red arch of the rainbow!* In the full maturity of knowledge, the same misdirected imaginations have led the countrymen of Haller and Blumenbach to become the enthusiastic auditors of Gall and Spurzheim's craniological lectures.

Although we do not go the length of supposing that every breeze which reaches us from the main land of Europe is tainted,

ed with infidelity and anarchy; yet we cannot help remarking, that the principles and morality of the German writers, in general, do not appear well calculated to advance the welfare of society. Being aware that they have laboured under the charge of boorish apathy, they seek to endue themselves with a preternatural susceptibility for the finer affections. They bring on a general inflammation; their very bones and cartilages acquire sensation; and they mistake the effect of disease for something better than healthy feeling. Their writings overflow with exaggerated sensibility,—but is evidently acquired, and foreign to their nature:—There is always a substratum of clumsiness: A German sentimentalist is a great fat butcher whimpering over a murdered calf. On particular points they are ostentatiously moral; but they *paw* their morality about, until it becomes soiled and disgusting. As far as their works can have any effect on their readers, they encourage the growth of those high-wrought poetical feelings, which may become the nurses of virtue, if we keep them carefully concealed, but, if brought into common use, are sure to turn the weaker part of the community into coxcombs, and to place them at the mercy of the knaves who are just above them in point of intellect. This gilt and lackered morality agrees with the craving appetite for theatrical effect, in which the sober-minded Prussians and Saxons participate full as strongly as the volatile Parisians; and to which, amongst other effects, we may attribute the charming sentimental anecdotes, and interesting ‘traits’ of character, which now ring from side to side amongst the good people on the Continent;—‘great Princesses’ releasing a dozen paupers imprisoned for small debts, in the *mi-carême*, and blushing to find it fame;—the obliging smiles and condescensions, and pretty sayings of greater princes;—and Russian Emperors rescuing Polish peasants from the water, and blessing the day as the happiest of their lives. In conformity to this gaudy fashion of thinking and acting, the practices of virtue become recommended, not on account of their intrinsic worth, but of their exterior gracefulness. Of course there is no firmness or security in this theatrical morality—and it gives place, as occasion requires, to an equally gaudy profligacy. In this there has been a reaction arising out of their political situation. Military governments produce military morals. When the palace becomes the head-quarters of the army, we must expect to find the decencies of the *corps de garde* amongst the courtiers—and the ambitious inhabitants of the cities taking for their patterns the chastity of a trull, and the honesty of a sutler. The press in Germany has always been

under the full controul of the ruling powers ; and there has been a tacit understanding, that the *philosophists* should have complete liberty to attack the Church, provided the Barracks were let alone. The marriage-bed might be despoiled of its sanctity—and welcome,—so as the reverence due to the epaulette remained undiminished.—It is to Germany that the world is indebted for the Reformation. But now every writer of that country who wishes to become popular, is sure to slander that great and holy work, because Protestantism, forsooth, is not favourable to the arts ;—it is cold and unimpassioned, and affords no food for the imagination. The willing slaves of ill-regulated and heated fancy, they rebound from extreme to extreme, and are glad when they allow it to delude them.

With all this, we are really very far from thinking ill of the German character. Nations, like individuals, are the creatures of education and circumstances. Almost within our memory, they have accomplished what has usually been the work of centuries. This could not have been effected without a rare union of unwearied diligence and generous ardour ; and we can only regret the aberrations which have been occasioned by an enthusiastic, though injudicious admiration, of all that is dignified and praiseworthy in human nature.

Goethe is a faithful representative of the general character of his country. He possesses great and versatile talents, though he is far from applying them to the best advantage ;—he could not escape the influence of the fogs which surrounded him, Schiller alone had vigour to soar into a purer sky. Goethe's delineations of passion and character are almost always strained and unnatural ; but he has the art of making us sympathize with his non-descripts, though we never can possibly delude ourselves into the belief that such beings could have a real existence. His novels are more interesting than his dramas. They are equally artificial ; but his strained conceptions are compensated by his vivid descriptions, and by the strong and original opinions which he throws out, without much regard to the occasion of introducing them. He is certainly most happy in his less laboured and less glaring parts,—in the by-play of his fictions. Nothing can be more impressive, for instance, than the scene in which Faustus and his familiar begin the seduction of Margaret, by placing the casket of jewels in her room during her absence. There is no particular elevation or beauty either of language or sentiment ; but the impression arises wholly from the contrast between diabolical guile and unsuspecting innocence. In the course of the analysis of Goethe's life, it will be seen that the remains

of the middle ages took a powerful hold on his imagination; and that the history and customs of these ages became his favourite study. Hence, perhaps, his romantic dramas are the best, and his legendary ballads the most pleasing. He is more at his ease in the castle of Jaxthausen than in a chateau of modern days; and he has a heartier relish for the revelry of the table of the Bishop of Bamberg, than for a classical symposion. He is seldom *very* tame, as long as he can keep himself in action: But he unfortunately imagines that his peculiar excellence lies in psychology. He is always anxious that his works should display his skill in anatomizing the heart and mind. And the way in which he goes about it, reminds us of an ancient Greek surgeon, demonstrating on the carcass of a dissected pig, and imagining that the entrails of the brute offer a faithful counterpart of the structure of the human body. To this predilection for the philosophy of the passions, we owe the dialogues composed of an alternate succession of hour-long harangues and span-long sentences, with which his dramas are filled: and the ingenious and elaborate structure of his novels, of that for example entitled ‘*Die Wahlverwandtschaften*,’ or ‘*Elective attractions*,’ by which same ‘*elective attractions*,’ it is shown how Edward combines with his wife’s niece Ottilia—and his wife Charlotte being thus disengaged from her base, forms a new compound with the captain:—whilst the Count and the Baroness exhibit a similar play of affinities, on a minor scale. It is a singular fact, that Goethe, whose mind is really capable of appreciating the sublime and beautiful, should at the same time labour under a complete inability of avoiding the ridiculous and the disgusting. In his heroics, George runs down in a bustle from the roof of the castle, with a leaden spout in his hand, to supply Goetz of Berlichingen with ammunition. In his tender mood, the corpse of the beautiful Mignon is opened, and her veins and arteries carefully injected with coloured wax; and thus the afflicted admirers of this lovely, impassioned maiden, are gratified by seeing her turned into an anatomical preparation which would do honour to the Hunterian Museum. He is tenderly philosophical when he descants on the sensations excited in William’s breast by the powder-puff, and combs, and pots of rouge, of his theatrical mistress:—but to show him in all his energy, he must have incest, and adultery, and infanticide. Take him in his writings, and it must be concluded that he cannot be made to understand that there are some objects which are so ludicrous, as to make us laugh at the writer who selects them; and that there are others so disagreeable, as to cause us to turn away with horror.

We are told that these Memoirs are intended to form a kind of perpetual commentary on all his former works. They were composed in obedience to the 'request of friends,' as stated in a letter from a nameless friend, which is inserted in the preface. This kind correspondent, who acts as spokesman for the whole chorus of Goethe's friends and admirers, informs him of certain opinions which they entertain respecting his works,—in which we do not agree, but which we cannot stop to controvert; and that they have not yet 'given up the hope of becoming more intimately acquainted with his life and modes of thinking,' which 'would afford a solution to many riddles, and solve many problems' which appear to have puzzled them on the perusal of his productions; and therefore, they are most desirous to be furnished: 'with the details of the circumstances under which his different works were produced,'—'the examples which he followed,'—'and the theories by which he was guided.' These friendly entreaties, he tells us, 'immediately awakened in me the desire of complying with them.' He began by arranging his works in chronological order, and sought—'to revive the recollections of the days when I brought them forth;—besides which, he had 'to trace his progress in general knowledge, and in all his studies and employments.' In the course of these labours, the prospect continued widening.—In calling up the reminiscences of his 'inward feelings,' and of the 'external causes' by which he was 'influenced,' and of the 'steps' by which he advanced in 'theory' and 'practice,' he was led further and further. From the contemplation of his own private life 'he was transported into the wide world.'—'The images of the many eminent characters, by whose example or acquaintance I had been acted upon in a greater or lesser degree, arose before me. It was even necessary to take into particular consideration the vast movements of the political universe, which have had the greatest influence on me, as well as on all my contemporaries.' Goethe's Life, it seems, must be considered as having, in many instances, furnished the matter for his works of imagination, whilst in them we are to seek for a poetical view of his life and sentiments.

It is not easy to talk about our old loves, much less to write and print and publish an account of them. If they have been deeply seated in the heart, their memory is hallowed; and it is painful to drag the image of one whom we have sincerely loved, before the gaze of the multitude: And most persons have modesty enough to be ashamed of acknowledging that they have been under the controul of more licentious affections. There are writers, however, who have been able

to excuse themselves in such a manner, that even a rigid censor does not feel willing to pass a harsh judgment on their disclosures. The gay swordsmen of France recount their gallantries with the practised air of men of the world; and carry off their gracelessness as a matter of course. We should almost think them poor-spirited, if they had suffered any fair opportunity to pass unimproved. And were they to conceal any of their frequent good fortunes, they would act completely out of character. Others, like Alfieri, convince us that they were the passive victims of impetuous, irresistible passion. Rousseau has such artful simplicity, that he deludes us into the belief that he is really unconscious of having indulged in any sentiment which ought not to have been included in his plenary confession. The author before us does things in a different manner. Not that he has shown the least shyness in making us the confidants of his tender feelings for the different spinsters and wedded dames by whom he was successively enthralled. But we can take upon ourselves to say, that they may all be perused with safety by readers of the most inflammable temperament.

Other writers of their own memoirs have confined themselves to the introduction of such of their contemporaries as enjoyed some legitimate claims to notoriety, and were already known to the world, or who at least could furnish an agreeable notice, or an interesting anecdote, although they were of less celebrity. And under the foolish notion of sparing the impatience of their readers, they have most unkindly allowed the great body of their friends and relations to remain in perpetual obscurity, merely because these worthy characters never did or said any one thing which deserved to be remembered. This is not the case with Goethe. He has yielded with such laudable docility to the strong calls of blood and friendship, that he has done his best to immortalize every person who enjoyed the honour of being connected with him—and all his acquaintance—and all the acquaintances of his acquaintance—and every man, woman and child, who might, could, should or would have been numbered amongst his acquaintance. The memory of a little sulky brother, who fell sick of the measles, and died before he was breeched, when Goethe was six years old, claims an affectionate memorial from fraternal piety. His diverse aunts receive a tribute of gratitude ‘in return for the numerous kindnesses’ which they ‘bestowed upon me in my youth,’ particularly his grandfather’s second daughter, who was married to ‘Melbert the grocer’ who kept a shop in the ‘best part of the town, near the market.’ She, indeed, has particular claims upon posterity.

ty; for Goethe used to steal stick-liquorice out of her shop-drawers: and when Charles the Seventh was crowned, 'my aunt, who was the liveliest of the family,' scrambled upon a post, and holla'd—'Vivat!' so lustily, that the good-natured Emperor took off his hat and bowed to her as an acknowledgment for her vociferous demonstrations of loyalty.' As to his friends, they crowd in upon us in thousands, and in all the authenticity of their original habits and attire:—for instance, Dr Saltzmann, who 'sat at the head of the table' at the boarding-house at Strasburgh, and 'was always particularly neat and clean in his appearance, and usually carried an umbrella,' and whose description is wound up with this emphatic exclamation—'Yes, he was one of those who always walk in shoes and stockings, with a *chapeau-bras* under their arms!'

If we are not inclined to suppose that Goethe has been blinded by mere egotism, we must come to the conclusion, that some of his deep theories have prevented him from acquiring a correct notion of the manner in which his subject ought to have been treated. A great many devices and artifices must be resorted to, before the repetition of the hateful pronoun can be rendered at all tolerable to the reader.—There is no doubt but that a person who writes his own life, must be allowed to put himself in the foreground: and it is his duty to reveal a great number of secrets respecting himself, of which he is the sole depositary. But Goethe makes no attempt to select such as are alone fit to be preserved. He strips himself stark-naked, and empties his pockets inside out into the bargain. He has undertaken to give a view of his literary life,—to furnish a history of the progress of his thinking faculties, of the gradual development of his talents, and of the intellectual genealogy of his different compositions. In performing this task, he does not appear to have felt that it was not absolutely necessary to turn over the tablets of his memory, and to transcribe on a public and imperishable record, all those crude thoughts and hollow fancies which are of as little moment as the spots of coloured light which float on the optic nerve when our eyes are shut:—so it is, however, in the extraordinary work before us. All the events of his life, all his comings and goings, are set out with painful accuracy;—they happened to him, and therefore they must find a place in his biography. He tells us more than we can possibly care to hear. But he is not frank, although he is garrulous. An honest egotist dwells upon *self*, and never takes the trouble to reflect whether the theme is or is not agreeable to another. Goethe descants upon trifles, because he is so full

of his own importance, that he is persuaded that nothing which relates to him, can be considered as insignificant. In contradiction to the well-known saying, he thinks that he is a hero in the eyes of his valet-de-chambre. He rejoices in his heart, when he has an opportunity of letting the world know, that he—the famous Goethe—the great author—is fashioned as other mortals are. He fancies that we shall love him all the better, if he demonstrates that, notwithstanding his immortal genius, he is of our own nature,—whilst he is satisfied that we cannot worship him the less in consequence of this condescension. He digresses into a frequent and pompous display of reflection, sometimes ingenious, but never to the purpose. His thoughts lose their value by their position;—he puts his noughts on the wrong side of his ciphers. But, although the work is disfigured by the most puerile vanity and affectation, it is not by any means unentertaining. His interminable prolixity, on the most trifling matters, is occasionally blended with a good deal of information, agreeable in itself, and which, to us at least, has the recommendation of novelty. The style, in general, is bald and tame. He has a small assortment of favourite words, which he employs on all occasions. He rings the changes on ‘fiction and truth,’ and ‘truth and fiction;’ and on ‘imputing’ and ‘influencing,’ and ‘reminiscences’ and ‘impressions,’ and his ‘great partiality to the superlative degree;’ and if any phrase is convenient in use, he does not scruple to employ it over and over again. His narrative is so diffuse, that he literally wants words to clothe it in. By any attempt at condensation, it might have received incalculable benefit; for he can be animated, if he chooses to strike an enlivening chord. He describes his youthful rambles and early impressions, and the first sights which he saw, and the first books which he read, with poetical vivacity; but he becomes unwieldy as he becomes older, just as the little angel in nurse’s arms grows up into a gawky schoolboy. However, the remaining portions of these Memoirs are of value, inasmuch as they offer a more correct view of the *way of living* which obtains amongst the Germans, than has perhaps hitherto been afforded,—besides giving an account of the manner in which he laid the foundation of his literary fame.

He was born on the 28th August 1749, at Frankfort on the Maine; and his birth was in some measure conducive to the welfare of the town: For the ignorance of the midwife having been nearly attended with fatal consequences to the new-born babe, his maternal grandfather, John Wolfgang Textor, who

filled the office of Schultheiss, or prætor (as it has sometimes been translated), introduced a regulation for the purpose of affording better instruction to the female practisers of the obstetric art. Nearly the whole of the first volume is occupied by the history of his childhood,—and is filled, of course, with trifles and absurdity. He acquired a very early taste for architectural grandeur, by gazing on certain views of Rome which decorated his father's parlour. The old gentleman, it seems, was fond of the Italian language, and of all that related to Italy, 'and passed great part of his time in revising the manuscript of his Italian travels, which he copied, sheet by sheet, with great care and patience.' In this task he was occasionally assisted by a cheerful old Italian, called Giovinazzi, who had a good voice; and Goethe's mother was so often compelled to gratify her husband's taste for music, by accompanying him on the harpsichord, that he could soon repeat 'il solitario bosco ombroso' by heart, although without understanding it. He was sent very young to school,—and records, with great minuteness, the impressions derived from his youthful rambles about the town. His favourite walk was along the great bridge over the Maine. The prospect of the noble river 'rivetted his attention;' and—'I always considered it a joyful sight to see the gilt weather-cock on the bridge-cross, glitter in the sunshine.'—'When we walked in the heart of the town, we never failed to bestow a respectful greeting on the Saalhof, which stands at least on the site where the castle of Charlemain and his successors was once erected.'—'There was no architectural splendour to be found in Frankfort; but every object preserved remembrance of the old turbulent times.' The series of gates and towers which indicated the boundary of the old town, and the wider circuit of gates and towers, ramparts and fosses, bulwarks and draw-bridges, by which the new town was enclosed, all spoke of the dangers and adventures of a frontier city. These scenes, he tells us, gave him a fondness for antiquity, which was increased by the old chronicles, and the old prints and wood-cuts which fell in his way. With these inclinations, the old town-house, the Römer, as it is called, where the German emperors were chosen, became his favourite haunt. He was highly entertained by whatever related to that impressive ceremony. He got into the good graces of the door-keeper, who allowed him to walk up the 'emperor's staircase, which was usually shut by a railing.' The *wahl zunmer*, or election-chamber, with its purple hangings and fantastic borders of embroidery, inspired him with uncommon awe;—and the paintings over the doors, of *genii* dressed in the imperial robes, and bearing the insignia of

the empire, were viewed by him and his companions with great attention—‘and we indulged in the expectation that we too might live to see a coronation.’—‘When we were so lucky as to be able to steal into the Imperial hall, they had hard work indeed before they could get us out of it again;—and if any one was kind enough to tell us of any of the deeds of the different emperors whose portraits were painted round the walls, we considered him as our greatest benefactor. We were told many a legendary story of Charlemain, and Rodolph of Hapsburg,’ &c. &c.

In the same spirit he describes the civic ceremonies which periodically recalled the good old times into a kind of temporary existence. Of these, the most interesting was the *Pfeifergericht*, or the ‘Piper’s court-day,’ when the towns of Worms, Nuremberg and Bamberg, presented their symbolical gifts to the Senate of Frankfort. The day before the nativity of the Virgin, this ceremony was proclaimed. The echevins took their places on raised benches in the Imperial hall, and, in the middle of them, the Schultheiss, Goethe’s grandfather, sat on an elevated chair, and presided over the assembly; the advocates sat below, and the register began to read the decrees which had been pronounced. ‘Suddenly a strange and unusual melody announces the approach of former centuries. It is produced by three pipers, their heads covered, and dressed in antique mantles of blue and gold. The proceedings of the court are stopped; the pipers and their train stand before the bar; the representative of the tributary town places himself before the Schultheiss, and presents the gifts,’—which were always such as were strictly due, and of right accustomed—a goblet of wood, curiously turned, and filled with pepper—a pair of gloves, slashed and embroidered in antique guise—and a few pieces of silver money. The town of Worms sent an old felt hat, which had figured in this ceremony for many a year. The pageantry of the *Pfeifergericht* was attractive enough in itself; and the vanity of Goethe and his brothers and sisters, was not a little flattered by the state and dignity in which they saw their grandfather fill the chair.

Goethe received more than the mere rudiments of education from his father; and we think he would have done more honour to his filial piety, if he had not expatiated quite so much as he has done, on the little infirmities of temper of this parent, to whose example and instructions he owes the best points of his own character. The elder Goethe had begun his studies at Cobourg, where he had been well grounded in the learned languages. He had studied the Civil law at Leipsic, and had

completed his academical career at Giessen; and his dissertation, 'Electa de additione hereditatis,' Goethe adds, 'is yet quoted by the Jurists with great praise.' A learned father usually hopes to see his son following his footsteps; and Goethe soon understood that he must look forward to a course of Civil law at Leipsick. The arts, however, and elegant literature, were no less important than solid learning in the estimation of his father; and Goethe was pleased with the promise, that after visiting Wetzlar and Ratisbon, his travels were to be extended to Vienna, and from thence to Italy. 'But first you must see Paris,' said his father; 'for, after returning from Italy, no other country can be enjoyed.' In the mean time, he was kept busy with classics and geography at home. His father used to teach Italian to his daughter Cornelia, in the schoolroom, during the time he was at work on 'Cellarius;' and when he had finished his task, he used to sit quietly listening to his sister's lessons, by which he soon acquired a competent knowledge of Italian; particularly as it pleased him 'on account of its appearing like Latin in masquerade.' He learned a great deal, he tells us, from prints and engravings. From Gottfried's Chronicle, or rather from the fine old cuts by which it is illustrated, and from a great folio bible ornamented in the same manner, Goethe became acquainted with the principal events of sacred and profane history. Ovid's Metamorphoses, which he studied with great diligence, 'contributed to the store of ideas which I was gaining. Telemachus produced a more tranquillizing effect on my imagination.' Lord Anson's voyages 'combined the richness of fiction with the dignity of truth;' and it was an instructive employment to follow his track on the terrestrial globe. On the whole, however, he still preferred Fortunatus, or the Seven Wise Masters. He had just purchased the former, and was in the full enjoyment of the purse and wishing cap, when he was attacked by the small-pox, from which he slowly recovered; and then, in due time, he had the chicken-pox and the measles;—the whole symptoms of which are described with great liveliness and fidelity. After his recovery, he paid many visits to the garden of the worthy Schultheiss, where the old gentleman, we are told, passed great part of his leisure 'sorting tulip roots,' 'pruning, planting,' or 'grafting,' as the season required;—'dressed in a long nightgown, and a full velvet cap; so that he might have been considered as a kind of middle being between Alcinous and Laertes!'

Goethe did not absolutely lisp in numbers; but it was not long before the inborn faculty of poetry began to show itself.

—He and a few other boys of his own standing had a Sunday meeting, when each undertook to produce a copy of verses. Goethe naturally considered his as the best; but when he found that every one of his associates had the same self-preference, he was ‘puzzled by this discovery,’ and began to ‘suspect that he also might be mistaken;’ till at length, like older authors, he was ‘reassured,’ by ‘levity and self-love, and by the praises which he obtained from his parents and teachers.’ He had attained his seventh year, when the great war broke out, which, among other momentous effects, ‘was destined to have great influence over me during the next seven years of my life.’ On the 25th August 1758, Frederick of Prussia invaded Saxony with an army of sixty thousand men; and ‘this decisive movement was followed by a manifesto, said to be his own composition,’ in which he set forth the reasons by which he endeavoured to justify this bold and unexpected measure. The whole world divided itself into two parties, for or against the rising hero;—and this division extended to the little family circle of Goethe. The old Schultheiss had been one of the bearers of the golden canopy at the coronation of Francis the I.; and the empress had presented him with her miniature and a golden chain: He therefore took part with the house of Austria, and was followed by sundry of his daughters and sons-in-law. Goethe’s father, who had been appointed an Imperial counsellor by Charles the VII., and a few others of the family, but who constituted a minority, adhered to the valiant Fritz. The siege of Dresden, the apparent magnanimity of the King, the battle of Lowositz, and the capture of the Saxon army, gave the Prussian party a decided triumph,—the others were proportionably depressed;—‘my grandfather, although he was naturally quiet, easy, and cheerful, lost his temper.’ Old disputes were renewed under the name of political quarrels, and a downright schism ensued between the members of the family. As for me, says Goethe, ‘I became a Prussian, or rather a “Fritzian;” for what cared we for Prussia? it was the personal character of the King which we admired. I rejoiced with my father at his victories; I copied the songs and verses which were composed to commemorate them with great pleasure: but I was still more pleased with the lampoons and satires which appeared against his opponents.’ Goethe, however, being not only the eldest grandchild, but also the godson of the Schultheiss, had long enjoyed the distinction of dining with him ‘every Sunday.’ But he could no longer relish his grandmamma’s good dishes, as at every mouthful he was compelled to listen to the ‘vituperations’ which were poured out against his favourite warrior. There is no saying to what extremities these pe-

triotic sufferings might have gone, had not his attention been fortunately distracted by the reappearance of a set of puppets, which had been presented to him by his grandmother on a Christmass eve, many years back, and which now issued again from their confinement. He was quite absorbed in the occupation of dressing his wooden company, and providing them with scenes and other properties, and in inventing dramas and melodramas, which they acted to perfection. The theatre was fitted up in the 'back garret;' and things went on as well as possible, till the audience, which consisted of his elder playfellows, became unruly; and he was obliged to exclude all spectators, except such as would submit to be kept in order by the nursery-maids. The readers of *William Meister* will recollect, that the author has introduced these amusements in the first chapters of that novel. The hero, Goethe's *double*, is made to attribute his theatrical propensities to a similar puppetshow; and he becomes so deeply enwrapped in his description of Saul and Goliath, and the box in which his mother locked them up, that he does not perceive that Marianne has fallen asleep during the narration—an occurrence which we have long considered as the most probable, and strictly natural, in the volume.

When 'new-year's day 1759' arrived, it was as welcome as ever to the young; for they did not participate in the anxiety of their parents. Towards the end of the year 1758, detachments from the French army had frequently marched near Frankfort. According to the ancient custom, which was yet observed, the warder stationed on the tallest steeple sounded his trumpet whenever he espied any bodies of armed men approaching the city. On that new-year's day, he had to repeat his blast from morning till night. On the following day, the fears of the inhabitants were realized, and the French took possession of the city. No one felt the burthen more severely than Goethe's father, in whose house the 'lieutenant du Roi,' the Count Thorand, was quartered. The Count was a strict disciplinarian, but perfectly polite withal; and used every endeavour to conciliate his discontented host. But old Goethe could never be reconciled to the disturbance of his pursuits and retirement, occasioned by his military inmate. The young poet, however, became a favourite with the Count, who had no great difficulty in endearing himself to the children, by a liberal distribution of fruit and confectionary from his dessert;—being already in the fair way of popularity, by the complete suspension of all their tasks and lessons which his presence had produced. Goethe gained a tolerable knowledge of the French language from his intercourse with the soldiers, and the attendants of the Count. His proficiency was increased by his

visits to the French theatre, which, as a matter of course, had been established by the garrison. Here he became acquainted with the most current productions of the French drama, and attempted a mythological piece in imitation of them, which was received in no very flattering manner by a fantastical and conceited actor, to whom he showed it,—whose criticisms gave him a great contempt for the pedantry of the regular drama. However, ‘he went still oftener to the play, and read Moliere and Racine, and the greater part of Corneille,’ with more attention and assiduity than ever. At length, his father was released from the presence of the Count, but not until he had been put under arrest, for wishing the French at the devil: and he resumed his wonted plans of education.

‘Every body should learn to draw,’ said he; and he respected the memory of the Emperor Maximilian, because he had given the same recommendation of the art. He was himself a great amateur and collector of pictures; but he had neglected to learn drawing in his youth; and he now attempted it for the purpose of giving an example to his children. Goethe also received his first lessons in music from a humourist, who allured his scholars by giving ludicrous names to their fingers:—and a travelling language master taught him a little English. He took a fancy also to learn Hebrew; and for this purpose, was put under the tuition of Dr Albrecht, the rector of the Gymnasium, who, it seems, ‘was one of the strangest ‘figures’ imaginable; ‘short and lusty, the picture of Esop in a wig and surplice;’ and studied nothing but Lucian and the Bible. Klopstock and others had set the example of composing works of fancy, founded on holy writ; and Goethe followed them, by expanding the history of Joseph into poetical prose. This prosaic epic, together with a selection from such of his poems as pleased him best, was copied into a neatly bound quarto, which he presented to his father, who received the gift with complacency, and exhorted him to compose ‘a like quarto every year.’

We come next to a long account of the author's early opinions on the subject of religion and riding schools, which may be conveniently omitted—and then to a copious biography of almost all the patricians and plebeians of his acquaintance—with a full description of their dwelling-places, noses and night-gowns. The finest figure in this valuable series is that of Counsellor Huisgen, who ‘had but one eye, and a face so disfigured with the small-pox, that when he was seen for the first time, he could not be looked at without apprehension;’ but he atoned for his deformity by the elegance of his costume.—‘Upon his bald head he always wore a very white nightcap, bound at

top with a riband; and his nightgowns, of calimanco or damask, were always perfectly clean.'

We come now, however, to more tragical matters.—Through the introduction of an old play-fellow, Goethe became one of a set which consisted of young men of the 'middling, or rather the lowest class,' who had 'no regular occupation,' but who lived by their wits. One of these vagabonds, it seems, made rhymes by profession, and had a commission to indite two copies of verses,—an epithalamium and a funeral elegy, for which he was to be 'handsomely paid.' At his request, Goethe undertook to compose them in his stead, and succeeded to admiration. At first he felt some little repugnance to these jolly companions; but he was soon reconciled to their society by the charms of a certain Margaret, the cousin of the young fellow at whose house these gentlemen of the fancy usually assembled. Margaret, notwithstanding the doubtful appearance of her connexions, was modest and industrious; and, without acquainting her lover of her intention, she hired herself to a milliner. Goethe, who had visited her in her homely household dress the evening before, was thunder-struck when he saw her as an *elegante* in the milliner's shop, whither he had been despatched to cheapen some artificial flowers for his sister Cornelia. He could not bear the thought of Margaret being thus upon show at a milliner's, and came home in very bad humour:—when he was informed by his father, that as it was now 'certain that the Archduke Joseph would be chosen King of the Romans, it was not fit that he should be present at such an important event without knowing what had passed on former occasions.' He was accordingly compelled to sit down to his desk, and to employ the whole of the day, and great part of the evening, in studying the journals and official acts of the two last elections, although Margaret was perpetually interposing herself between the golden bull and the constitutions of the holy Roman Empire.

In spite of all the trash which surrounds it, the pomp and pride of the coronation of Joseph is described with great spirit and dignity. He now witnessed the realization of the scenes which had given him so much pleasure in his old chronicles. The Imperial quarter-master took possession of the town; the approaching solemnity was proclaimed to the sound of trumpets; the entries of the ambassadors and electors followed. The regalia of Charlemain were solemnly escorted into Frankfort. The festivity of the time gave him an opportunity of being frequently in the company of Margaret without the knowledge of his father:—and Margaret and the Emperor, and the King of the Romans, divide our attention until the coronation day. He had been allowed to see the preparations for the Imperial banquet, in

the great hall of the Roemer, and he was anxious to have a sight of the solemn festivity; but no spectators were permitted to enter; and he stationed himself on the chief staircase, along which there passed the 'four-and-twenty Counts of the empire, all splendidly attired,' bearing the dishes from the kitchen. These noble waiters did not however perform the whole duty of the dinner tables; and Goethe persuaded one of the attendants of the Elector Palatine to surrender to him the care of a silver dish—and he was thus enabled to gain admittance into the hall. The Emperor and the King of the Romans sat under a baldachin in their full robes—the crown and sceptre were lying on golden cushions. The three ecclesiastical electors were seated each on a separate chair,—but the seats of the temporal electors were empty; and Goethe observes, that the greater part of the hall wore 'a spectral appearance, seeming as if the richly decked tables were laid for invisible guests.' The town was illuminated; and Goethe with his fair one and her party, enjoyed a festal evening, unconscious that a sorrowful morning was approaching. 'My mother came to my bedside with a look of anxiety.—Get up, said she, it is discovered that you have been keeping very bad company, and that you are implicated in the most nefarious transactions.' He was ordered not to leave his room until Counsellor Schneider, who was deputed as well by the magistrates as by his father, could come to examine him. His gay companions, it appeared, were accused of forgery and swindling; and he learnt that they were all in custody. 'This doleful intelligence 'went like a flash of lightning through my soul. I saw Margaret in prison—tried—condemned—chained to a log—and beating hemp for life in the house of correction!' Margaret was his first love; and we apprehend that it is to the 'inward feelings' and 'external influences' produced by this impending catastrophe, that we owe the greater part of his heroines, who generally bear a strong affinity to those interesting ladies whom our cruel legislators are so fond of consigning to that rigorous discipline. He was in 'despair,' and 'raved day and night,' till his agitation brought on a severe illness. The conclusion of the adventure is obscurely told. We only collect, that the accused parties were treated with great lenity, probably through the influence of his grandfather the Schultheiss. Margaret was removed from Frankfort, and sent home to her native town. Goethe says, 'it was long before they would give me this information; and I did not take it in good part, as I could not interpret it as signifying a voluntary departure, but as a compulsory and ignominious banishment.' It is afterwards intimated that she was tolerably successful in exculpating herself before the magistrates;—after which we hear nothing more concerning her.

Soon after this adventure, he is despatched to pursue his studies at Leipsick, under the convoy of 'Fleischer the bookseller, and his wife, whose maiden name was Triller;' and here we have a new gallery of portraits, and a chronicle of all manner of insipidities. The name of Gellert is introduced, according to custom with a faithful and unambitious portrait. 'He was an amiable looking personage,'—'he was not tall in stature,'—'was slightly made, but not meagre;'—'he had mild, rather melancholy eyes, a very handsome forehead, an aquiline nose of moderate dimensions, a handsome mouth, and the contour of his face was a pleasing oval.' This comely personage received our author with friendship, although it was with some trouble that he kept up the connexion, as the doors of the fabulist were jealously watched by two servants, 'who appeared like the guardian priests of a sanctuary into which it was not always easy to penetrate.' His prose found little favour from Gellert, and his poetry still less; and the manuscripts were always returned with a copious deformity of corrections, 'all written in red ink.' The literary controversies which often took place in Goethe's company, added to these 'Jeremiades' of Gellert, conspired to unsettle his mind, and to 'make him dissatisfied with himself;' so that after many struggles—'I acquired such a contemptuous opinion of all my works, finished and unfinished, that one day I burnt my whole stock of prose and poetry, notes, plans and collections, in our kitchen fire,—by which I filled the house with such a pestilential smoke, as almost to frighten our landlady out of her wits,'—which tribulation on the part of the hostess appears to have been the principal evil resulting from this rash *auto da fe*.

The account of his first interview with Gottsched is exceedingly characteristic. This redoubted critic 'lived very genteelly up one pair of stairs,' at the 'Golden Bear:'—this sign distinguished the shop of Breitkopf, the great bookseller and publisher, who, partly out of gratitude for the 'advantage which he reaped from the Professor's writings,' and partly influenced by the obvious convenience of having all his workmen under one roof, allowed the learned man a gratuitous lodging. On being announced, the servant conducted Goethe and his friend into a spacious apartment, telling them at the same time that his master was coming; but, from some misunderstanding, instead of waiting there, they proceeded into the next room, at the very instant that Gottsched was entering it from an opposite door. This 'lusty and giant-like' goliath of criticism was dressed, or rather undressed, in a 'green damask nightgown, lined with scarlet taffety;' but his 'enormous bald head' was 'without any covering.' The unfortunate valet, who anticipated the punishment which was to follow, ran in through a side-door, 'with a full bottomed peri-

‘wig in his hand,’ which he presented to the critic ‘with a countenance full of terror.’ It seems that Gottsched was not a little indignant at being exposed to public view, without his awe-inspiring locks; but with apparent phlegm he received the wig with one hand, ‘which he dropped on his head with great dexterity, while, with the other, he inflicted such a mighty slap on the fellow’s face, that he staggered out of the room:’ after which, the learned person saluted his visitors with perfect courtesy and decorum.

Our author seems to have studied pretty diligently at this seat of learning; but his account of his graver pursuits is speedily broken off, to make way for the history of a pleasing attachment which he formed with the daughter of an innkeeper in the suburbs. The host’s name was ‘Schönkopf;’ and though he had married a Frankfort woman, ‘he had no great run of business in general, except at the fair time, when many of his wife’s townsmen used to frequent his ordinary, and to take a bed there in case of need.’ This daughter, the charming ‘Aennchen,’ was ‘young, pretty, lively, loving, and so agreeable, that she well deserved to be kept for a time as a little saint in the shrine of the heart.’—‘I saw her daily without any obstacle; she cooked the victuals which I ate, and in the evening she brought the wine which I drank:’—These were substantial endearments; besides which, Goethe and Aennchen sang Zacharia’s airs; and, ‘we acted Duke Michel out of Krüger, the part of the nightingale being taken by a pocket handkerchief rolled up in a little bundle.’—But as these innocent amusements became at length insipid, Goethe thought it would be an agreeable interlude, to play the tyrant a little, and to sport with this poor girl’s affections.—‘She bore my behaviour, for a long time, with incredible patience, which I put to the utmost test;—until at last I discovered, to my utter despair, that I had wholly alienated her fondness.’ And we gather, that ‘his vexation might possibly have done for him,’ if he had not diverted his afflictions by embodying them in ‘the earliest of his dramatic pieces now extant,’ entitled ‘Die Laune des verliebten.’

About the same time, he also learnt ‘piquet and ombre;’ and was laughed out of his old-fashioned wardrobe, and the provincialisms of the upper German dialect. He continued his studies in the arts too, with great vigour; and went to Dresden to see the Elector’s gallery. He had another motive, indeed, for this visit—he was ‘enthusiastically’ desirous of having a personal interview with an eccentric cobbler—the cousin of a poor student of divinity, who occupied a room on the same *flat* with Goethe. The cobbler’s letters to his relation excited Goethe’s wish to become acquainted with the

author, on account of the 'homely philosophy with which he appeared to reconcile himself to the hardships of his station.' He lodged in the cobbler's stall, accordingly, during his residence at Dresden,—and they parted 'on the best terms ;'—although we suspect that his host's philosophy had become rather burthensome.

Various causes contributed to impair his health during his residence at the university—in particular, 'the heavy Merseburg beer clouded my intellect ;'—a more sober species of excess—'a copious indulgence in coffee, paralyzed the organs of digestion ;' and soon after his return to Frankfort in 1768, he became worse. His complaints, though not altogether imaginary, (for he was afflicted with a dangerous swelling in his neck), were aggravated by the hypochondriac cast of his mind, which, however, was much alleviated by his conferences with a nice old lady, one Madam Von Klettenburg, who was a follower of the celebrated Count Zinzendorf; and Goethe informs us, that her letters and conversations formed the groundwork of those precious effusions of tender mysticism, entitled the *Confessions of an Amiable Mind* (*Die bekentnisse einer Schönen seele*) inserted in his favourite novel, *William Meister's Year of Apprenticeship*. In her society, he improved apace in the study of Theosophy and the Christian Cabala; his surgeon and his physician being both mystically pious—and the latter pretending to cure all diseases by means of an arcanum—a wonderful salt of which he alone possessed the receipt. Madam Von Klettenburg, on her part, had long amused herself with the secret study of 'Welling's *Opus Mago-Caballisticum*,' although she had not yet been able to discover any meaning whatever in this profound author; and as she anticipated great assistance from Goethe, as he was a student and could talk latin, she endeavoured to induce him to become a fellow-labourer. Goethe was easily inoculated with the disease, and procured the work.—As Welling abounds with references to his Hermetic predecessors, our Rosicrusians were not contented, until they procured the '*Azoth of the philosophers*,' and the '*triumphal car of Antimony*.' And, during the long winter evenings, the coterie of adepts, which consisted of Goethe and his mother, and Madam Von Klettenburg, found almost as much delight in bewildering themselves in the impenetrable allegories contained in these relations from Minheer Dousterswivel's library, as could have been afforded by the most complete revelation of the mysteries which they shroud. Goethe's indigestion brought on alarming symptoms; but the account of his illness and recovery must be given in his own words; and we must leave it to our readers to judge on the question of 'truth and fiction.' 'I

imagined,' he says, that 'I was on the point of death, and none of the remedies which had been employed would afford me any further relief. When I was in this dangerous state, my anxious mother earnestly entreated the physician to have recourse to his universal medicine. After great hesitation, he hastened home in the middle of the night, and returned with a little phial filled with a chrystallized salt, which was dissolved in water, and thus administered. It had a decided alkaline taste. Scarcely had the salt been swallowed when the distressing symptoms were alleviated, and the complaint took another turn which gradually led to a perfect cure. I need not add how much this cure strengthened our faith in the skill of the physician, and excited our diligence to participate in the possession of such treasures.' So to work they went. All Madam Klettenburg's retorts, and pelicans, and alembics, were in activity. The processes were conducted according to the doctrines of Welling, in which they were guided by the wonder-working physician. They operated upon iron, from which a universal medicine might indubitably be obtained, if the obstinate metal could be made to yield it; and upon alkalies which were 'thought to combine the elements of the mystic neutral salt of the philosophers.' Goethe fitted up a little laboratory in the garret, consisting of a blast-furnace and a sand-bath; and he soon acquired a dexterous 'knack in breaking off the necks of his boltheads and retorts, by the application of a burning match,' and in preparing the liquor silicum.

After the miraculous cure of his indigestion, it was determined that he should finish his studies at Strasburgh, to which he is immediately forwarded by the diligence—and is so much struck with the magnificence of the Minster spire, that he composes a dissertation to prove that what was generally called the Gothic, ought properly to be called the German style of architecture—as it was called in fact by the early Italian architects. He made another use too of this colossal monument; for, being liable to giddiness on looking down from a great height, he accustomed himself to stand on the top of this steeple till he was no longer sensible of his infirmity.

Notwithstanding the length of time which had elapsed since Alsace had been dismembered from the empire, and added to the French monarchy, the city of Strasburgh was yet in fact a German town, both in language and in manners, except that Parisian fashions were gradually gaining ground amongst the richer families. During his residence at Leipsick, it has been noticed that Goethe had begun to rub off the primitive simplicity of a Frankfort citizen. At Strasburgh he made further advances in civilization, all of which are accurately detailed;

he was initiated into the mysteries of 'whist;' and furnished himself with a card purse, 'which was always to remain inviolable.' His head also was placed under the care of a Strasburgh friseur; who, though his hair was remarkably fine, not only tied part of it in a bag, but insisted upon cking out the remainder with a row of false curls—to conceal which falsity it was necessary for the unhappy bard to be in full powder from the earliest hour of the morning—and to walk very leisurely in shoes and silk stockings, under which, however, he wore coverings of fine leather, to secure himself from the 'attacks of the gnats of the Rhine, which spread themselves in the fine summer evenings over all the neighbouring meadows and gardens.'—With all this finery, it was impossible to neglect the art of dancing; and we have, accordingly, a long account of his studies in this department, under a distinguished French master, whose two daughters unluckily fell in love with him at the same moment. The amatory ballet concludes with a *pas de trois*, well worthy the attention of the managers of the opera. Goethe was enjoying a tender interview with Emilia, which, moreover, was to be the last, when the side door flew open, and her sister rushed in, 'dressed in a light, but becoming *night-gown*.' High words arose between the rivals; and, when he thought it advisable to steal away, Lucinda made a desperate attack upon the intimidated object of her affections,—'she caught hold of me by the head, and grasped my locks with both her hands.'—They happened not to be the borrowed locks; and he could not disengage himself from the talons of the furious fair one, who 'kissed me repeatedly on the mouth.'—'Now, exclaimed she, hear my curses: may every misfortune fall, for ever and ever, upon the female who shall next taste these lips.'—Then turning to her sister, she vociferated, 'Venture if you dare!'—then turning to Goethe—'And as for you, Sir, off with you—off with you as fast as you can.' She had no need to tell me so twice.—'I flew down stairs, with the firm resolution of never entering the house again.'

About this time the celebrated Herder visited Strasburgh, and was of course introduced to our author;—but there was no great love between them. The philosopher, it seems, was a little irritable and dogmatic, and indulged in a coarse sort of raillery, which did not suit the poet at all. He is extremely pathetic on the subject of some impertinent puns which Herder had made on his name. 'It was not wellbred'—he exclaims—'in Herder, to allow himself to take such liberties with my name; for the *surname* of a man is not like a cloke, which only hangs loose upon him, but it is like a complete and well fitting suit of clothes,—nay, it adheres to him all over like his skin, which cannot be

fretted or slashed without hurting the man himself.' He had also lent money to the philosopher, who was slow in paying it back, and did not express sufficient gratitude for the accommodation. They agreed, however, in admiring the Vicar of Wakefield:—and Goethe had soon the good fortune to meet with the living counterparts of Dr Primrose and his amiable family, at the parsonage of Drusenheim, 'six German miles from Strasburgh,' and ingeniously contrived to get up a little novel on the occasion. First he was introduced there in the disguise of a threadbare student of divinity; he made his second appearance in the dress of 'George,' the son of the alehouse-keeper at Drusenheim; and at last he shone forth in his own proper person. 'Every thing here' reminded him of the Wakefield family; and when the youngest son, who had been long announced, bounced into the room 'almost without noticing the visitors'—'I could hardly help crying out, Moses art thou here also!' As to the rest of the family, the father was 'short, rather reserved in his manner,' and yet 'friendly,'—'the mother was tall and spare, though not more than became her years.' Then there were two daughters of course—the eldest a strapping wench, lively and impetuous. Goethe, however, did not fall in love with her—he fell in love with the other sister Friedrike, who had a '*pretty little pug-nose*,' 'which bobbed about in the air as freely as if there was no such thing as sorrow in the world.' All this was quite irresistible, and Goethe became her declared admirer. We have all the particulars of the affair, which are inconceivably interesting—an interview on the garden bench, inscribed 'Friedricken's Ruke,' or Frederica's resting place, when she exclaimed,—'You wicked man, how you have frightened me!'—a reading of Hamlet, when Frederica 'sighed occasionally,' and 'deep blushes tinted her cheeks,'—and abundance of evening walks, water parties, and lonely excursions to the islands of the Rhine. 'The culinary accompaniments are delightful, and in the true Homeric taste.—' We unmercifully transported the chilly inhabitants of the clear river, into the kettle, on the grid-iron, and in the boiling fat.' These delicious repasts, however, were woefully disturbed by the gnats of the Rhine, whose venomous attacks provoked him so highly, that when he came back one evening to the parsonage, he 'broke out in blasphemous expressions in the presence of the good, clerical master of the house.' The 'pious old gentleman' was much scandalized, but luckily 'he could take a joke;' and Goethe made so excellent an one on the spur of the occasion, that the old man 'laughed.'—This *bon mot* was, that 'he begged he might be allowed to suppose,' that Paradise, after the fall, was 'guarded by the great gnats of the Tigris and the Euphrates.' This courtship would have furnished matter for a novel in duodecimo—

though the catastrophe is not extremely creditable to the hero ; for he avows with great tranquillity, that when he had entertained himself sufficiently with the love of the inexperienced Frederica, he deliberately and dispassionately took leave of her in writing, and discarded her for ever. Her answer convinced him that he had inflicted ' the deepest wound in the purest breast.' His '*repentance*,' as he calls it, was ' boundless : ' and accordingly he demonstrated it by ' wandering in the open air, in the fields and woods,' and singing ' hymns and dithyrambics.' And he thinks that the ' characters of the two Marias in Goetz of Berlichingen and Clavigo, and the poor appearance made by these lovers,' were the results of the analysis of his own penitent reflections. His ' partial confessions,' he thinks, made him worthy of receiving ' absolution ' for the trifling sin of destroying the peace of a girl, whom he represents as a pattern of modesty and simplicity, and who lived in contented retirement and innocent happiness, until she unfortunately encountered this advocate for ' romance in domestic life.'

In these laudable occupations, Goethe had nearly forgotten that he had been sent to Strasburgh to take his degree; and that he had promised to gratify his father by an elaborate ' Disputation.' After some time, however, he did compose a discourse on the right of the Legislature to establish a national religion—which the theological faculty thought too bold to be printed—though his father, on his return to Frankfort, was so well pleased with it, that he spent some time in preparing it with his own hand for the press. He took his degree in 1768, and had gained a certain degree of reputation. He used to read his MS. to a circle of admiring friends who encouraged him to prosecute his plans, and who roused him when he appeared sluggish. Faustus was far advanced, and Goetz of Berlichingen was fully ' conceived and planned.' About this time he formed an acquaintance with Merk, the paymaster of the war department at Darmstadt—' a man who,' according to Goethe's favourite expression, ' had the greatest influence on my life.' Merk, as he is portrayed by his admirer, ' was tall and lean ; a sharp projecting nose particularly distinguished itself in his countenance, and his light blue eyes, which were *perhaps* grey, gave his restless glances a tiger-like appearance.' This interesting person, according to his friend's account of him, ' felt an invincible inclination to be a knave,' nay, a rascal—all out of ' principle.'—Notwithstanding his ' whims,' he was ' naturally a worthy and noble character, mild and intelligent ; ' only there was never any certainty that he would not ' attempt to do you a mischief.' This is the substance of Goethe's delineation ; and as he had a secret conviction that Merk never would show himself in ' his hateful shape,' he became strongly attached to this

amiable creature, to whom he gives the appropriate appellation of the Demon Mephistophiles.

The year after this, our author went to Wetzlar, where he continued his legal studies, which were sweetened by his attachment to the intended bride of a fellow student. This bride, we are given to understand, is to be considered as the prototype of Werther's Charlotte. The bridegroom was 'honest and unsuspecting,' and introduced 'every one whom he valued to his intended bride;' and as he was busy during the greater part of the day, 'he was very happy if she could entertain herself during his absence, by passing the time in social walks and country parties with his male and female friends.' Goethe and the lady became inseparable;—and the good creature of a bridegroom used to join them in their walks, whenever he had an opportunity. The whole three were thoroughly pleased with each other, 'and made a genuine German Idyl' of their lives;—they 'refreshed themselves by wandering in the rich corn fields in the dewy morning hour, and listened to the lark,' &c. &c. His love for this lady was speedily succeeded by a lively passion for the eldest daughter of Monsieur La Roche at Coblenz; which sudden turn of the heart draws forth the following judicious observation from our author, 'that it is a most agreeable sensation when a new attachment begins to rise within us, before the old one has wholly subsided;—even as it is an agreeable sight to behold the moon rising on the opposite side of the horizon to the setting sun, and we rejoice at the double illumination afforded by the two luminaries of heaven!'

In the midst of these distractions, his *Goetz of Berlichingen* was at last finished. It was shown to Merk, from whom he obtained a friendly but impartial opinion. Herder returned it with an unmerciful critique, accompanied as usual by a 'dog-grel epistle,' full of 'contemptuous nicknames.' The work was afterwards revised, and in many places new written: but there was great difficulty in getting it printed. At last, Merk and he resolved to buy paper, and print it at their own risk. Its success was extremely flattering: it created an uncommon sensation in the 'reading world;'—it was universally inquired after: And as the proprietors could not transmit the copies as fast as they were wanted, it was immediately pirated. The returns, however, came in slowly; and while 'the world was admiring the drama,' the luckless author was in great perplexity for want of funds to 'pay for the paper;' by means of which, 'the world became acquainted with his abilities.' Other plagues appeared in the shape of critiques and criticisms. But he was not destitute of defenders. Wieland took the young author under his protection, and refuted the most elaborate of these attacks; and Bürger 'expressed his conviction, that it was the work of an original genius.'

But he was most amused by the proposition of an enterprising bookseller, who wanted him to contract to furnish a dozen more plays of the same nature every year, for which he promised to pay a liberal sum. Though not quite equal to this, Goethe's industry was roused; and during the period that Goethe of Berlichingen was 'passing through its different stages,' other undertakings were suggesting themselves to his mind—and, in particular, something in exaltation of a noble suicide. He had been very early impressed with the heroism of the Emperor Otto, who is said to have stabbed himself to the heart out of compassion for his people, thus terminating a civil war by an act of self-immolation. The worthy author, indeed, assures us, that he had a decided penchant for suicide in his own person; and among his collection of weapons, he set a great value on a 'rich and highly-polished dagger,' which he used to keep at nights close to his bed-side, and often endeavoured to 'try whether he could not stick the sharp point a couple of inches deep into his breast,' a feat which he candidly acknowledges he 'was never able to perform.' However, he bestowed much thought upon the subject, and became very perfect in the theory, although he had some little repugnance to the practice. He has given us the heads of a curious dissertation on this pleasing subject—from which we can afford to extract but one sentence or two, by way of specimen. 'It is so unnatural for a man to get rid of himself, and not merely to do himself an injury, but to *annihilate* himself completely, that he usually has recourse to *mechanical means*, for the purpose of accomplishing his intent.' Goethe discovers, that these 'mechanical means' have respectively various recommendations or objections. 'Women seek to cool their despair in the water;'—'hanging is an ignoble death, and therefore people are not fond of resorting to it,' 'except in England, where it is usually the first which is thought of,' 'because the gallows is such a familiar sight to an Englishman, 'and the punishment is not considered as disgraceful.' Goethe was naturally anxious to embody these and other valuable observations in some popular production; but he was in want of a proper fable, when, most fortunately for posterity, who would otherwise have been deprived of Werther and all his sorrows, he 'suddenly heard of the death of *young Jerusalem*.' Goethe had known young Jerusalem at Wetzlar. He was the son of old Jerusalem, the 'liberal minded and pathetic preacher;' and his person and costume are delineated by Goethe, with the attention to which we have so often adverted.—'He was of the middle size,—well built,—had a face which was rather round than long,—soft and quiet features,—blue eyes, which were not remarkably expressive, but very attractive,'—and, in short, 'he was a handsome, fair complexioned

youth.' He dressed in the 'English fashion, a blue frock, buff-coloured waistcoat, breeches of the same, and boots with brown tops.' This interesting swain had the misfortune to become enamoured with 'the wife of a friend;' and died a Roman death, in consequence of his attachment. We are not informed to what species of mechanical means he resorted. From his English habits, we presume he preferred a halter. The plan of Werther was immediately formed; and as Goethe happened at the time to be indulging in an amour with Madame La Roche's eldest daughter, who had lately been married at Frankfort,—the work which I undertook became animated with that glow of passion, which makes no distinction between truth and fiction.'

The ingenious author had previously invented a method of amusing himself in default of company.—'It was his custom, when he found himself alone, to call up the mental image of any person of his acquaintance; he used to beg it—(the idea)—to sit down; then he entered into conversation with it upon any subject which interested him,—whereupon it answered appositely, or declared its assent or dissent;' and Goethe kept up the conversation with wit and spirit. This is no doubt very novel and judicious; but we acknowledge that we are too dull to perceive 'how nearly these mental conversations are allied to epistolary correspondence.' To make up, however, for our stupidity, we are ready to allow that we are now better able to understand 'how the Wertherian letters acquired *such* varied and powerful interest, in consequence of their having been all spoken in ideal dialogues held in this manner with numerous individuals.'—Goethe having thus exercised his faculties, previously to his entering upon the great task of composing Werther, 'he shut himself up in solitude;—even the visits of my friends were prohibited; I divested myself of every thought except what related to the subject;—and therefore he 'recalled to his memory all his own loves and sorrows;'—'and, after such long and secret exercises, I wrote Werther in four weeks;' and, what is equally creditable to his powers, 'without previously putting on paper any plan for the whole work, or any notes for the treatment of particular portions.' Notwithstanding all this, Werther narrowly escaped a premature fate. The author read it through to Merk, at a time when he did not happen to be in a listening mood. 'He set himself down on the sofa, and I began to read letter after letter. When I had continued reading in this manner for some time, without his having bestowed any token of approbation whatever, I attempted to recite it with still greater pathos: But what were my feelings when I made a pause, and he struck me breathless in the most *shocking* manner, with a cool "well it is pretty enough" (es ist gang hübsch), and bolted out of the room, with-

out adding another word! I was quite in despair.—If there had been a fireplace at hand, I should instantly have thrown the MS. into the flames.' Fortunately there was no fireplace, and the calamity was averted.—'I recovered my self-possession, yet I passed many painful days,' until Mephistopheles apologized, by explaining, that at the time when the reading took place, 'he was in the most horrid situation in which any human being had ever been placed,'—and that he had not understood a word of the novel. Merk's horrid mystery remains unexplained; but we find that, on a second reading, he made ample amends for his provoking inattention—'he deprecated all alterations'—the work, as he very properly observed, 'could not be improved;' and he wished most anxiously to see it in print exactly as it stood.' This friendly wish was soon accomplished. 'On the very day that my sister was married to George Schlosser, there came a letter from Weygand the Leipsick bookseller, requesting me to send him a work.'—That day was doubly auspicious to the house of Goethe.—'I considered this coincidence as a lucky omen, and sent Werther to Leipsick,' who soon made his appearance, thanks to Weygand's patronage and the lucky omen. However flattering the reception of Goetz may have been, the success of the iron-handed hero was infinitely inferior to the applause commanded by Werther. Goethe says, the effect of this 'little work' was 'great, nay astonishing—and particularly because, as it appeared in a proper season, it created an *explosion* amongst the public.' With a due feeling of its merits, he took little notice of the critics. Yet he wrote a satirical poem to expose the 'unlucky darkness of the ideas' of that Goth Nicolai, who 'busied himself with pursuits for which he was not qualified.' In this instance, the unfeeling wretch Nicolai had the barbarity to print a parody of the tragical tale, under the title of the 'Joys of Werther.' Goethe is indignant at this want of sympathy for Werther, and his reclamations are really impressive. 'Nicolai did not feel that Werther's youth is shown to have been long cankered by the deadly worm: The author takes up my narration at page 214; and when the forlorn being prepared for the rash act, the intelligent psychological physician contrives to put a pistol, loaded with the clotted blood of a fowl, in the hand of his patient.' 'Being prepared for all that could be alleged against Werther, I did not find these attacks at all vexatious; but I did not expect the insupportable torture (*unleidliche Qual*) which was to be inflicted on me by the sympathetic and well-meaning souls,' who immediately recognized the faithful representation of the life, love, death, blue coat, yellow waistcoat and breeches of young Jerusalem. The reading world, especially the 'sympathetic and well-meaning souls' imagined, that the whole doleful history of young

Jerusalem ought to be found in Werther's letters.' But they were not aware that Goethe's 'own life and sufferings' formed a material element of the book. The history, therefore, could not be made to agree in all its points; and he underwent such painful cross-examinations from the 'sympathetic and well-meaning souls,' that the natural serenity of his temper was disturbed, and he often answered the questions 'very uncivilly.' Then again, the public curiosity was at work to discover the original of Charlotte. Like the Venus of Apelles, the beauties of Charlotte were collected from many 'charming young women,' although the 'leading features were taken from the dearest;' so the inquisitive were 'able to discover a certain degree of resemblance in many ladies;' and the 'ladies' thus honoured, were by no means anxious to contradict so flattering a report. These numerous Lottchens, *i. e.* little Charlottes, gave him 'endless torture,' because 'every body who merely looked at me, insisted on knowing where the identical Charlotte was to be found.' There was no escaping from their importunities. He thought they would cease, but they proved eternal. He attempted to escape his tormentors when on his travels, 'by trying to preserve a strict incognito;' but this was in vain.—'Thus, it is Senor Don Quixote—as Don Antonio said to the worthy Hidalgo whilst he was riding through the streets of Barcelona, unconscious of the placard at his back—Thus, it is Senor Don Quixote.—Even as it is impossible that fire should remain concealed, so, merit never faileth to shine forth.'

In the fourteenth book of these Memoirs, the chief actors are Lavater the physiognomist, and Basedow, the inventor of a celebrated system of education, with both of whom Goethe associated during a considerable period. Lavater was an amiable enthusiast in religion as well as in physiognomy. He was almost considered as a prophet by his circle of female devotees, whose visits elicited many a satirical remark from 'Mephistophiles Merk.' Basedow was principally distinguished by his aversion to orthodoxy, and the most violent love for strong beer and bad tobacco. He also 'poisoned the air' by lighting his pipe with a prepared fungus, 'which took fire remarkably well,' but which was so hateful to Goethe's nose, that he gave it the elegant appellation of 'Basedovian Stink-schwamm.' Lavater and Basedow were completely opposed to each other in opinions as well as in manners; but they took a journey to Coblenz and other places, in company with our author, without allowing their discordant doctrines to trouble the pleasures of the tour. At the table-d'hôte at Coblenz, Goethe

sat between Lavater and Basedow, each of whom was occupied in edifying his neighbour. Lavater was discoursing with a country clergyman on the mysteries of the Apocalypse—whilst Basedow was attempting, but in vain, to convince an obstinate dancing-master, that the rite of baptism was not at all calculated for our enlightened times. Once, and once only, Lavater felt slightly offended by Basedow's Antitrinitarian zeal; and Goethe also owed him a grudge, because his coarseness had disturbed the harmony of a party, which, our author reported, would have been a sentimental one. 'On the way home, Lavater reproached him; but I punished him in a humorous manner.' On their road, Basedow saw a public house at a distance. 'The weather was hot,' and he 'longed earnestly for a glass of beer;' for his mundungus 'had parched his mouth;' and when the vehicle came near the inviting and hospitable mansion, he 'commanded' the coachman to stop. Goethe had taken notice of the sign of the public house, and had bethought himself of the joke which might be grounded on it; so, 'at the moment that the coachman was going to drive up to the door, I holla'd out to him with a tone of authority to go on.' Basedow, in astonishment, could hardly repeat his order 'with a hoarse voice;' but the coachman, who must have had his cue, obeyed Goethe. Basedow swore and cursed; and Goethe might have paid dearly for his waggery; for the thirsty pedagogue was ready to pommel him; but at this critical moment his wit saved him. 'I answered him with the greatest calmness,' notwithstanding the impending peril, 'Father, be quiet;—you ought to thank me. It is lucky that you did not see the sign of the alehouse. It is composed of two triangles. Now, one triangle generally makes you mad enough. If you had seen both, it would have been necessary to have put you in chains.' Basedow 'broke out into loud laughter' on hearing the 'joke.'—and friendship and hilarity was immediately restored. After this journey, he planned a dramatized life of Mahomet, 'whom he never considered as an impostor,' and which was suggested by the earnestness of Lavater and Basedow in propagating their doctrines, 'at the same time that each had certain private objects of their own in view, which they carefully concealed.'

The fifteenth and concluding book contains a good deal of anecdote, besides Hopstock's opinion on skates and skating. That sublime poet earnestly recommended 'the low, broad, flat, polished skates of Friesland steel, which are the best for skating swiftly'—'so, according to his directions, I bought a pair of broad skates, which I have used for many years, al-

though they were productive of some inconveniences.' A little time after he bought his new pair of skates; he wrote 'Clavigo,' which drama was composed for the purpose of gratifying his 'partner.' To understand the force of this epithet, it is necessary to mention, that Goethe and his acquaintance used to amuse themselves by playing at marriages; they used to draw lots, and each couple was bound to behave towards each 'as husband and wife' during a week. This way of enlivening their parties was first invented by a young Englishman, who was pursuing his studies in Pfeil's boarding school. Goethe gives a high character of this young gentleman—he conceals his name—but, as a full description of his person is advertized, we apprehend that his friends must immediately recognize him if these pages should chance to come before them.—'He was tall and well made, slimmer than his sweetheart' (who was of the Madam van Brisket breed); 'his features were small, and his countenance would have been really handsome,' if 'he had not been very much disfigured by the small pox; he had a high bold forehead; his manner was calm, precise, sometimes even cold and repulsive; but his heart was full,' &c. &c. Goethe drew the same partner three times successively; this sport of fortune became the town talk; and as the lady was unexceptionable, his family seemed to instigate him to form a more durable union.

We cannot inform our readers whether it took place or not,—as the work breaks off abruptly at this crisis. From the bulk of the three volumes we have now gone over, it is satisfactory to think how much pleasure we have yet to come, if, as we hope and trust, the work is to be continued by him on the same comprehensive plan. As far as it has been published, it just brings him to man's estate, and contains the history of one novel, two or three plays, and sundry odds and ends of verse and prose. About forty years more of his life remain to be given; and as his works do not fill much more than fifteen thick octavo volumes, these data will enable us to form a rough calculation of the proportion which the residue must bear to this initiatory fragment.

ART. IV. *The Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland, being a History of the House of Commons, and of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of the United Kingdom, from the earliest period.* By T. H. B. OLDFIELD. 6 vol. 8vo. London, Baldwin. 1816.

Historical Reflexions on the Constitution and Representative System of England, with Reference to the Popular Propositions for a Reform of Parliament. By JAMES JOFF, Esq. London, Haichard. 1812. 8vo.

THE two authors we have brought together, to form the subject of the present article, are not more in opposition to each other than at variance, as it appears to us, with every just view of our present, or correct notion of our antient constitution. Mr Oldfield is a zealous advocate of Parliamentary Reform; and as bitter an enemy of the *Borough Faction*, as the worthy member for Westminster himself. ‘Inequality of representation,’ he observes, in his dedication to the Hampden Club, ‘is by far the worst feature of that complicated wrong, by which the liberty and property of the nation are given into the hands of the borough faction.’ The model he recommends to his reforming friends is the Saxon constitution, under which ‘not only the legislative body, but every executive magistrate, from the tything man to the alderman, was elected by the respective *hundreds* annually assembled in the *county courts*.’ How the hundreds came to perform their elections in the county court, Mr Oldfield has not condescended to explain to us; but in those halcyon days of representation, he assures us that every householder had a vote in the election of his representative; and he adds, ‘if this original right of voting were fully restored, and vested in all the householders or heads of families, who principally defray the exigencies of the state, even if the franchise descended no farther, it would be amply sufficient to destroy the present detestable corruption of the representation, or more properly *mock representation*, of the Commons.’ He then favours us with his scheme of Parliamentary Reform, according to which ‘1,200,000 householders would elect 120,000 tything men, 12,000 constables, 1200 magistrates, and 600 representatives.’ But as this plan might alarm the friends of universal suffrage, he has the precaution to calm their apprehensions, by hinting to them, that ‘in case universal suffrage should be adopted, the same system would be equally practicable, though on a more extended basis.’ On such crude plans and meagre speculations, it would be an insult on the understanding of our

readers, to offer a single word of comment. Let us see how far Mr Oldfield is qualified, by his historical researches, to suggest improvements in our existing institutions.

The Saxon Witenagemote, according to this learned antiquary, was a representative assembly, composed of deputies, chosen annually by all the householders of the kingdom. This constitution, as he informs us, withstood the shock of the Danish invasion, but fell a sacrifice to the Norman conquest. With the Normans the feudal system came into England; and the great council of the nation, instead of being composed of representatives of the people, was filled with military tenants of the Crown. 'In this cruel slavery and bondage the nation was held for 147 years; till at length, in the minority of Henry III., the Earl of Pembroke, Regent of the kingdom, sent letters of summons to all the barons of the realm singly, and to the cities, boroughs, towns, ports and tythings, to elect deputies to represent them in Parliament, agreeable to the direction of the Great Charter of liberties. Thus the people of England recovered their elective power in Parliament; which great event ought to be held in commemoration for ever, by a day of public thanksgiving, festivity and joy, as a perpetual monument of that great deliverance.' For this piece of history, Mr Oldfield refers us to the close rolls for 1218, where we apprehend it has been shut up, and lain concealed till now, as no historian before Mr Oldfield seems to have been acquainted with the fact; nor will any member, we fear, of the Hampden Club, however quick-sighted in the cause of reform, discover the passage in Magna Carta, which directs letters of summons to be sent 'to the cities, boroughs, towns, ports and tythings, to elect deputies to represent them in Parliament.' The only ground we can discover for this proposed addition to our Parliamentary history, is a writ in the close roll of the 2d of Henry III. to the Sheriff of Yorkshire, transmitting to him the great charters, and directing him to publish them 'in pleno comitatu tuo, convocatis baronibus, militibus et omnibus libere tenentibus ejusdem comitatus, qui ibidem jurent fidelitatem nostram.'* Not content with this instance of a Parliament chosen after the Saxon model, Mr Oldfield next informs us, that after the battle of Lewes, a Parliament was called by the Barons, composed of representatives from counties, 'chosen by the universal suffrage of the householders;' and, with the same confidence of assertion, and contempt of history, he adds, that in the time of Edward I., 'the right of electing members was in every householder in each district, the dis-

* Brady, History, Append. No. 145.

inction of freeholders and exclusive rights of corporations being totally unknown.'

From this epoch of our history, which is usually considered as the origin of the present House of Commons, Mr Oldfield dates the subversion of the true representative system. Cities and boroughs were partially and irregularly summoned to Parliament; rural tythings were entirely omitted; corporation privileges in towns abridged the right of universal suffrage in the inhabitants; qualifications in counties transferred the right of voting from householders to freeholders; Parliaments, instead of being elected annually, or oftener, were continued for several sessions; and, at length, the members of the long Parliament, which met in 1640, had the audacity, 'impiously and treacherously,' to make a law, which took from the King the power of dissolving them. The 'stupid people' of England, it seems, 'rejoiced over this enslaving act, and deemed it a conquest over the King;' which gives Mr Oldfield occasion to remark, that 'England has been mad several times since that period, but this was the greatest fit of frenzy she ever had.' The 'impious' example of the 'rebel' Parliament, for so this reformer denominates that great assembly, was but too closely followed in the reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and George I. Triennial and septennial bills were passed, qualifications of property were required for members of Parliament, and the rights of electors were either infringed by statutes, or left at the mercy of capricious, and often contradictory decisions of the House of Commons. Every abuse in Parliament has increased, in Mr Oldfield's opinion, since the Revolution of 1688; 'from which he does not hesitate to date the downfall of our constitution.' The chief objects, indeed, of his obloquy, are 'the rebel House of Commons,' of 1640, 'King William of glorious memory,' the Convention Parliament of 1688, and Sir Robert Walpole 'the father of corruption.' Such are the beacons erected by this judicious and enlightened reformer, to warn the gentlemen of the Hampden Club from the paths and pitfalls of slavery.

It will not be expected that we should follow Mr Oldfield through his six volumes in octavo. What was obscure in our ancient constitution, he has not elucidated; what was doubtful, he has not settled; what was disputed, he has not determined. He has removed no difficulties, and has not answered, and seldom indeed noticed, any objections. What he calls a history of the House of Commons, is a collection of scraps and extracts, purloined from authors of different and sometimes inconsistent opinions, adopted without examination, transcribed without care, and put together without system or coherence.

Declamatory invective, and bold assertion, are his usual substitutes for argument. His quotations are inexact, his translations inaccurate, and even the most trivial facts, dates and names, are incorrectly given in his pages. To take the first example that occurs. "‘ Tacitus,’ observes Mr Oldfield, ‘ speaking of the Germans and Gauls, says, nec regibus infinita potestas, de minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes, that is,’ continues Mr Oldfield, ‘ the representatives of all in council assembled.’ ! A great council, held by Edward the Elder, ‘ consisted episcoporum, abbatum, fidelium procerum populorum, which last words can only imply the faithful representatives of the people’ ! The Mirror of Justice tells us, that ‘ for the estate of the realme, King Alfred caused the Earls to meet, and ordained for a perpetual usage, that twice in the year or oftener, if need were, in time of peace, they should assemble together at London.’ Mr Oldfield quotes this passage, but leaves out the word *Earls*, with the design, we fear, of imposing on the Hampden Club, and making the gentlemen believe, that the persons ordained to assemble on these occasions, were ‘ representatives of the people, chosen annually or oftener, if need were, by all the householders of the kingdom.’ We pass over many errors of small moment, such as his asserting that the word *Parliament* came into use in the time of Edward the Confessor; his ascribing the first creation of Peers by letters-patent to Edward I.; his confounding Rollo, Duke of Normandy, with Clovis, King of France; his attributing to Henry VI. the statute 7. H. IV. c. 15, on the election of knights of the shire; and proceed to a question of great difficulty and importance, in which, as too frequently happens, we have the misfortune to differ from Mr Oldfield.

Our constitutional antiquaries are not agreed as to the description of persons who had originally the right of voting for knights of the shire. That county members were, from the first, elected in the county courts, by those who owed suit and service in those courts, is a point that admits not of dispute. The earliest writs that remain for the election of knights of the shire, direct the sheriffs to return two knights to Parliament, chosen ‘ in pleno comitatu, de assensu ejusdem comitatus,’ or ‘ assensu et arbitrio hominum ejusdem comitatus nominandos.’ The question is, who were the suitors in the county courts at the time when these writs were issued. Mr Oldfield is confident they were the resident householders of the county; and, in proof of this opinion, he refers to a writ of Henry I., which contains the following words: ‘ Et volo et præcipio, ut omnes de comitatu eant ad comitatus et hundreda, sicut fecerint

tempore regis Edwardi.’ || It might have occurred to Mr Oldfield, that the words *omnes de comitatu* were qualified by the subsequent passage, *as they were accustomed to do in the time of King Edward*; but, even without making this reflection, if he had looked to the law of the same Henry I., ‘*de generalibus placitis comitatum*,’ he would have found an enumeration of the persons who owed suit and service in the county courts, and who, in the language of that time, were called *omnes de comitatu*. ‘*Intersint autem*,’ says the law to which we allude, ‘*episcopi, comites, vicedomini, vicarii, centenarii, aldermanni, præfecti, præpositi, barones, vavasores, tungenarii, et cæteri terrarum domini.*’ * And in a subsequent law of the same prince, entitled, ‘*Qui debent esse iudices regis*,’ we find, ‘*regis iudices sunt barones comitatus, qui liberas in eis terras habent, per quos debent causæ singulorum alterna prosecutione tractari; villani vero, vel cotseti, vel ferdingi, vel qui sunt hujusmodi viles vel inopes personæ, non sunt inter legum iudices numerandi, unde nec in hundredo vel comitatu pecuniam suam vel dominorum suorum forisfaciunt, si justiciam sine iudicio dimittant.*’ † If it be objected to these laws, that, though of great antiquity, they are of doubtful authenticity, we have a writ of the same monarch to the suitor of a hundred, which had been granted to the Bishop of Lincoln, containing the following words. ‘*Henricus rex Angliæ omnibus baronibus et vavasoribus, et omnibus dominis qui terras tenent in Well-wapentach, salutem: Præcipio quod omnes veneatis, ad placitum et wapentachium Episcopi Lincoln, quod de me tenet, per summotionem ministrorum suorum; et facietis ei omnes rectitudines et consuetudines in omnibus rebus, quas ei debetis de terris vestris ad illud wapentachium.*’ ‡ From these documents it is clear, that in the time of Henry I., the suitors in the county courts were landed proprietors, who were bound, by the tenure of their lands, to the performance of that service. And it also appears, that none were called upon to discharge this duty, except those who held by a free, in contradistinction to a base tenure.

From the mention of *Vavassors* in the writ last referred to, as well as in the preceding law, it would seem, that in the time of Henry I.; the free tenants of mesne lords, as well as the free tenants in chief of the Crown, were suitors in the county courts. The word *Vavassor* occurs in the laws of the Conqueror, to express the subtenant of a mesne lord; § and it is used in the same sense in a writ of Henry I.: ‘*Si exurgat placitum de divisione*

|| Wilkins, p. 305.

* Ib. p. 240.

† Ib. p. 247.

‡ Brady, General Preface, p. 51.

§ Wilkins, p. 233.

terrarum, si est inter barones meos dominicos, tractetur placitum in curia mea: Et si est inter vavassores duorum dominorum, tractetur in comitatu.* A passage in the laws of the same prince confirms this conclusion, and seems to place it beyond doubt. † Si quis baronum regis vel aliorum comitatui secundum legem interfuerit. ‡ But if subtenants were suitors in the county courts, they formed part of the community of the county, and must have voted from the first in elections of knights of the shire. A contrary opinion indeed has been held by some learned authors, whose sentiments on this point have been adopted by no less eminent authorities than Mr Hume and Sir William Blackstone. According to these authors, no persons were electors of knights of the shire for many ages after the Conquest, except tenants in chief of the Crown. This opinion was insinuated by Dr Brady, and embraced with eagerness by Mr Carte, who expresses himself in the following words: ‘ It doth not appear that freeholders under mesne lords ever had a share in the elections of knights of shires, till the tumultuary parliament in the first of Henry IV.’ ¶ Mr Hume adopts the same theory. ‘ After the fall of the feudal system,’ says that sagacious but often careless historian, ‘ the distinction of tenures was in a great measure lost; and every freeholder, as well those who held of mesne lords, as the immediate tenants of the crown, were, by degrees, admitted to give their votes at elections.’ ‡ ‘ In what manner, and at what time,’ observes Sir William Blackstone, ‘ the election of knights of the shire was invested in the county at large, which formerly was confined to the King’s tenants *in capite* only, is a point pretty difficult to determine.’ § But notwithstanding these respectable authorities, nothing can be more certain than that, from the earliest elections of knights of the shire, they were chosen *in pleno comitatu, per communitatem comitatus, or de assensu comitatus, or de assensu et arbitrio hominum comitatus*. || And the only question, therefore, to be considered is, who were the suitors, that formed the county court, at the time when knights of the shire were first returned to Parliament.

That free tenants of mesne lords owed suit and service in the county courts, in the time of Edward I., when the House of Commons was constituted on its present footing, appears from the statute called *Extenta Manerii*. Among the inquiries directed

* Wilkins, p. 305.

† Ib. p. 240.

¶ Carte, 2. 699.

‡ Hume, 4th Ed. II. 382.

§ Tracts, 1. 109.

|| Prynne, Parliamentary Writs, Part 2d, p. 57. 92. 95. 100.—*Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*, 143. 145. 149.

in that statute to be made by the commissioners appointed for the survey of a manor, we meet with the following instruction ; ‘ inquirendum est de prædictis libere tenentibus (*i. e.* of the manor) et qui secuntur curiam de comitatu in comitatum, et qui non ; ’ from which it follows, that some free tenants were bound to this service, and others not. In the first Report on public records, * we have an extract of the roll for the hundred of Norman Cross, in the county of Huntingdon, from which it appears, that the Abbot of Thorneye held the manor of Stanground ‘ in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. ’ On this manor was a free tenant or freeholder, of the name of Roger Thurs-ton, who held a virgate of land, for the payment of fifteen shillings and fourpence a year, to the Abbot of Thorneye, and the performance of half a service in the county court of Huntingdon, and in the hundred court of Norman Cross ; and on the same manor was another freeholder, called Richard of Copmanesford, who, besides rent and certain fixed services to the abbot, was bound to render half a service in the county and hundred courts, and a whole service in the baronial court of Sakele. These men, it is to be observed, were not only subtenants, but tenants in socage. Half a service probably meant, that they were only bound to attend every other Court. County Courts were held every month, and attendance on them was considered so great a burden, that a statute was made to enable the suitors to perform their duty in them by proxy †. In the Hundred Rolls, published by the Parliamentary Commissioners, we have innumerable instances of freeholders, owing suit and service in the county and hundred courts, who were not tenants in chief of the crown, but subtenants of a mesne lord. For instance, in the returns for Buckinghamshire, in the 39th of Henry III. ‡ we are informed that Richard of Turs held, in the vill of Turresheye, one knight’s fee of Ralf Piroth, by the service of one knight, and John of Morton held, in the same vill, three parts of a knight’s fee, of the same Ralf ; and Muriel of Weston held seven virgates of land, in socage, of Robert of Wansi, for twenty shillings ; ‘ et omnes isti debent sectam comitatus et hundredi. ’ In the very same page we are told, that John of Stoke, and Richard of Midelton, held nine virgates of land, of the heirs of Warin of Mundchanes, for payment of twenty shillings a year to the heirs of the said Warin ; ‘ et debent domino regi sectam comitatus et hundredi. ’ Thomas of Ikford held in the vill of Ikford, six

* Report, 1800, p. 60. † Stat. Merton. cap. 10.

‡ Hundred Rolls, vol. I. p. 25.

hides of land, of the Abbot of Crestinge, for one pair of gloves, ‘et facit inde domino regi sectam comitatus et hundredi.’ John of Hasse held the vill of Hasse, in the same hundred, of Earl Richard, ‘et solebat inde facere sectam ad comitatum et hundredum.’ It would be endless to multiply these examples. It is sufficient to state, that there is no county, of which extracts from the hundred rolls have been published, in which numerous instances are not to be found of the tenants of mesne lords owing suit and service in the county and hundred courts. Some appear to have been exempted by charter; and others are accused of having neglected their service, ‘sed nescimus quo warranto.’

Chief Baron Gilbert is the only author who appears to have been aware of this circumstance; and he has proposed a particular theory to account for it. * ‘There was a certain set of freeholders,’ he tells us, ‘who did suit and service at the county court. These were such as anciently held of the lord of the county, and by the escheats of earldoms had fallen to the king: Or such as were granted out by service to hold of the king, but with particular reservation to do suit and service before the king’s bailiff; because it was necessary the sheriff or bailiff of the king, should have suitors at the county court, that the business there might be despatched.’ Unfortunately for this hypothesis, the manor of Stanground belonged to the Abbot of Thorneye, before the Conquest, † and was therefore no part of the antient demesne of the crown; nor could it have fallen by escheat to the King, so as to have been granted out on different terms from those on which it was originally held. It is more probable, that all free tenants originally owed suit and service in the county courts, ‘sicut fecerint tempore regis Edwardi;’ and that some were afterwards exempted by charter or custom, which gave rise to the instruction in the statute of *Extenta Manerii*, that inquiry should be made, what freeholders owed this service, and who owed it not.

The appellation of freeholders was not restricted in England, as it has become in Scotland, to tenants in chief of the crown. Many proofs of this might be given; but we shall content ourselves with the following. A writ of Henry III. to the sheriff of Somersetshire states, that the earls, barons, and all others of the kingdom had granted him a scutage to be levied on all knights’ fees held of him in chief; ‘et ideo tibi præcipimus, quod ad mandatum omnium comitum et baronum et omnium aliorum, qui de nobis tenent in capite, sine dilatione distringas omnes mi-

* On the Exchequer, p. 61. † Great Domesday Book, p. 205.

lites et libere tenentes qui de eis tenent per servitium militare. * It is evident from this writ, that the vassals of tenants in chief, holding by military service, were not only termed *libere tenentes*, but *milites*; on which a question may be raised, whether these *milites* were not equally eligible to be knights of the shire with those *milites* who held in chief of the crown. The writs for the election of county members, make no distinction between tenants in chief of the crown, and the tenants of mesne lords. They merely direct the sheriffs to send to Parliament ‘*duos milites de discretioribus et ad laborandum potentioribus de comitatu.*’ The vassals of mesne lords, it must be recollected, were often men of very large estates. In the black book of the Exchequer we find, that Godfrey Fitzwilliam held twenty-seven knights’ fees in Buckinghamshire, under Earl Walter Gifford, while Gilbert Bolebech, in the same county, had only one knight’s fee, though he held in chief of the Crown. † It cannot be doubted, that in this case the vassal of the mesne land must have been a man of greater weight in his county than the tenant in chief; and that if both had been eligible to represent the county, the former was the person most likely to have been preferred. Such a competition could not at that time have occurred, because there were no county members in the time of Henry II., when this book was compiled; but if proper researches were made, we think it not at all improbable, that among the early returns of knights of the shire, we should find the names of subtenants as well as of tenants in chief of the Crown. We have neither time nor inclination at present to engage in this research; but, from a slight examination of the Testa de Nevill, we are inclined to believe, that some of the earliest knights of the shire on record, were tenants of mesne lords, holding by military service.

It is the prevailing opinion, that in England, as in Scotland, knights of the shire were originally representatives of the inferior tenants in chief, who were unable or unwilling to attend in person, and perform their duty in Parliament. But, if we have proved that other free tenants, besides tenants in chief, owed suit and service in the county courts; and if it be true, that knights of the shire were chosen in the county courts by the suitors who were then present, and that these electors had no instructions to limit their choice but those contained in the King’s writ; it seems to follow, that however generally received, the common opinion must be erroneous, and that knights of

* Brady, Introd. App. No. 14.

† Lib. nig. Scacc. Hearn. 1. 189. 197.

the shire have been at all times, as they are ~~at~~ present, representatives of the freeholders of the county, whether holding of the crown, or of a mesne lord.

If it be objected to us, that this view of our county representation is inconsistent with the notions of feudal subordination, we reply, that before counties were represented by knights of the shire, the old feudal Parliament or *Concilium Magnum* had been broken down. It was no longer composed of *all* the tenants in chief, who owed suit and service in the King's court, but of such persons only as were summoned to attend by a special writ. It must also be considered, that our county representation did not take its rise from feudal institutions, but had its origin in the particular constitution of the county courts, which again was derived from the ancient judicature of the Saxons. These courts were retained after the Conquest for the distribution of justice in civil matters; and, though they fell into insignificance as courts of law, they came to be of importance on account of the new functions attributed to them of electing sheriffs, and coroners, and knights of the shire. The remark of Mr Hume, that 'the institution of county courts in England has had greater effects in the government, than have yet been distinctly pointed out by historians, or traced by antiquaries,' is not without foundation. To these courts may be ascribed that mutual sympathy and community of interest between the freeholders and the great barons, in their joint struggles against the Crown, so remarkable in the history of England, and so fortunate in its results to public liberty. And to the same institution, at a subsequent period, we owe the formation of a representative body peculiar to this country, which long served as a connecting link between the military aristocracy and the peaceful and industrious classes of the community; and when finally merged in the representation of the cities and boroughs, contributed to elevate the great body of the nation to that weight and importance in the State, which have been the main source of all that is excellent or admirable in our constitution.

It has been supposed by Mr Carte, that the statute of 7 Henry IV. cap. 15, first gave to the tenants of mesne lands, a legal right to vote for knights of the shire. If the view we have taken of the subject be correct, this opinion must be groundless. Nor do the words of that statute authorize the conclusions that have been drawn from them. The object of the Legislature in its enactment, was to prevent the fraudulent practices of sheriffs in the election of county members; and for that purpose, the return was directed to be made in the form of an

indenture, with the names of the electors subjoined to it. But the statute also ordains, that all present at the county court on the day of election, 'as well suitors, duly summoned for that cause *as others*,' should attend to the election. From the words *as others*, it has been supposed, that the statute gave the elective suffrage to all persons who happened to be present in the county court, whether suitors or not; but the interpretation of Sir William Blackstone seems more probable, that this clause was meant to restrain the partiality of sheriffs, who summoned what freeholders they pleased, and admitted those only to vote, who were actually summoned. This statute, which is still the great safeguard of the freedom of election, has been violently abused by the partisans of prerogative, because it was made in the reign of Henry IV., whom these gentlemen consider an usurper, though he was called to the throne by the two Houses of Parliament, and for as urgent reasons as King William himself. Mr Jopp, an author of this description, whose work we are next to examine, has the assurance to write, that this statute was enacted 'contrary to the declared sense of the Commons, for the purpose of supporting an illegitimate possessor of the Crown;' though he must have had before him the rolls of Parliament, in which the statute is to be found, word for word, among the petitions of the Commons. *

The statute of 8. Henry VI. cap. 7. limiting the right of suffrage in counties to freeholders of forty shillings annual income from their freehold, was the first of our disqualifying acts. Before that time, every minute freeholder was admitted to poll, without any restriction as to value; as is still the case with regard to coroners and verderers. Whether the grounds on which this act was passed were real or pretended, cannot now be ascertained. Both the preamble and enactment are in strict conformity with the petition of the Commons. To question its legality, or to say that no lawful Parliament has sat in England since the passing of this act, implies an ignorance of the first principles of our constitution. The Parliament of England is the supreme authority of the State. Its acts may be wrong; but they cannot be illegal. Its proceedings may be so unjust, and redress from peaceable remonstrance may be so hopeless, as to justify resistance; and if that resistance is successful, the people may establish a different form of government: But, under our present constitution, there is no legal appeal from the decision of Parliament, but by petition to Parliament itself.

To return to Mr Oldfield. The four last volumes of his

* Rolls, 3. p. 601. No. 139.

book are occupied with a history of the counties, cities, and boroughs of Great Britain and Ireland; and are, in fact, a republication of a history of the boroughs, published more than twenty years ago (we believe) by the same author; with considerable additions, and some alterations. The value of such a compilation must depend on the care and fidelity with which it is executed. We have looked into some of the articles, and found, with surprise, that no mention is made of the Hampshire contest in 1806, and no account given of the Bedfordshire election in 1807. The same silence is maintained with respect to the contest for Worcestershire in 1806; and the many contested elections in the last twenty years at Norwich, York, Carlisle, and other places. The account of Scotland is careless and inaccurate. The Earl of Eglintoun is put down as patron of Ayrshire, and Mr Barclay of Urie as patron of Kincardineshire; though in both counties the opposite interest was successful in the general election of 1812. Baroness Abercromby, by some blunder, is made patroness of Banffshire; and the nominal votes in Kinross-shire are said to be 17, while the whole number of electors is stated at no more than 16.

We now proceed to Mr Jopp. This gentleman professes to be a reformer; but, considering his pretensions to that character, he is a most outrageous enemy of all his brother reformers—the late Mr Pitt, and Mr George Rose, only excepted. He is also a great stickler for prerogative; and regards every institution in favour of liberty as an encroachment on the original power of the Crown. He has the discretion to keep clear of Saxon antiquities; but, confiding in the assistance of Hume, Carte, and Brady, he enters boldly on the Norman part of our story. William the Conqueror, according to him, was an absolute sovereign, who enacted laws, imposed taxes, and administered justice according to his own will and pleasure, with no greater restraint from legal institutions, than the present King of Denmark, or Autocrat of the Russias. The question seems never to have occurred to him, by what possible means could a Duke of Normandy, with very limited authority in his own dutchy, raised to the throne of England by the help of independent adventurers, feudal vassals like himself of the King of France, attracted to his standard by the promise of lands and honours, at once convert himself into a Turkish despot, supreme arbiter of the lives and fortunes, not only of the conquered, but of the conquerors. Mr Jopp will probably tell us, it was the introduction of the feudal system that wrought this stupendous miracle. ‘The Conqueror,’ he tells us, ‘in enforcing universally the feudal institutions, shaped every thing for the support

of his sovereign independent preeminence.' But, in the *first* place, William the Norman did not introduce the feudal system into England. He established, it is true, knight service in England; and introduced some feudal incidents unknown to the Saxons. But many parts of the feudal system existed in England before his arrival. Beneficiary possessions were familiar to the Saxons. Feudal homage is repeatedly mentioned in their chronicles and charters; and even the word *vassal* occurs in their history as early as the time of Alfred. Privileged jurisdictions are frequently alluded to in their laws. Fines for alienation, and even escheats in certain cases, were not unknown to them. Reliefs are described at length in the laws of Canute, under the name of *heriots*. The feudal system was taking the same course in England before the Conquest, which it pursued among the other nations of Europe; and there seems little doubt, that though the Norman invasion had never happened, the same causes that diffused it over the Continent, would have established it in nearly the same form throughout England. In the *second* place, if the feudal system, as Mr Jopp imagines, had been a 'political arrangement, contrived for the support of paramount arbitrary controul in the Crown,' how came it to be adopted by a body of high spirited warriors, proud of their independence, and impatient even of just restraint? Does the answer of Earl Warrene to the commissioners of Edward I. imply, that such notions were entertained of the Conqueror in an age not far removed in time from his own? When that great baron was required to show his title to his estate, (we quote from no author disinclined to prerogative), 'he drew his sword, and produced *that* as his title; adding, that William the Bastard did not conquer the kingdom for himself alone; but that the barons, and his ancestor among the rest, were joint adventurers in the enterprise.' But, in the *last* place, who ever heard of the feudal system being favourable to absolute monarchy? Were Hugh Capet, or Conrad the Salick, absolute sovereigns? Was it for the subversion of an institution propitious to royal authority, that Lewis the Gross, and other kings of France, gave charters of community to towns, in order to form a counterpoise to the exorbitant power of their barons? Was it not rather the downfall of the feudal system that first exalted the royal authority in Europe, and prepared the way for absolute monarchy among the nations of the Continent?

Mr Jopp, however, is of a different opinion. He has little doubt, that 'for many generations after the Conquest, there was no law of paramount effect to the will of the prince, when (as it often happened) he was disposed to pursue it.' He ad-

mits, that ‘ during the reign of William, the *commune concilium* was held *ex more* at the fixed Court festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas;’ and he adds ‘ If any national concern was *discussed* in that general assembly, it was on these occasions. There is, however, hardly any account of the proceedings in them, unless sometimes on ecclesiastical affairs; and although all formal acts then promulgated were said to be by the advice or consent of the archbishops, bishops, &c. and barons, there is no instance of dissent, or even of debate, upon any measure intended by the King. Discussion might, indeed, be permitted on matters purely concerning the Church, and in which the Crown might be indifferent; but there is no reason to think that the will or desire of the King was ever counteracted.’

That the debates of the *commune concilium* have been rarely transmitted to us, and that the journals of its proceedings no longer exist, cannot be denied. Most of our early records have perished, and many of the rolls of Parliament, even so late as the reign of Edward III, are lost. The Monks, who were the usual chroniclers for ages after the Conquest, are very brief in their account of transactions not directly affecting themselves and their monasteries. When they inform us, that the *commune concilium* was held, they seldom add more than a short sentence, stating the business for which it met, and the result of its deliberations. But from this negative evidence, from the brevity of historians, and from the loss of records, it would be a strange conclusion, that no discussions took place in those assemblies, except on Church affairs; and that, in other matters, the will of the King was the supreme law, which no one ventured to oppose. If such was the real character of these councils, our ancient historians had a singular mode of describing them.—‘ *Prisci moris fuit,*’ says Florence of Worcester, ‘ *ut magnates Angliæ ad natale Domini ad curiam regis convenirent, tum ad festivitatem celebrandam, tum ad obsequium regi præstandum; et de negotiis regni deliberandum.*’ * The course of business in one of these courts *de more* is thus described by Eadmer:—‘ *Peractis festivioribus diebus, diversorum negotiorum causæ in medium duci ex more cœperunt.*’ † We have an ancient account of proceedings of great moment in a council of William I., in which there was a difference of opinion between the King and the other members of the Council; and where, after much discussion, he was graciously pleased to yield to the wishes of his people, and the prayers of his

* Florent. Wigorn. p. 501.

† Eadmer, p. 37.

baronage. In the preamble to the laws ascribed to Edward the Confessor, (which is at least as old as the time of Henry II.), we are told that the Conqueror, in the fourth year of his reign, by advice of his barons, appointed twelve noble, wise and learned Englishmen, to be chosen by every county in England, and directed them to appear before himself and council, and there declare, on oath, what were the antient laws and customs of their country; suppressing nothing, adding nothing, altering nothing. When those commissioners had made their report, the King was inclined to prefer the Danish law to the Saxon, because it was more analogous to the law of Normandy. The commissioners entreated they might preserve the laws of their forefathers, in which they had been educated. The King at first refused; but, after long discussion, ‘*consilio habito, precatu baronum, tandem acquievit.*’ *

William Rufus is commonly described as the most violent in temper, and despotical in character, of all our Norman kings. We have an account in Eadmer of a council held at Rockingham under that prince. This council was summoned at the request of Archbishop Anselm, in order to adjust a difference that had arisen between him and the King. The demands of Rufus were inconsistent with the rights of the Church. The archbishop refused to comply; and though deserted by his obsequious diocesans, he was encouraged in his resistance by the approbation of the lay members of the assembly. An attempt was made to deprive him of his see; but the *principes* declared they saw no fault in him, and declined to renounce him as their metropolitan. At their request, the cause was adjourned to a distant day; and when the court was again held, the King, after an ineffectual attempt to extort money from the prelate, ‘*principum suorum consilio usus, posthabita omnis præteriti discidii causa, Anselmo gratiam suam gratis reddidit.*’ †

The same author relates the proceedings of various councils in the reign of Henry I., in which matters of great importance, both to Church and State, were freely discussed by these assemblies. In one of these councils, held at London, in 1107, soon after the conquest of Normandy, the members debated for three days the question of investitures; and at length decided, that the King should give up his claim of investiture, and that the Church should allow of homage;—and in this decision both parties acquiesced. † Such is the credit due to Mr Jopp’s assertion, that ‘there is no instance of dissent, or even of debate,’ in these assemblies, nor ‘reason to think that the will or desire of the King was ever counteracted.’

* Wilkins, p. 197. 207.

† Eadmer, 31—33.

† Eadmer, p. 91.

Mr Jopp proceeds next to inform us, that ‘three great national alterations were made in the reign of the Conqueror; namely, the subjecting of the lands of the clergy to military tenures; the forest laws; and the separating of the old civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised by the county courts: These were pointed acts of legislation, effecting important changes, both to future generations and to subjects then existing; yet in none of them does there truly appear any trace of deliberative legislative sanction in a general national assembly.’ Let us examine the truth of this position.

With regard to the separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction, we can have no better authority than the Conqueror himself, who says expressly, in a proclamation to the sheriffs and freeholders of Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex, that, finding the Episcopal laws of England neither good in themselves, nor consistent with the sacred canons, he had them amended ‘*communi concilio et consilio archiepiscoporum meorum et cæterorum episcoporum et abbatum, et omnium principum regni mei: Propterea mando et regia auctoritate præcipio, ut nullus episcopus vel archidiaconus de legibus episcopalibus amplius in Hundred placita teneant.*’ * Mr Jopp cavils at the words ‘*mando et regia auctoritate præcipio,*’ and talks of ‘a fair translation and true understanding of what may be called the enacting clauses.’ He forgets we have not the law itself, but a proclamation promulgating and enforcing the law; and he does not consider, that when the law was once made, it became the duty of the King to enjoin his courts to see it executed.

With respect to the establishment of knight service in England, for this is the real point that Mr Jopp discusses, there are two separate questions to be considered, which he has contrived most ingeniously to confound, and thereby to puzzle himself and perplex a very plain subject: First, by what authority was this innovation effected; and, secondly, at what time was it introduced. To the first question we answer, without hesitation, that knight service was imposed by the common council of the kingdom. Among the laws ascribed to the Conqueror, there are two that relate to the due performance of this service; and both of these state, in the most direct terms, that knight’s fees were granted in hereditary right, with certain services annexed to them, *per commune consilium totius regni nostri.* † To this authority we know not what ob-

* Wilkins, p. 292.

† LL. Gulielm. Conq. 55, 58. ap. Wilkins, p. 228.

jection can be made; and can only express our surprise, that, with these words before him, Mr Jopp should have concluded, 'there seems, therefore, no ground whatever for believing, that the imposition of the feudal prestations, either on the secular or ecclesiastical fees, was the act of any national assembly.' Modern authors are too apt to consider the introduction of knight service as an intolerable imposition. They forget that, before the Conquest, all lands were subject to the *trinoda necessitas*, one part of which consisted in the obligation of military service. Knight service was the substitution of a more fixed and certain service, for one that was less certain, and more indefinite. They forget also, that the lands of the Saxons were in many cases held on lives, or by a still more precarious tenure; and that knights' fees were granted in perpetuity. The particular year when military tenures were made universal over England, is more a matter of curiosity than of importance. The opinion of Sir William Blackstone is the most probable, that they were 'gradually established by the Norman Barons and others, in such forfeited lands as they received from the gift of the Conqueror, and afterwards consented to by the great council of the nation, long after his title was established:'. And the conjecture of the same learned Judge, that 'the era of formally introducing these tenures by law,' was the great council of Sarum in 1085 or 1086, has many circumstances in its favour. Mathew Paris, it is true, informs us, that it was in the fourth year of the Conqueror's reign, that the lands of the clergy were subjected to military service; and he represents it as a grievous hardship. But the authority of Mathew Paris, on this point, is far from conclusive. He lived more than a century and a half after the event, and knew so little of the condition of the Church before the Conquest, as to assert, that, till this act of William, the lands of the clergy had been free from all secular service whatever. But it is a well known and universally acknowledged fact, that under the Anglo-Saxon government, church lands were bound to furnish their contingent of troops for military expeditions, unless exempted by a particular charter. Not to multiply proofs of a position, which no one will venture to controvert, we shall only cite the privilege granted by Edgar to the Monks of Winchester, in which, after declaring their lands and possessions free, he adds, '*tribus tantummodo causis, sæcularibus obtemperant præceptis; rata videlicet expeditione, pontis, arcisve constructione, alias æterna ditati gloriantur libertate.*' * So far were the Saxon clergy from being unconcerned spectators of

* Seldeni ad Eadmer. not. et spiceleg. p. 159.

their country's wars, that many of them took up arms in its defence, and perished in battle against its enemies. *

On the Forest laws, Mr Jopp is by accident more nearly in the right. We say, by accident; because he confesses he is completely in the dark upon the subject; and therefore, if he has lighted upon the truth, he has stumbled on it by chance.

It may be necessary to remind our readers, that the Forest laws of the Conqueror are not preserved, and that we neither know with certainty what they were, nor by whose authority they were enacted. There is reason, however, to believe, that they not only differed from the Common law in the offences which they punished, in the penalties they inflicted, and in the courts where they were administered, but in the authority by which they were established. Instead of being imposed, like other laws, by the Supreme Legislature of the kingdom, they seem to have been abandoned to the arbitrary will and discretion of the Prince.

Laws for the preservation of the King's game were known in England before the Conquest. Under the Anglo-Saxon government, every man had a right to hunt in his own woods and fields; but if he trespassed on the King's hunting, he was subject to a severe fine, and, in some cases, to a heavier punishment. † The rigour of these laws was increased after the Conquest; and it is not improbable that this change was effected by the sole authority of the Conqueror, though we recollect no historian who says so in direct terms. The royal forests were part of the demesne of the Crown. They were not included in the territorial divisions of the kingdom, civil or ecclesiastical, nor governed by the ordinary courts of law, but were set apart for the recreation and diversion of the King, as waste lands, which he might use and dispose of at pleasure. 'Forestæ,' says Sir Henry Spelman, 'nec villas proprie acceperere nec perœcias; nec de corpore alicujus comitatus vel episcopatus habitæ sunt; sed extraneum quiddam et feris datum, ferino jure, non civili, non municipali, fruebantur; regem in omnibus agnoscentes dominum unicum et ex arbitrio disponentem.' This arbitrary government of the forests was probably assumed by the Crown, on the pretence that, being the private property of the King, he had a right to protect them from depredation, and to preserve the game which they harboured for his own use and recreation. Like other usurpations of authority, this prerogative would acquire strength by precedent; and while it continued to be used

* Chron. Saxon. 871, 897, 972.

† Wilkins, 146. Spelman's Glossary;—Forestæ.

with discretion, and directed to laudable purposes, it would obtain a sort of tacit confirmation from the silence and acquiescence of the Legislature; but when extended beyond its primitive object, and employed as an instrument of general oppression by the Conqueror and his successors, it provoked the interference of the Great Council, by whose exertions this arbitrary authority was first limited, and finally wrested from the Crown.

At what period the King acquired this discretionary power of punishing delinquencies committed within his forests, does not appear: But that, long after the Conquest, the royal forests were on a different footing from other parts of the kingdom, is shown in that curious and instructive document, the dialogue *de Scaccario*, written in the time of Henry II., by Richard Fitznigel, treasurer to that Monarch. ‘*Forestarum ratio, poena quoque vel absolutio delinquentium in eas, sive pecuniaria fuerit, sive corporalis, seorsum ab aliis regni judiciis discernitur, et solius regis arbitrio, vel cujuslibet familiaris ad hoc specialiter deputati subjicitur. Legibus quidem propriis subsistit; quas non communis regni jure, sed voluntaria principum institutione subnixas dicunt.*’ * In this passage we have a clear distinction between the *jus commune regni* and the *voluntaria principis institutio*, and, on this distinction, an explanation given of the difference between the laws of the forest and other penal statutes. Offences against the forest were punished at the discretion of the King and his officers, because the laws of the forest were founded on the arbitrary appointment of the Prince, and not on the common law of the kingdom. They formed an exception to the common law, not only in their administration and object, but in their origin. They were considered by the treasurer of Henry II., an anomaly in the legislation of his country; and, because they were so considered, they afford indirect evidence of the strongest kind, that in other matters of legislation the King was not the sole legislator, but was bound to ask the advice, and obtain the consent, of his Council.

It was no small aggravation of the forest laws, that, from the time of the Conquest, the Kings of England assumed a right of not only afforesting the demesnes of the Crown, but of extending the bounds of the royal forests over the lands of others, which became thereby subject to the Forest laws. This seems, however, to have been an illegal exercise of authority. It is so considered by Sir Edward Coke, † and seems never to have been quietly submitted to by the people. It is a frequent subject of complaint in the time of the Norman Kings, and of the

* Madox. Exchequer. 2. 395.

† 4 Inst. 300.

early Plantagenets; and promises of redress were repeatedly given, and as often broken by these Princes. An engagement made by William Rufus at his accession, to allow all his subjects to hunt freely in their own woods, seems to have a reference to this abuse. * A grant of the barons to Henry I., that he might retain all the forests possessed by his father, seems to imply that he should not afforest others. † Stephen, at his accession, reserved to himself the forests of William I. and II., but promised to restore to the church and kingdom all forests that had been added by Henry I. § But intolerable as this grievance must have been, it was not effectually remedied till the reign of Henry III., when the *Carta de Foresta* took from the Crown its arbitrary administration of the forests, reduced the forest laws to a certainty, and directed all woods to be disafforested, which had been afforested to the prejudice of the owner, after the accession of Henry II. Succeeding Kings, and Henry himself, frequently attempted to evade the performance of this article, but they were firmly resisted by their great councils; and, in the end, they were compelled to yield, and to suffer the *Carta de Foresta* to be executed in all its points.

The Forest laws of the Conqueror and his successors, are therefore no exception to the general principle of our constitution, that the supreme Legislative authority has been always vested in the King and Great Council or Parliament conjointly, and not in the King alone. If he made laws and regulations for his forests, it was by sufferance of his great council that he enjoyed this power, and, like other parts of his administration, the use he made of it was subject to the controul and revision of that assembly. His laws, when found oppressive, were altered and amended by its interference; and the subordinate power of legislation, in which he had been indulged, was at length taken entirely from him, when repeated experience had shown that it was impossible to guard it from abuse. It is curious to observe with what obstinacy and perseverance our Kings contended for this arbitrary branch of their prerogative. The value they set upon it seems to have increased in proportion to the odium in which it was justly held by their subjects. But though they struggled hard to maintain this arbitrary authority, Parliament was equally pertinacious, and forced them at length to abandon it.

The reign of Henry I. is one of the most curious and instructive parts of our ancient history. Modern authors stigmatize

* Simeon. Duncelm. p. 215. Chron. Saxon.

† *Carta Henr. I.*

§ *Carta Stephani.*

this Prince as an usurper, though he owed his Crown to the most legitimate of all titles, the free choice of his people, founded on their knowledge of his personal merits, and of the notorious incapacity of his competitor. * It is idle to apply our present notions of hereditary descent in the Crown to the age of Henry I. There was at that time no fixed law nor established usage on the subject. Birth was one ground of pretension;—the testamentary disposition of the last Monarch was another: But both were subordinate to the choice or consent of the military tenants of the Crown, who may be considered at that time as the virtual representatives of the nation. It is a curious remark of Baron Maseres, and a striking proof of the unsettled laws of succession in the 11th century,—That consent was not only of importance in giving a just title to the Crown, but in regulating the succession to subordinate fiefs. From the researches of that learned and judicious critic it appears, that in France the subtenants of the great feudatories had a voice in the selection of the superior lord to whom they were to pay homage: And from numerous instances in the history of our own country, he concludes, that, in England, ‘the election or will of the nobles, or great landholders of the kingdom, was the best title, or rather the only valid title to the Crown.’ † In those rude and turbulent ages, valour and ability were necessary qualities in the character of the Sovereign. Birth did not always afford these requisites; and where Kings were not always selected for their merit, they were often degraded for their incapacity. It is the happiness of a civilized nation, and of a limited monarchy, to be independent of the virtues of its chief.

Under Henry I., as in the reigns of his immediate predecessors, great councils were held *de more* at the three festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide; and they were assembled also by special summons, at other times of the year, when required for the despatch of business. Of many of these councils no memorials have been transmitted to us. Our antient chroniclers are brief in their accounts of civil affairs. Though usually priests, they seem to have thought military exploits better suited to the object and dignity of history. But, short and imperfect as the accounts they have left us of civil transactions are, they inform us of at least thirty great Councils, during the reign of Henry I., in which public business was submitted to the

* Gulielm. Neubrig. p. 11.

† Notes of Baron Maseres on Excerpta ex Orderic. Vital. p. 294. 296.

members of the Council, and determined with their advice and assistance. The important question of investitures was freely discussed and settled by a great Council, composed of laity as well as clergy. † Even in matters relating solely to the discipline of the Church, great Councils of laymen as well as clergymen were assembled, at the desire of the clergy themselves, ‘*quatenus quicquid ejusdem concilii auctoritate decerneretur, utriusque ordinis concordia cura et solitudine ratum servaretur.*’ ‡ These assemblies made canons to regulate the lives and conduct of ecclesiastics; decided points of precedence and questions of jurisdiction, and boundaries between rival sees; recommended the erection of new bishoprics, and punished with deprivation persons in holy orders, convicted of simoniacal or other sinful practices. § In appointing to vacant archbishoprics, bishoprics and abbeys, the King usually consulted with his great Council, and was frequently guided in his choice by their recommendations. || And in this respect, Henry followed the example left him by his father. ¶ In his controversies with the Church, he had recourse, at every difficulty, to his great Council; and demands which he was unwilling to grant, and unable to refuse, he referred to their wisdom and authority. ** A legate from the Pope having arrived in Normandy, with legatine powers to be exercised in England, the Queen, in absence of the King, who was abroad, assembled a council of Bishops, Abbots and Nobles, in London, to take this and other business into consideration: and the result was, that Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, was sent to Rome to protest against this innovation. †† Another Papal legate was prevented from using his legatine authority in England, by a declaration of the King, that he could not grant him permission to exercise it, without calling together his great Council, and obtaining their consent. ‡‡

But it was not in ecclesiastical affairs alone that the King consulted with his great Council. In every part of his admini-

† Eadmer. p. 91.—Contin. Ingulph. p. 126.—Madox. Exchequer. I. p. 10.

‡ Eadmer. p. 67.

§ Eadmer. p. 95. 102.—Florent. Wigorn. p. 662.—Sim. Dunelm. p. 237.—H. Hunt. p. 219.—Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1102.—Annal. de Margan p. 3.

|| Eadmer. p. 93. 97. 109. 110. 112.—Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1107, 1123.—Sim. Dunelm. 1129.

¶ Orderic. Vitalis, Maseres, p. 233. 241.

** Eadmer. p. 56. 62. 70. 86. 101.

†† Eadmer. p. 118.

‡‡ Ibid. p. 138.

stration he had recourse to their advice and assistance. In the disposal of civil as well as ecclesiastical appointments, he applied to them for counsel. * A fact incidentally mentioned in the Saxon chronicle, shows what importance he annexed to the assemblies. When ready to cross the sea against his brother Robert, he put off his expedition till after Whitsuntide, because he was unwilling to hold a great Council abroad, or to have it meet in England during his absence. † We are told that he arrested Ralf, bishop of Durham, his brother's minister, and recalled Anselm, by advice of his *Witan*. ‡ Twice he concluded peace at their request; once with his brother Robert, § and afterwards with the King of France. || Before his invasion of Normandy, he assembled a council in London, and, to secure their attachment to his person, promised to regulate his government by their advice. ¶ That his conduct was invariably suited to his professions, it is not necessary for us to show. It is sufficient we have his admission, that it was his duty to consult with his Council in the administration of his kingdom. For the question is, not whether our Norman kings were just and mild princes, guiltless of all arbitrary and oppressive acts, but whether there was not always a legal power in England, known and recognized in the Constitution, which had a right to controul them, and restrain their excesses. 'In populo regendo,' says Fleta, 'superiores habet [rex] ut legem, per quam factus est rex, et curiam suam, videlicet comites et barones.'

The succession to the Crown was twice regulated by the great Council in the reign of Henry. It was first settled on his son, and, after the untimely fate of that prince, on his daughter, and her heirs. ** Twice he consulted the great Council about his own marriage, †† and once about the marriage of his daughter; ‡‡ and because he concluded her second marriage without their consent, and contrary to their inclination, it was afterwards argued, that they were absolved from the homage and allegiance they had sworn to her. §§ When she had quarrelled with her second husband, and returned to her father, the king, who was passionately fond of her, consulted with his great Council, whether he should send her back to her husband, who had reclaim-

* Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1107.

† Ibid. A. D. 1106.

‡ Ibid. A. D. 1100.

§ Ibid. A. D. 1101.

|| Florent. Wig. p. 659.

¶ Math. Paris, I. p. 62.

** Eadmer. p. 117.—Florent. Wig. p. 657. 662.

†† Eadmer. p. 56. 136.—Florent. Wig. 659.—Bronston, p. 997.

‡‡ Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1109.—Cont. Ingulph. p. 128.

§§ W. Malms. Hist. Nov. p. 99.—Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1127.

ed her. || Such was the anxiety of this prince, even in his most private and domestic concerns, to have the advice and approbation of his subjects.

During the whole of this period of our history, the supreme legislative authority was vested in the great Council, conjointly with the King. We do not mean to deny, that proclamations and orders, having the effect of laws, were occasionally issued by the King alone, with advice of his ordinary council. The practice of our government was at that time, and long afterwards, exceedingly irregular in all its parts. If the interference of authority was requisite for any just and necessary purpose, the mere irregularity of the source from which it proceeded excited little jealousy or regard. Men who had arms in their hands, and were conscious of their power, had no dread of precedents injurious to their rights. From this peculiarity in the situation of our ancestors, and from their indifference about forms, many encroachments were made by prerogative, which it was difficult afterwards to repress; and many pretensions advanced for the Crown, which it has cost no small trouble since to refute. What we contend for is, that, according to our legal constitution, the supreme legislative authority in England, from the time of the Conquest, has been always vested, not in the King alone, but in the King and Great Council conjointly. This, we apprehend, is satisfactorily proved, not only by innumerable passages of our ancient laws, and by the testimony of our ancient historians, but by the authority of the best and most accredited lawyers of those times. ‘*Legis habet vigorem,*’ says Bracton, ‘*quicquid de consilio et consensu magnatum, et reipublicæ communis sponsione, auctoritate regis sive principis præcedente, jure fuerit definitum et approbatum;*’ and, speaking of the laws and customs of England, he observes, ‘*quæ quidem cum fuerint approbatæ consensu utentium, et sacramento regum confirmatæ, mutari non poterunt nec destrui sine communi consensu et consilio eorum omnium quorum consilio et consensu fuerint promulgatæ.*’ Alter such decisive and explicit authority from Bracton, our readers must excuse us from entering on the objections of Mr Jopp. The charter of Henry I. is in the form of a grant; but it is attested by bishops, earls and barons, as well as by the king; and contains passages, which imply that the Crown was elective, and expressly declare, that both he and his father exercised their legislative authority by advice of their Barouage. The great charter is also in the form of a grant; though every one knows it was extorted by force from King

John. ‘ Acts of Parliament,’ says Sir Edward Coke, ‘ are many times in the form of charters or letters patent.’

After the return of Henry from his conquest of Normandy, we find him employed, with Anselm and his great men, in devising means to extirpate the crimes and abuses which had grown up in England, through the negligence or connivance of his brother. § The result of these deliberations, was the enactment of severe but perhaps necessary laws, against the excesses committed by his household and retinue, in his progresses through the kingdom. Cruel punishments were also denounced against coiners of false money, and clippers and debasers of the current coin; and the crimes of theft and robbery, which had formerly been commuted for money, were made punishable by death. These laws are not extant; but we are told they were executed with rigour. Striking examples were made to repress the disorders of his household. At a county court in Leicestershire, held by Ralf Basset and other thanes, forty-four persons, convicted of theft, were condemned to death, and six to mutilation; and in the following year, all the officers of the mint throughout England, who had been found guilty of adulterating the coin, lost their eyes or other members, and were dismissed from their employment. †

The Great Council was also a court of criminal judicature. In the reign of the Conqueror, the great Norman barons, the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford, who had levied war against the King, were tried in the *Curia Regis* by the *Proceres regni*. They were deprived of their estates; and the Earl of Hereford, who appeared in Court, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The Earl of Norfolk, who had fled from England, was sentenced to remain in exile. Earl Waltheof, implicated in the same conspiracy, was tried in the same court, and probably by the Saxon law, as he was condemned to death.* In the reign of Henry, Robert de Belesme and his brother Arnulf were banished from England by sentence of a great council, at which all the principal men of the kingdom assisted. † Similar trials before the Great Council are mentioned in the time of Rufus. Mowbray Earl of Northumberland, and his accomplices, were tried in a great Council at Salisbury, and punished on conviction. Archbishop Anselm having sent his quota of troops against the Welsh, deficient in discipline and accoutrements, was summoned, for this neglect, to answer before the *Curia*

§ Eadmer. p. 94.

‡ Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1124, 1125.

* Orderic. Vital. Excerpta a Maseres. p. 320-325.

† Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1102. Ann. de Margan. p. 3.

Regis ; but, distrusting the equity of that tribunal, he chose to withdraw to the continent, rather than stand his trial. †

From this review of our history under the Norman Kings, it appears that the Great Councils had nearly the same functions to perform, which belong to Parliament at present. In conjunction with the King, they possessed the supreme legislative power ; and even in matters of ecclesiastical discipline, their sanction was required to give operation and force to the canons of the clergy. In disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, they were appealed to by both parties as the supreme power of the State. While they maintained the rights of the Church, and protected the interests of religion, they checked the usurpations of the Roman see, and were considered by the Crown as its chief bulwark against that encroaching power. They were a court of appeal from inferior tribunals, and had, in certain cases, an original jurisdiction, both civil and criminal. Ministers of State, as in the case of the Bishop of Durham, were amenable to their judgment ; and military tenants of the Crown, when accused of treason, or even of imperfect performance of their feudal services, were compelled to appear before them, and answer for their conduct. In questions of peace and war ; in acts of grace as well as of justice ; in appointing to vacant offices, civil and ecclesiastical, their opinion was asked, and their advice followed by the monarch. They were consulted by him in his most domestic concerns ; in his own marriage and that of his children, and even in the adjustment of private differences among the members of his family. Their consent was necessary for the settlement of the Crown, the succession to which, in that age, was but imperfectly regulated by the principle of hereditary descent. So early was it an established maxim of the English constitution, that the King must administer his government with the advice and consent of his kingdom.

According to this view of our antient constitution, the King and the Great Council stood in the same relation to each other, in which the King and the two Houses of Parliament stand at present. But though the Great Council had the same constitutional rights with our present Parliament, it had not the same means of enforcing them. The Crown possessed an immense landed estate, from which it derived an independent revenue, sufficient to defray the ordinary charges of the government. If the King disregarded the advice of his Great Council, there was no remedy to which its members could have recourse, except resistance. He was bound to consult with them in the admini-

† Radmer. p. 37.

stration of his government ; but when he chose to act in opposition to their opinion, he found no obstacle to his will, unless his measures were such as to produce an armed combination against him. The distribution of justice throughout the kingdom was loose, irregular, and arbitrary. Causes were tried and decided in a hasty and summary manner by the rude and illiterate suitors of the courts. Power was every where the substitute for right. Men of all ranks were in the daily habit of suffering or inflicting injustice in their intercourse with one another, and were therefore indifferent spectators of solitary acts of violence or oppression, when exercised by their sovereign. The King might often crush or ruin an individual baron, without incurring the indignation, or exciting the resistance of his other vassals. It was only by multiplied provocations that he could rouse a general or effective opposition to his authority. It is in this way we are to explain the many arbitrary acts of our Norman Kings, which passed without punishment or animadversion, and which have since been used by prerogative writers as precedents and arguments for slavery. It was at intervals only that the Great Council exerted its power to check these tyrannical excesses of the King and his ministers.

Many causes contributed to the temporary eclipse of the Great Councils, and to the elevation of the royal authority. During the civil wars in the reign of Stephen, the stated meetings of the Great Council were interrupted, and were never afterwards resumed. The confusion and anarchy that followed, added greatly to the power of the Crown. The disorders of these unhappy times required a vigorous administration of government ; and the weakness of the law, as it sometimes afforded a reason, so it often served as a pretext, for arbitrary extensions of the prerogative. What was at first done from necessity, was afterwards practised from choice ; and the limits of the royal authority became every day more uncertain and undefined. An institution that arose out of the Great Council, had considerable effect in exalting the Crown at the expense of that Assembly. The administration of justice in the last resort belonged originally to the Great Council. It was the King's baronial court, and his tenants in chief were the suitors and judges. But military men, rude and unlettered, with no other guide to direct them but the dictates of plain, untutored reason, were ill qualified to determine the intricate questions of law that came before them. Conscious of their inability to decide on such points, and unwilling to be long absent from their estates and mansions, they were eager to withdraw their attendance, as soon as they had performed to the satisfaction of their

Lord, the service due to him by their tenure. To remedy these defects in the Great Council, and probably to indulge the wishes of its members, an inferior council was established for the dispensation of justice, which constantly attended the person of the King, to hear and decide the causes brought before him.— This court, to which, and to the great council, the term *Curia Regis* is indifferently applied by historians, consisted of ecclesiastics and great officers of state, named by the King; sometimes with advice of his great council, at other times without consulting them. A separate court of exchequer was also established, in imitation of the Norman Exchequer; and on these tribunals, the administration of justice, which had been exercised by the King's baronial court, in a great measure devolved. The obvious utility of this innovation reconciled to it all classes of persons; and in the reign of Henry II., if not earlier, it was followed by the establishment of justices itinerant, who made circuits through the kingdom, and administered justice with greater order, equity and despatch, than the county and baronial courts, where the ordinary suitors were the judges. So little was apprehended from this last innovation, that if not originally established, it was very early confirmed by the great Council. * The effect of these institutions, was to improve and refine the administration of justice, and gradually to bring all causes into the King's courts. The public was highly benefited by these changes; but, from the course they took, every step in the improvement of justice, and progress of law, added to the power and influence of the Crown. The new Curia Regis, as it borrowed the name, so it usurped many of the rights of the Great Council; and when these assemblies ceased to meet at stated periods, and were only occasionally convoked by summons from the King, this spurious representative of the kingdom began to issue orders, and to make ordinances, which were obeyed and executed as laws: Nor was this usurpation of the ordinary council completely repressed by Parliament till many ages afterwards.

In the long struggle between liberty and prerogative, which continued with little interruption from the Conquest to the reign of Edward I., the influence of the Clergy deserves attention. Taken from the body of the people, and elevated often from the humblest ranks of life, by their reputation for sanctity and learning, they formed at that period the democratical part of our government, and served as a connecting link between the higher and lower orders of society. Enemies of violence, be-

* Hoveden, p. 313.

cause their power was founded solely on opinion;—beloved by the poor for their charity and benevolence—formidable to all by the superstition they inculcated—they constituted, in a rude and disorderly age, a sort of learned republic, which was able, in some degree, to check the tyrannical rule of the prince, and repress the lawless excesses of his barons. But they were, unfortunately, too apt to be guided by a selfish regard to their order, and were too blindly devoted to a foreign master, whose views were inconsistent, and interests at variance with the welfare of their country. From their habits and profession, they were friendly to law and order; and by their influence in society, they contributed powerfully to introduce equity and regularity in the administration of justice. But imbibing, from their education, the maxims of the canon and civil law, they adopted extravagant notions of the nature and extent of the royal prerogative; and to their authority, as well as to the artificial form of the feudal tenures, may be ascribed those speculative dogmas about the king and his attributes, which still disgust and offend us in our law books; and, if not corrected by sounder and more liberal principles, would level all distinction between the limited Monarch of England and the despotic Cæsar of Constantinople. It must not be forgotten, however, that on many trying occasions, the weight of the Clergy made the scale of liberty preponderate; and in particular, that to the counsel and direction of an Archbishop of Canterbury, we are indebted for the confederacy of barons, which extorted from King John the great charter of our liberties.

But, notwithstanding the enactment of Magna Carta, and the growing poverty of the Crown, through the heedless though fortunate dilapidation of its demesnes, the independent revenue of the King was still considerable; and it was only when reduced to difficulties, by his extravagance, or by the expense of his continental wars, that he was compelled to have recourse to his great Council or Parliament, as it now began to be called, for relief in his necessities: And it was on such occasions only, that these assemblies were able to exert with effect their constitutional rights, without appealing, like their ancestors, to the sword. Innumerable contrivances were devised by the Crown to escape from this control; but, though the vigilance of Parliament sometimes slumbered, its supreme authority was never questioned, *

* The reign of the Tudors is commonly and justly supposed to be the period when the power of the Crown in England had attained its highest point of elevation. Let us hear what was said at that time, of Parliament, by Sir Thomas Smith, minister of state, and

till an unhappy race mounted the throne, whose vain pretensions led to that memorable civil war, which levelled the pride of prerogative before the majesty of the people. The contest was renewed after the Restoration with all the advantages to the Crown, which the abuse of victory on the other side could bestow; but, at the Revolution of 1688, the firmness of our ancestors again prevailed; the chief magistrate was finally reduced to his proper place, and the supreme power of the state restored to its due preeminence.

From that memorable epoch, the Crown, in its executive capacity, has been reduced to an absolute dependence on the annual votes of Parliament. The constitutional maxim of Fleta has been thoroughly reduced to practice: *In populo regendo superiorem habet rex curiam suam*. Parliament, by withholding or diminishing its grants, can exert, without disturbance or opposition, an effective control over every department of the government. No law or ordinance can be made or executed without its consent. Few measures can be carried into effect without its concurrence; and no minister will dare to pursue any system to which it has declared its opposition. No culprit, however great, can escape its vengeance. No delinquency, however secret, can elude its research. The Crown can employ no servant long, who does not possess, or is unable to acquire its confidence. It is no longer a doubt what Parliament can do, but what it is disposed to do; and therefore the only question of late years has been, whether that branch of Parliament, which has the most direct connexion with the people, and, from its command of the public purse, has the most immediate and powerful influence on the government, is so constituted, as to give the people of England as good an administration of public affairs as the imperfections of human society will admit.

To perform its duty to the public, the House of Commons ought to be so constituted as to give its members a common interest and fellow-feeling with every part of the kingdom, and with every class and description of persons in the community. No one should be aggrieved or oppressed without finding a defender in that assembly. No interest, however small or local,

ambassador under Henry VIII. and his children. ‘The most high and absolute power of the realme of Englande,’ says he, ‘consisteth in the Parliament.—All that ever the people of Rome might do, either in *comitiis centuriatis* or *tributis*, the same may be done by the parliament of Englande, which representeth and hath the power of the whole realme, both the head and the bodie.’ *De Republica Anglorum*, published in 1584.

should be overlooked or neglected, for want of an advocate. No measure should be adopted, without weighing maturely not only the general good it may produce, but the partial evil it may occasion. When conflicting interests are opposed, a fair hearing should be given to all, before any decision is formed. Where relief is wanted, or redress petitioned for, there should be some one present to recommend the one, or enforce the other.

In these respects there is little to complain of in the composition of the House of Commons. There is no part of the kingdom which does not send members to parliament. The numbers, it is true, from different counties, bear no proportion to their respective wealth or population ; but no one seriously believes, that because Cornwall has more members than Yorkshire, the interests of Cornwall are better attended to in Parliament than the interests of Yorkshire. There is no class of the community that does not find in the House of Commons persons disposed to assert its rights, and maintain its interests. The poor, as well as the rich, have their representatives. The members for Westminster, and other large towns, where the right of suffrage is in the householders, are the virtual representatives of the lower orders throughout the kingdom. When a poor and oppressed man presents his petition to the House of Commons, through the member for Westminster, he entrusts his cause to the zeal and exertions of one who is returned to Parliament by men of the same rank and condition with himself. The inequality of our representation has this advantage, that, where religious bigotry interferes not, there is no description of persons in England, not dependent on alms for their subsistence, who are altogether destitute of political power. No regular system, except universal suffrage, could give us this species of excellence.

But to correct or prevent injustice or partiality in the internal administration of the country, is not the sole, though a most essential office of the Parliament. It has other and more difficult duties to perform. It is the Great Council of the King, and is bound to advise him in every part of his government, where there is any thing to alter or amend. If his servants are lavish in the expenditure of public money, it is the duty of Parliament to set bounds to their extravagance. If they oppress the kingdom with enormous establishments, civil or military, it is the duty of Parliament to reflect on the purposes to which such establishments may be perverted. If they are eager for arbitrary powers, to be exercised at their discretion, it is the duty of Parliament to recollect how often such

powers have been abused. If they entangle their master in pernicious alliances, for purposes neither safe nor honourable to the country, it is the business of Parliament to punish them for their misconduct, or to disgrace them for their incapacity. If they passess not the confidence of Parliament, it is the duty of that assembly, not merely to reject their measures, but their persons; and firmly, though respectfully, to address the Crown to dismiss them from its service. To discharge these duties, Parliament must possess ability to advise what is best, and independence to act on the opinion it has formed. Of ability there is no want in Parliament; but it may be fairly questioned, whether it has independence sufficient for the magnitude of the trust reposed in it.

The Crown has the constitutional power of appointing its ministers, as it has the power to make peace and war, and many other prerogatives, which, in their exercise, are subject to the controul and approbation of Parliament. If Parliament withholds its confidence, the King must change his servants, and admit into his councils the persons, whoever they are, that possess the confidence of that assembly. Parliament has therefore a negative on the appointment of ministers by the Crown. The objects for which this salutary controul is vested in Parliament, are, 1st, To exclude from the administration of this great country, the odious and despicable government of court minions and favourites; and, 2dly, To secure to the people of England the best possible administration of their affairs, by men of the most approved abilities and integrity, whose public views and principles are agreeable to the opinions, and suitable to the interests of the kingdom. To attain these ends, it is necessary that Parliament, in giving or withholding its confidence, should be regulated by its favourable or unfavourable opinion of ministers, and not by the single consideration, that, however unworthy of their place, they have been raised to it by the favour of the Crown. It ought to consider, whether they have abilities equal to their situation; whether they pursue a system of government adapted to the interests, or conformable to the wishes of the public; whether they are inclined to economy or profusion; and whether they have firmness to resist the private will of the Prince, should *that*, as in the time of Charles II., be contrary to the welfare of the country. If the composition of Parliament be such, that a minister, though destitute of these qualities, shall be able to retain his situation, when once appointed to it by the favour of the Court—and by patronage, and other means of influence, acquire that support in the House of Commons, to which neither his merits nor conduct entitle him; and

if he shall not only maintain himself in office, but plunge a confiding majority of Parliament into measures injurious or destructive to the State—the composition of the assembly, over which such influence can be gained, must be defective, and, if capable of improvement, it ought to be amended.

There are two opposite errors almost equally prevalent on this subject. One party represent the House of Commons as a mere instrument of ministers for raising money and registering edicts; while another set contend that, as at present constituted, it is an adequate check on the ministers of the Crown, sufficient for all practical purposes. That the first of these opinions is a gross exaggeration, appears from the many changes of administration in the present reign, contrary to the inclination of the Court—and from the many important questions carried in Parliament, in opposition to the most strenuous efforts of the minister of the day; And, that the second opinion is equally erroneous, is unfortunately proved by too many facts of our history. If the House of Commons had been an adequate check on the ministers of the Crown, could the American war have had the support of that assembly, after the capitulation of Saratoga, and the junction of France and Spain with the revolted colonies? Could the Russian armament, in 1790, ever have received the approbation of a House of Commons, which was not blindly devoted to the minister? And when that quixotick enterprize was abandoned by administration, in deference to the wishes of the people, could the minister, who had thus dragged the House of Commons through the mire, ever have retained the confidence and support of that assembly, if it had been composed of independent members? If the House of Commons exercised its own judgment on public affairs, could the rejection of Bonaparte's overtures in 1800 have had the approbation of the same assembly, which afterwards voted for the preliminaries of peace in 1801? And, above all, could a vote of thanks for the expedition to Walcheren have been obtained from a House of Commons, that for all practical purposes was an adequate check on the measures and ministers of the Crown? The truth is, that, in ordinary cases, a majority of the House of Commons are ready to support any ministers, whom the Crown chuses to appoint; and, with occasional, and but rare exceptions, to vote for any measures which those ministers chuse to recommend. It is only after long experience of their incapacity and misconduct, and general fears of the consequences of their imbecility, that a majority of that assembly will ever be prevailed upon effectually to check their measures, and drive them from their places. But it is not enough that

tried incapacity should be disgraced, and pernicious measures condemned after their mischievous consequences have been experienced. It is the province of the House of Commons to prevent, and not merely to punish misconduct,—to advise the Crown what is best to be done, and not merely to censure what has been done amiss. Parliament is the great Council of the King, as well as the grand Inquest of the nation.

But in this, as in many other cases, it is more easy to point out the evil than to indicate the remedy. One cause of the reluctance of the House of Commons to discharge this part of its duty, arises from false notions of the nature and principles of our constitution. Some men argue, that because the King, as first executive magistrate, has the nomination of his servants, it is an invasion of his prerogative to attack his choice, until the conduct of his ministers has been such, after they have been raised to office, as to forfeit the confidence of Parliament. To prejudge a minister before trial, has been exclaimed against as an act of injustice—as if the trial of a bad minister were a matter of indifference to the public. Such persons forget that the King has also power to make peace or war, and to conclude treaties of commerce, and even of subsidy; but no one contends against the right of the House of Commons to interpose on such occasions, and to direct the Crown in the course it ought to pursue, before its measures are brought to a conclusion. In all cases it is better to prevent evil, than to correct it after it has arrived. Besides, the King is the supreme executive magistrate by the same fictions of law, which invest him with the supreme legislative and judicial authority. His will makes the law, but only after it has had the consent of his two Houses of Parliament. He is supposed to be present, and to give decisions in his courts of justice; but he decides by the reason, and pronounces by the mouth of his judges. He has the administration of foreign and domestic affairs; but he must act by responsible advisers, subject to the controul and censure of Parliament. He names those advisers; but he must name persons, in whom his two Houses of Parliament can repose their confidence. In no single act of his government is he left to the guidance of his private judgment and inclination. His will directs the State; but it is his will, enlightened by the wisdom of his great council.

Errors of opinion can only be removed by the diffusion of more just notions of our constitutional rights. Defects in the composition of the House of Commons may be corrected by law. Many reformers have recommended a Place bill. If by this measure they mean, that no one holding an office at plea-

sure from the Crown should have a seat in the House of Commons, we have no hesitation in stating our opinion, that such an innovation would be of the greatest practical injury to our government. It is one of the great advantages of our constitution, that the ministers of the Crown are permitted by law, and compelled by custom, to have seats in Parliament. By this arrangement all public measures are discussed and examined in that assembly, in presence of the persons who are best qualified and most interested to defend them. No man can remain minister of State, who is not equal to this duty. No Court favourite—no minion of the back stairs, can insult or degrade us with the spectacle of an unworthy parasite lording it over a great nation. The best and wisest of the country may not always be placed at the head of affairs ; but we are secure at least from the domination of the worst and most incapable. But there are some advocates of a Place bill, who would allow the principal ministers to sit in Parliament, and only object to so many subaltern agents of government having a place in that assembly. We cannot go the full length of this opinion. We are aware that these janizaries of ministry are always at hand to vote for any job or measure patronized by their principals. But unless an opportunity were given to young men, of acquiring at the same time a knowledge of official details, and experience of parliamentary business, we do not see how our ministers of State could unite these two acquirements, without which they must either be incapable of conducting the business of government in Parliament, or be compelled, in the details of office, to confide entirely in subalterns and clerks. So far, however, we are willing to concede to this class of reformers, that whenever an office held at pleasure, is attended with no duties to perform, except the signature of a warrant or official order, when presented by the proper officer in the daily routine of business, we see no reason why persons holding such *quasi* sinecures should not be excluded from the House of Commons. Patent sinecures, if allowed at all to exist, ought to form no ground of exclusion, because the holders are as independent of the government under which they enjoy their places, as the possessors of any other freehold estate. We should be disposed to extend the same privilege to floating pensions for diplomatic services. The contrary rule, which prevails at present, has a tendency to exclude men of talent from our diplomacy, and to fill the House of Lords with needy and dependent Peers. Abuses might be prevented, by regulating the amount of the pension according to the diplomatic rank of the pensioner and the duration of his services: And if it were made a right, like the pension of a re-

tired Chancellor, instead of a favour, it would not be a source of influence, even to the minister by whom it was granted.

Another mode of increasing the independence of the House of Commons, would consist in disqualifying electors, who depend on Government for their daily bread, and must vote according to the direction of their employers. This principle, like the former, is known and acknowledged in our constitution, and has been acted upon at different times, and particularly in the Reform Bill of Mr Burke. It is to be considered, whether it could be carried to a greater extent, without disadvantage to public liberty. It is always dangerous for a free government to disqualify any considerable portion of its subjects from the exercise of political power. Freedom depends so much on opinion, that it is an unwise policy to diminish the numbers interested in its preservation. There are so many obvious reasons for connecting the army and navy by every possible tie with the civil government of their country, that no one has ever thought of extending any disqualification to them, though more dependent on the Crown than any other description of their fellow subjects.

The influence given to Ministers by the nature and magnitude of our taxation, is an evil of more serious consequence, and in some respects incapable of remedy. The amount of our national debt renders any considerable reduction of our taxes altogether impossible; and while the same taxes are levied, they must create nearly the same degree of influence. The tradesman, who is in arrear for his taxes, will not refuse his vote to the importunities of the tax-gatherer; and the manufacturer, who is exposed by his occupation to the numberless vexations and penalties, attendant on the collection of the revenue, will be careful not to give offence to those, who may disquiet his life, and rob him of his fortune. The utmost that law can do, in such cases, is to punish severely every abuse of authority when brought to light, and to simplify as much as possible the revenue laws, consistently with the object for which they are enacted. There is one evil, however, of a nature that admits a remedy, and of importance sufficient to require it. Our revenue laws are framed with so much strictness and severity, in order to guard against every possibility of fraud, and are often executed with so much rigour by the interested zeal of the officers employed to enforce them, that a discretionary power must be lodged somewhere, to moderate or remit penalties, and correct what may sometimes be their injustice. But if this discretionary power is lodged in the Treasury, it must give a mighty source of influence to the govern-

ment, extending over every part of the country, and embracing an immense number of persons in its operation. That this power (which, as it now exists, is of very recent origin), has been abused, we have too much reason to believe; and, what in its practical effect is nearly the same, that it is supposed to be abused for election purposes, has been proved before the House of Commons. The remedy we should propose, would be, to take this power from the Treasury, and to vest it in a single magistrate, responsible to Parliament for his conduct.

But the great source of influence to the Government of this country, is the immense patronage it enjoys. Of this, a great portion is fortunately destroyed by the return of peace; and the further reduction of our establishments, which the state of our finances imperiously requires, must still further diminish what is left. Enough, however, will remain to give the Ministers of the Crown, whoever they are, an influence in the country, and in the House of Commons, far beyond the weight due to their personal merits, or to their services. The reduction of useless places is of value, chiefly as a means of diminishing the influence of the Crown; and as it coincides with the popular cry for economy, it is of all reforms the one most likely to be carried into effect. But it deserves also to be considered, whether the influence of Ministers, from patronage, might not be lessened by dividing it; by transferring part of it to bodies, more or less independent of Government, and by sharing what remains more equally among Ministers themselves. Of the good effects of this division of patronage, we have an example in the East India Company; one of the advantages of which, is to prevent the whole patronage of India from being vested in the hands of Ministers. How far local and provincial patronage might be trusted to Justices at Quarter-Sessions, to Lord-Lieutenants of counties, or even to the Freeholders of the county, are points worthy of consideration. It might also deserve reflection, how far the patronage of the permanent Boards—such as the Customs and Excise—might not be augmented at the expense of the Treasury, which, of all departments of the State, is the most dangerous to the independence of Parliament, because it has the greatest patronage in its hands, and uses it most systematically for increasing the influence of Government. It may be laid down as a principle, that the more equally patronage is divided among the servants of the Crown, the less tendency it has to create an undue influence in their favour. Every man has relations, friends, dependents, to provide for; and, so far as his patronage is used for these purposes, it is harmless. It is the remainder,

only, which can be dedicated to corruption. The Chancellor, the Admiralty, the Treasury, the Secretaries of State, divide among them, at present, the chief patronage of the Government. But if the whole of this patronage were concentrated in the Treasury, no one can doubt that its effect in creating influence in the country, and in the House of Commons, would be much more considerable. It is with regret, therefore, we observe, that the tendency of late years has been to augment the already enormous patronage of the Treasury; and we are convinced, that nothing would tend more to increase the independence of the House of Commons, than to lessen the influence of the Treasury, by transferring a portion of its patronage to the other departments of the Government.

We hesitate about proceeding farther. Parliamentary reform has never been popular in this country. When the question was first stirred in 1780, the persons who associated and petitioned the House of Commons, were more anxious about economy and retrenchment of expenditure, than desirous of a reform in Parliament; and it was only by connecting the two questions that any considerable party could be brought to petition for the latter. When revived in 1792, Parliamentary reform had still less support from men of rank and property, whose minds were at that time filled with the most dismal, and, as it seems to us, most absurd apprehensions, from the progress of republicanism in France. At present, as far as we can judge, it has still fewer supporters of weight and consequence than at any former period. We regret this indifference, we may say aversion, of the public to a question of so much importance. Convinced as we are that the influence of the Crown has increased, and ought to be diminished, we most anxiously desire to see such a reform of the House of Commons as would render it more independent of ministers: But unless the natural depositaries of power in this country are of the same opinion, we are convinced the attempt is utterly impracticable, and the pursuit of it, on a great scale, not only useless, but hurtful, by diverting the attention of the public from the less splendid, but more practicable opposition to bad measures and to bad ministers. As our subject, however, naturally leads to the question, we shall lay our thoughts on it before our readers without reserve; though we fear they will displease the warm advocates of reform as much as our preceding language may have offended the partisans of prerogative. Our view of the question is founded on no general or abstract theories of representation, but directed to one sole object, which is to lessen the influence of the Crown in the House of Commons.

We must begin, then, by stating, that we are under no apprehension from the influence of Peers in returning members to the Commons. There is no rivalry or opposition of interest between the two Houses. Their respective privileges are settled, and no longer contested on either side. The chief difference between a rich Peer and a rich Commoner, consists in the one having a seat for life in one assembly, while it costs the other some expense and trouble to procure a seat for seven years in another assembly. They have the same interests, live in the same society, are educated at the same schools, and connected by the same family and party attachments. The House of Lords is more tenacious of established law than the House of Commons, and more careful and scrupulous in passing private bills, or interfering by legislative acts with the rights of individuals. And this spirit is, on the whole, beneficial to the public; though it often suspends, and sometimes prevents entirely, the reform of abuses. The Lords have less public business to perform than the Commons, and have less controul over the public purse. They have, therefore, less influence on the measures of Government.

The House of Commons may be divided into three classes, or descriptions of men.

The *first* and most numerous consists of party men, whether attached to Ministry or to Opposition. By party men, we mean persons, who usually act and vote together, in consequence of having certain public principles and opinions in common, which they consider of sufficient importance to be a bond of union; or in consequence of entertaining similar views on great points of foreign and domestic policy. Of this description was the party that opposed the American war; the party that united against Lord Shelburne's peace; the party formed against the Coalition and India bill; the party that remained united from 1784 to 1792, in maintenance of the antient authority of the House of Commons; the party that resisted the war of 1793, on the ground that it was an unjustifiable interference with the right of an independent nation to chuse its own form of government; the party who supported that war, on the ground that the conduct of the French revolutionists endangered the stability of every government in Europe; and, lastly, the party that remained together in 1807 in support of Catholick emancipation.

The individuals of a party, though agreeing in one common object, often differ widely on other points. The members of the present cabinet are divided on the question of Catholick Emancipation. The leading members of Opposition took dif-

ferent sides on the renewal of the East India Company's charter. What is called the Whig party, has always contained some men friendly to Parliamentary reform, and others decidedly hostile to that measure. The party, that overthrew the Coalition ministry in 1784, was composed of Courtiers, Parliamentary reformers, and Dissenters. They agreed in one common object, which was, to reject the India bill, and turn out the ministry; but differed on every other possible point. Some men follow the general current of their party more steadily than others; and when new and great occasions arise, individuals or bodies of men, who differ from the rest of their party, separate from it entirely, if they conceive the ground of difference to be of sufficient magnitude and importance to justify the separation. The Duke of Leeds went out of office in 1791, when Mr Pitt abandoned the views and projects of the triple alliance. The alarmists separated from Mr Fox in 1793, on account of the difference of their opinions on the French Revolution.

Besides the two great parties of Ministry and Opposition, there are sometimes small knots of men, united for some object of a public nature, which they steadily pursue amidst the changes of administration, sometimes lending their support to Ministry, and sometimes to Opposition; but generally voting with the Government. Of this description is a well known party in the House of Commons, distinguished by their zeal and perseverance for the abolition of the African slave trade. There are also now and then small squads of a different sort, who make no profession of any community of principle or opinion, but are united by some common views of interest, which they conceive may be more effectually promoted by keeping together, than by acting separately. These men lie in wait for some temporary weakness or unpopularity of the Government, and, taking advantage of their opportunity, sometimes by loud opposition, but more frequently by secret intrigue, get admission into the Ministry, and procure for themselves and their dependants a large share of honours and emoluments from men, who are ready to sacrifice a part, rather than lose the whole. Such a party, or rather faction, is a mere association of political adventurers, who prefer extortion to importunity, and calculate, that more is to be got by menacing the Treasury in a body, than by bargaining with it singly.

The *second* class into which we should divide the members of the House of Commons, consists of persons who vote, in general, with the existing government, of whatever materials it may be composed; either from an opinion that the King's government, however constituted, ought in general to be supported;

or from a desire of procuring for themselves and friends a share of the patronage which ministers have to give. The first is a Tory principle; and, though it appears to us a mistaken sense of duty, it is so far deserving of respect, that the persons who act upon it, though narrow-minded, are often disinterested men. The latter description of persons form the worst and least respectable members of the House. When the conduct of ministers leads to great public calamities, their Tory supporters usually begin to manifest their disapprobation, by absenting themselves from pinching and unpopular questions; and it is only after repeated hints of this sort, and the most thorough conviction that ministers are incorrigibly bent on pursuing the same pernicious courses, that these gentlemen are ever brought decidedly and steadily to vote against them. The second class, on the contrary, are uncommonly alert in discerning the signs of the times; and when a minister begins to totter, whether from losing the favour of the Court, or the confidence of the House, they are usually the loudest and most violent against him, in the hopes of recommending themselves to his successor for a still more liberal distribution of favours and patronage.

The *third* class consists of single individuals, of more vanity in general than talent, who make great pretensions to independence, and boast that on every question they are guided by their own solitary judgment and opinion. Men of this sort are sometimes of importance in the House, when parties are nearly balanced, and Tories and jobbers are doubtful which way to turn themselves. As they are seldom men of solid judgment, when their independence is not a match for other purposes, there is no inconsistency of which they are incapable. They will vote for war to-day, and refuse the supplies to carry it on to-morrow. Their numbers, in general small, are occasionally reinforced, by some discontented party-man, who quits the ranks of ministry or opposition, without the pretence of any difference on public grounds, because he fancies his talents and importance underrated, or thinks his speeches not sufficiently cheered, or his conversation not enough listened to and admired. The half-way house, for such travellers, is this limbo of vanity, from which they gradually sink into jobbing, or dwindle into insignificance.

Of these classes or descriptions of men, the last is too inconsiderable, in numbers and importance, to be objects of legislative enactment. *De minimis non curat prætor*; and, besides, defects arising from vanity are equally incident to county members and to gentlemen who have bought their seats. Tories, that act on the principle of supporting the Government

because it is the Government, without a reference to its composition or its measures, are equally beyond the reach of statutable provisions. Jobbers and party-men only remain. No one, who regards the independence of Parliament, will say a word in favour of Jobbers: But of Party-men there are two descriptions. Those who derive their seats from their personal weight and popularity, or from the confidence and good opinion of their private friends, without the assistance of ministerial patronage, whether they vote for ministers or opposition, contribute in no degree to increase the influence of the Crown in the House of Commons. But those, who are brought into Parliament by the Treasury, or other departments of the Government, though equally honest in their votes and conduct with the others, are the persons that, with the Tories and the Jobbers, enable a government, otherwise weak and incapable, to maintain itself in power, long after it has lost the confidence and support of the country. If the object, then, of Parliamentary reform is to lessen the influence of the Crown, by diminishing the number of members in the House of Commons, who will support any administration that has the favour and countenance of the Court, these are the persons to be excluded, if possible, from the House. Let us consider, then, by what avenues Jobbers and Treasury members usually find admission into that assembly.

The House of Commons may be divided into county members; representatives of cities and boroughs that have at least five hundred resident voters; representatives of places that have less than five hundred resident voters; and members for close boroughs.

1. *Counties.*—We know of no practical defect in our county representation, except that the great size of the counties, and consequent expense of contested elections, deprive the electors, in nine cases out of ten, of the substantial choice of their representative, because no man can afford to bring the freeholders of a great county to the poll, without a large fortune of his own, or a liberal subscription from his friends. We see no effectual remedy for this defect, but to diminish the size, and increase the number of the counties. It has been proposed to take the votes of the different hundreds in succession; but it is doubtful whether this expedient would lessen the expense of the election; and it is certain that it would prolong the duration of the contest. It has been also proposed to take, on the same day, the votes of every parish in the county, and to send the returns to the county town, to be there examined and compared, and the result proclaimed by the sheriff. A better expedi-

ent, as it seems to us, could not well be devised, to deaden the spirit of a country, and extinguish all the pride and consequence arising from the exercise of political rights;—an election by lot or raffle, could hardly produce less sympathy or connexion between the representative and his constituents. Some have recommended, that the elective franchise should be extended to copyholders; but unless this were accompanied by a reduction of the size of the counties, it would only multiply the number of voters, and increase the expense of elections. Others have suggested, that we should raise the qualification of freeholders, and confine the right of suffrage to men of independent circumstances. To this we object, that it would throw the county elections into the hands of the squires, and convert the squires into jobbers. This is our Scotch system of representation; and we know too well the effects of it in our own country, to recommend it with a safe conscience to our neighbours. The yeomanry and small freeholders may be influenced in their votes by the great proprietors, who are their neighbours or their landlords. But it is better that *they* should be led by kindness and courtesy, than that the county should be delivered over at every election to the minister.

County members stand much in awe of their constituents. Whenever public opinion is strongly expressed on any subject, we commonly find a large proportion of county members swimming with the stream, whatever course it takes. But at other times, unless decidedly party men, they are not inaccessible to the influence of the Treasury. They have so many measures to carry, and so many favours to ask for their constituents, that they are under strong temptations to support, in general, the existing government; and the slighter the tenure by which they hold their seats, the more subject are they to this influence. But there are limits to their support of any administration; and, in point of independence, there is no comparison between them, and members returned by ministerial patronage.

2. *Towns having more than 500 resident voters.* In some of these places, the right of suffrage is vested in the householders; in others, it is confined to freemen; and, in some again, it is enjoyed by both. The first constitute the most democratical part of our representation; and the members they send to Parliament may be considered the virtual representatives of the lower orders throughout the kingdom. In the two last, the elections are less democratical; but they might be equally independent, were it not for the votes of non-resident freemen, who are brought to the poll at an immense expense, and are, in general, ready to vote for any candidate, who will indulge them in

the riot and idleness of an election. On this ~~subject we have~~ expressed our opinion freely in a former Number, * and conceive it unnecessary to add a word to what we have there stated. The only effectual remedy for this evil is, to make residence a necessary qualification, to enable freemen of a corporation to give their votes at elections. The effect of the present system is to give an influence to money, without regard to character or to principle.

3. *Towns having less than 500 resident voters, but not so much reduced in population and consequence, as to have become the undisputed property of an individual.* Places of this description are the great source from which jobbers derive their seats, and Government its undue influence in the House of Commons. In a former Number, we have attempted a sketch of the manner in which this infamous traffic is carried on. But the modes of conducting it are various. It is sometimes managed by a Club or Society of the Electors. At other times it is in the hands of the Attorney, or Parson of the place, who act on behalf of their brethren. Sometimes the whole negotiation passes through the Treasury. At other times, his Majesty's government acts merely as a broker between the parties. Where the manager has acquired secure possession of his borough, he is sometimes tempted by a larger price to dispose of his seats to persons in opposition; but the necessity in which he is usually placed, of maintaining his influence by government patronage, renders him in general a faithful servant of administration; and, when ministers are changed, he transfers his allegiance to their successors. There was a borough-monger some years ago, who could return twelve members to the House of Commons; and, but for a misfortune that happened to him in the course of his trade, it was generally understood, that he was in a fair way of obtaining a peerage for his services. These illegal practices, however adroitly conducted, are sometimes brought to light, and in the instances of Shoreham and Cricklade, they were so clearly detected, that the boroughs were disfranchised by Act of Parliament, and thrown, the one into the rape of Bramber, and the other into the adjacent hundreds. We should recommend the extension of this principle to all boroughs of this description, where the election has been vacated under the Grenville act, on the ground of bribery and corruption proved against a majority or large proportion of the electors. But, instead of throwing the seats into the adjoining hundreds, we should recommend transferring them to the larger counties, which would at once

increase the county representation, and enable us to remedy the only defect in our present county elections. Yorkshire might in this manner be gradually divided into three or four separate districts; Lincolnshire, Devonshire, and other large counties into two; and some additional scot and lot boroughs might be created in large unrepresented towns. By this operation, the independence of the House of Commons would be gradually improved, at the expense of that part of it which is most under the influence of ministers. The electors of the disfranchised boroughs, who were not disqualified by their participation in acts of bribery, might be declared freeholders of the county.

4. *Close Boroughs*, the members for which are returned by one or two individuals, without assistance from government, and without the risk of a contest. Against this description of boroughs, the strongest prejudices in general prevail. We are far from considering them the worst part of our representative system. The members for close boroughs are often the men of greatest talent and independence in the House. There is one advantage attending their situation, which belongs to no other description of persons. Firmness to oppose the People, is sometimes as necessary a quality, as independence to resist the Crown. But the members for close boroughs are the only persons in the House who stand in awe neither of the Crown nor of the People. County members are in constant dread of their constituents; and though this is on the whole a salutary terror, it prevents them from resisting popular clamour, when the clamour of the people is unfounded and unjust. The proprietors of close boroughs are, in general, party men, and dispose of their seats to persons of the same way of thinking with themselves. This, however, is not universally the case. There are instances where close boroughs are made objects of traffic at the Treasury, by persons who have no party connexion with the existing administration. But if the lists of the House of Commons for the last forty years were consulted, we should find that a large proportion of the steadiest advocates of the people have been members for close boroughs.

On Triennial parliaments, we have only a few words to offer. We doubt whether frequent elections are favourable to the independence of the House of Commons. We fear the tendency of short Parliaments is to increase the power of government, by breaking down and destroying all independent opposition. Let no one imagine that by penal laws, or other devices, he can prevent the expense of elections. While a seat in the House of Commons is an object of desire, it will be an object of expense. But the pecuniary cost on such occasions is, in general, greatest

on the side of Opposition. The friends of Ministry have the aid and influence of government patronage in support of their pretensions; and the more frequently elections are repeated, the greater is the amount of this advantage over their opponents.—Short Parliaments, it must be owned, would lessen the terrors of a dissolution, which, after the examples of 1784 and 1807, must have great effect in destroying the spirit and independence of the House of Commons. The advisers of these two measures may be justly reckoned among the men who, in our times, have done the most irreparable injury to the constitutional liberties of their country. *

* While the preceding sheets have been passing through the press, some additional authorities have occurred to us in support of the argument stated above, that the suitors of the county courts, and original electors of knights of the shire, were freeholders of all descriptions, whether holding in chief of the King, or of a subject superior.

In the rolls of Parliament [I. 15.], there is a grant of Richard I. to the Bishop of Coventry; and his successors in that see,—“ut omnes homines sui—in perpetuum liberi sint et quieti—de sectis Shir' & Hundr'.” Among the Placita in Parlamento 19. Edw. I. [Rolls, I. 69.], there is a case between William Martin and William de Valenciis, which proves that subtenants owed suit and presence in the same courts; and there is a question between the Crown and William de Breouse 50. Edw. I. [Rolls, I. 148.], which proves the same.

ART. V. *The Narrative of ROBERT ADAMS, a Sailor, who was wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa in the Year 1810; was detained three Years in Slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert; and Resided several months in the City of Tombuctoo. With a Map, Notes, and an Appendix.* 4to. pp. 272. London, Murray. 1816.

WE have more than once had occasion to suggest, that the accounts received from persons accidentally led to visit the interior of Africa, might possibly afford that information regarding its great towns and rivers, which the enterprize of professed travellers has hitherto failed to procure; and we have hinted, that the regular journeys of the caravans for commercial purposes, might furnish an opportunity of sending some African of intelligence from the neighbourhood of the coast, to the most inland parts, and of learning through him the state of those distant and interesting regions. It still remains unexplained, why no such means of investigation have ever been attempted. There must surely be negroes of sufficient information in the colony of Sierra Leone, if no Moor should be found trustworthy for the proposed undertaking. To join ~~one of the~~

regular caravans would be no very difficult matter; and, engaging in traffic, like the rest of the company, would both facilitate and conceal the object of the adventure. Two most praiseworthy voyages of discovery have, in the mean time, been fitted out by the English government, one of which is to proceed up the Congo, in the expectation that the theory explained in a former Number may prove well-grounded, and the Niger be found the upper part of that great river. Every thing that could be contributed to the success of these plans, by careful and liberal preparation, with the fullest information to be had upon the subject, has been wisely bestowed by the Administration; and the friends of science look forward with new hopes towards the solution of some of the most important problems in geography, as well as in the moral history of the species. The work now before us contains some very valuable information, obtained from the accidental source above alluded to, supposing always that its authenticity may be relied on; to which material point we must begin, by directing the reader's attention.

At the beginning of last winter, Mr Cock, a gentleman connected with the African Company, having accidentally heard that a poor American sailor, of the name of Robert Adams, was begging in the streets, who represented himself as recently returned from many strange adventures in Africa, he made it his business to find him out, and proceeded to enquire into his story, which he told with much frankness, in answer to the questions which were put. He very properly took notes of the statement made by Adams, particularly as to the places he said he had visited, the distances mentioned by him, and the directions in which he described his journeys to have been made. He then gave him a trifling sum to relieve his immediate wants, and desired him to return in a few days. The man did not come back for nearly a week, and then repeated the same answers, nearly in the same words, to the questions again put. A favourable opinion of his veracity being thus formed, Mr Cock resolved to take down in writing his whole narrative, Adams himself being wholly illiterate. For this purpose, it was necessary that he should be supported while here; and he was promised a remuneration for his trouble, in attending daily to have his adventures recorded. There was considerable difficulty, however, in getting him to remain; he was impatient to return to his own country, and wished to embark in an American transport which was then on the point of sailing. Having by promises been prevailed upon to stay, he was seen by a number of gentlemen, who repeatedly conversed with him; and, it deserves to be added, that he never was known to ask money from any

of them. During the examination, by which his story was drawn from him, and which occupied some hours daily for a fortnight or three weeks, above fifty persons saw and interrogated him; nor was there one of those who was not struck with the artlessness and good sense of his answers, and with the conviction that he was relating the facts to the best of his recollection.

After his examination was concluded, and before leaving this country, he was seen and interrogated by several persons well known in the political and scientific world. The general impression made upon them was perfectly favourable to his veracity, although two of the number, Sir Joseph Banks and Mr Barrow the traveller, had at first entertained partial doubts of his accuracy. These doubts were grounded upon the contradiction which his narrative gave to all the former reports of the extent and magnificence of Tombuctoo, and upon certain mistakes which they supposed him to have made in matters of natural history. With respect to the first ground of hesitation, we confess, that with us the discrepancy of Adams's account with the incredible stories formerly told of the size and grandeur of Tombuctoo, operates in favour of his accuracy; not only because his inventing a story about Tombuctoo presupposes his having heard of these stories, and makes it probable, that had he been fabricating a tale, he would have adapted it to them; but also because it is exactly in the course of other improvements in the knowledge of distant places, long familiar to us by name and by report, that the first authentic information should diminish the wonders related and credited during the period of ignorance and vague reports. Mr Barrow's own account of China, furnishes a remarkable example in support of this observation; nor have his numerous books of travels rendered any one more valuable service, than their enabling us to view the Chinese in their natural colour and dimensions. With regard to the supposed inaccuracy of Adams upon points of natural history, a few more particulars must be adverted to. He mentioned *dates*, *pine-apples* and *cocoa-nuts* among the fruits of Tombuctoo. Mr Dupuis, our vice-consul at Magadore (of whom we shall again have occasion to speak) states, that he never heard of the two former fruits from the natives of Barbary who had visited the interior. Mr Park, however, mentions *dates* repeatedly in his travels; and, though he says that the *pine-apple* does not grow in the interior, yet Mr Cock observes, that it flourishes upon the Gold Coast and in the Bight of Benue. The cocoa-nut tree is supposed not to grow at a distance from the sea; and Adams, it seems, could not describe its appear-

ance. But Mr Dupuis admits that the natives of Barbary who have visited Tombuctoo, mention this tree as growing there; and, as the Editor well remarks, a person in the situation of Adams was more likely to observe the fruit than the tree, or he may have confounded the shell of it with that of the calabash. Again; he described a young elephant as twenty feet high, with legs as thick as his body, and *four* tusks. That he did not observe the animal with the accuracy of a naturalist is quite clear; and the examination as to the number of his tusks having taken place after an interval of four years, it is not surprising that he should have made a mistake upon a matter which at the time could not have attracted much of his attention. Lastly, he describes a new and strange animal in the following manner.

‘ Besides these, there is in the vicinity of Tombuctoo a most extraordinary animal named *courcoo*, somewhat resembling a large dog, but having an opening or hollow on its back like a pocket, in which it carries its prey. It has short pointed ears and a short tail. Its skin is of an uniform reddish-brown on its back, like a fox, but its belly is of a light-grey colour. It will ascend trees with great agility, and gather cocoa nuts, which Adams supposes to be a part of its food. But it also devours goats and even young children, and the negroes were greatly afraid of it. Its cry is like that of an owl.’ (p. 30.) As Mr Dupuis never heard of this extraordinary animal, these particulars may appear somewhat suspicious; but the following note of the editor seems to us fairly enough to remove the difficulty.

‘ It would be unfair to Adams not to explain, that, when questioned as to his *personal knowledge* of the ‘*courcoo*,’ it appeared that he had never seen the animal nearer than at thirty or forty yards distance. It was from the Negroes he learnt that it had on its back “a hollow place like a pouch, which they called *coo*,” in which it pocketed its prey; and having once seen the creature carrying a branch of cocoa-nut with its fruit, “which, as the *courcoo* ran swiftly away, seemed to lie on its back,” Adams concluded of course that the pocket *must* be there; and further, that the animal fed on cocoa-nuts, as well as goats and children.—In many respects Adams’s description of the animal, (about which the Narrative shows that he was closely questioned), answers to the lynx.’ p. 109.

We do not, therefore, consider the mistakes as to these points, of any material importance in estimating the authenticity of Adams’s narrative; or rather the very small number of them appears to confirm it; and especially we hold this opinion respecting the story he tells of the *Courcoo*; for, if it had been a mere

invention, the only object of it must have been to excite wonder; and no fabricator who deals in this article ever employs it so sparingly. A person making a story, would either have confined himself to what was most probable in itself and most consistent with other accounts, or have endeavoured far oftener than once to invent tales that might astonish.

We proceed to the other confirmations of his narrative. The account which he gave of his courses and distances, was diligently compared with the map, and found not merely to agree with all the known points of African geography, but to tally so well as to raise a suspicion of another kind; for how, it was natural to ask, should he have recollected such particulars without any notes to assist him? This inquiry was actually made, and we shall give the result in the words of the editor.

‘ Being questioned how he came to have so minute a recollection of the exact number of *days* occupied in his long journies from place to place, he answered, that being obliged to travel almost naked under a burning sun, he always inquired, before setting out on a journey, how long it was expected to last. In the progress of it, he kept an exact account; and when it was finished, he never failed to notice whether it had occupied a greater or lesser number of days than he had been taught to expect, or whether it had been completed exactly in the stated time.

‘ On asking him how he could venture to speak with confidence of the precise number of *miles* which he travelled on each day; he replied, that he could easily recollect whether the camels, on any particular journey, travelled well or ill; and knowing that when they are heavily laden and badly supplied with provisions, they will not go more than from ten to fifteen miles a day; but that, on the other hand, when they are fresh and lightly laden, they will travel from eighteen to twenty-five miles a day, he had reckoned the length of his journeys accordingly.

‘ When asked how he came to observe so minutely the *directions* in which he travelled; he replied, that he always noticed in a morning whether the sun rose in his face, or not; and that his thoughts being for ever turned to the consideration of how he should escape, he never omitted to remark, and as much as possible to impress on his recollection, the course he was travelling, and had travelled, and to make inquiries on the subject. Being a sailor, he observed, he had the habit of noticing the course he was steering at sea; and therefore found no difficulty in doing so, when traversing the Deserts of Africa, which looked like the sea in a calm.’ *Introd. Det.* p. xviii, xix.

But the most important circumstance in confirmation of Adams’s narrative remains to be mentioned. He had stated, that Mr Dupuis was the person through whom he had been ransomed, and that he had spoken to him in the course of the transaction. As it was plain that this gentleman must be able to confirm or

contradict some parts of his story, the publication was delayed until his return to England, which was expected in a short time. When he did come, accordingly, the narrative was put into his hands, and he gave ample testimony to its correctness as far as he was concerned, beside mentioning several other particulars which tend strongly to support it in those parts of which he could not speak from his own knowledge. The general impression made upon Mr Dupuis by his manner of relating his adventures, was perfectly favourable; and this is an important consideration, because he was the first person to whom he described them upon his return from the interior, and immediately after his arrival on the coast. Moreover, Mr Dupuis had him examined by several respectable traders who had been at Tombuctoo, and they assured him that 'they had no doubt of his having been where he described.' He took down his account in writing, and never found him to vary in any important particular from his first story. He now examined the narrative before us, and reported its general agreement with his own notes, excepting that Adams, as might be expected, entered more minutely into some of the details when they were fresh in his recollection. Mr Dupuis has added minute notes to the present account, pointing out its coincidence or discrepancy with the result of his own inquiries; and we have already noticed the only material points of difference. It must be added, that in Africa he went by another name; but he once hinted that it was not his real one, and that he had once been on board a British man of war. This circumstance, added to the great apprehension which he always showed of falling in with our cruisers, justifies a suspicion that he concealed his real name, for fear of being treated as a deserter. The appellation which he chose (possibly from having learnt something of its history while he sojourned amongst us, and from the superstitious regard to a lucky name, not uncommon in sailors), was *Benjamin Rose*. What predilection made him fix upon *Adams*, or why he retained it when he came here, we cannot tell. Mr Dupuis gives the following remarkable description of him, upon his return from the Interior.

'The appearance, features and dress of this man upon his arrival at Mogadore, so perfectly resembled those of an Arab, or rather of a *Shilluh*, his head being shaved, and his beard scanty and black, that I had difficulty at first in believing him to be a Christian. When I spoke to him in English, he answered me in a mixture of Arabic and broken English, and sometimes in Arabic only. At this early period I could not help remarking that his pronunciation of Arabic resembled that of a Negro, but concluded that it was occasioned by his intercourse with Negro slaves.'

‘ Like most other Christians after a long captivity and severe treatment among the Arabs, he appeared, upon his first arrival, exceedingly stupid and insensible ; and he scarcely spoke to any one : But he soon began to show great thankfulness for his ransom, and willingly assisted in arranging and cultivating a small garden, and in other employment which I gave him with a view of diverting his thoughts. About ten or twelve days afterwards, his faculties seemed pretty well restored, and his reserve had in a great measure worn off ; and about this period, having been informed by a person with whom he conversed, that he had visited the Negro country, I began to inquire of him the extent of his travels in the Desert ; suppressing every appearance of peculiar curiosity, or of expecting any thing extraordinary from his answers. He then related to me, with the greatest simplicity, the manner in which he had been wrecked, and afterwards carried away to the eastward, and to *Tombuctoo* ; the misfortunes and sufferings of the party which he accompanied, his return across the Desert, and his ultimate arrival at Wed-Noon. What he dwelt upon with most force and earnestness during this recital, were the particulars of the brutal treatment which he experienced from the Arabs at El Kabla and Wed-Noon. He did not appear to attach any importance to the fact of his having been at *Tombuctoo* : and the only strong feeling which he expressed respecting it, was that of dread, with which some of the Negroes had inspired him, who, he said, were sorcerers, and possessed the power of destroying their enemies by witchcraft. ’ p. xxiii—xxv.

We might state other confirmations of less value, which are to be met with in the course of this volume. Thus, Adams says he was sold at Wed-Noon to *Bcl-Cossim-Abdallah* for seventy dollars. Now this very *Bcl-Cossim* having come to Mogadore, called upon Mr Dupuis, and told the same story. He also says, that at the same place he heard a Liverpool vessel, which he called the *Agezuma*, had been wrecked four years before ; and upon inquiry, it is found, that in 1810 the *Montezuma* of Liverpool was wrecked upon that coast. Mr Dupuis either ransomed, or accounted for (by other evidence than Adams’s) ten of the eleven sailors who landed along with him, by the same names, except his own, which he had given them. The story of his shipwreck was confirmed by three of these, as well as of his conveyance eastward into the Interior ; and although Mr Dupuis did not see him in this country, he is enabled to identify him thus.—Two of his comrades proved to Mr D.’s agent, that he was one of their crew, and confirmed this afterwards at Mogadore. Some of his adventures in the Desert had reached that place before his arrival ; and he related them when he arrived. He was there delivered to the American Consul at Tangier, and by him sent to Cadiz, where he was seen by a gentleman of that place, who afterwards found him out in London, and identified him.

The Editor subjoins to his work an elaborate discussion of the internal evidence which the Narrative itself affords; and it is well worthy of the reader's attentive perusal: But we must here satisfy ourselves with having laid before him the grounds, chiefly of external evidence, upon which our own opinion rests;—and that opinion undoubtedly is, that we can perceive no adequate reason for questioning the veracity and the *general* accuracy of this man's story. We shall now, therefore, follow him briefly through his details.

The *Charles*, in which Adams sailed, left America in June 1810, and arrived the following month at Gibraltar, from whence she soon afterwards sailed upon a trading voyage to the Coast of Africa; and on the 11th of October struck upon a reef of rocks, and was left by the crew, who all succeeded in gaining the shore. By the captain's reckoning, they were four hundred miles to the northward of Senegal, or not far from Cape Blanco, at a place called El Gazie. They were soon made prisoners by a tribe of the Moors, whom Adams describes as in the lowest state of misery and indigence. Among them, was a Frenchman, who had been wrecked, and made a slave about a year before, having escaped with some other prisoners of war from Santa Cruz in the Canary Islands. It deserves here to be noticed, that while Adams was relating this part of his story, a Teneriffe merchant entered the room by accident; and being asked, whether he had ever heard of such an incident, he said, that he recollected some French prisoners escaping from Santa Cruz about the time in question, and that it was rumoured they had run their boat ashore, and been carried into captivity by the Moors. After the tribe which took Adams had collected as much of the wreck as they could, they appear to have divided the crew amongst them; and Adams, * with the mate and a seaman, fell to the share of a party, consisting of twenty, men, women and children, who carried their prisoners for about thirty days to the southward of east, when they arrived at a place, the name of which he does not recollect, and remained there about a month. They were joined by a Moor, with another of the crew named Stevens, a Portugeze. The mate and the other seaman were carried away to the northward, and Adams was left with Stevens in custody of the remaining eighteen Moors, who proceeded upon a *slaving* expedition to Souden-

* The Captain had previously been killed by the Moors, for his insolent and refractory behaviour. Adams says he was slain with a sword. Mr Dupuis thinks he told him at Mogadore, that he died of bad treatment and distress.

ny. They were joined on their route by twelve more Moors, and arrived, after travelling fourteen days, in a southerly direction. Soudenny is described as a small negro village, in the immediate neighbourhood of Mungo Park's first route; and here the party skulked among the bushes which surround the town, for about a week, lying in wait for the inhabitants. It cannot be denied, that, owing probably to the proper questions not having been put, Adams leaves this part of the narrative involved in some improbability. That a party of thirty-two persons and twelve camels should remain concealed for a week, close by a small village, seems hardly to be supposed. They then seized upon a woman and her child, and two boys, whom they found near the town. But though too large a party to escape notice, they appear to have been much too weak for the service they had undertaken; and we can hardly conceive their remaining concealed four or five days after this enterprize. So, however, it was; and at the end of that time, or almost a fortnight after their arrival among the bushes, they appear to have attracted the notice of the villagers, who attacked them in a body of forty or fifty armed men, and took them prisoners, without the least resistance being attempted. They were guarded by an hundred negroes; and, in four days, were sent under an escort of sixty men to Tombuctoo. Whatever improbability there may be in this part of the statement, arising in all likelihood from the omission of some particulars, it is confirmed by Mungo Park's account of that district in his Travels, which approaches the nearest to Soudenny. He describes it as peculiarly a prey to the slave-trading incursions of the Moors.

On their way to Tombuctoo, fourteen of the Moors were put to death for attempting to escape; and the rest, on their arrival, were closely confined as prisoners. Adams, and Stevens the Portuguese, were deemed objects of so much curiosity, from their colour, that they were suffered to remain in the palace, for the especial entertainment of the king and queen, Woollo and Fatima, who are described as antient personages, with grey hair; the latter excessively fat, and dressed in blue nankin. The people treated them with respect when they walked about, bowing, or touching their heads; and when the king received his subjects at his house, their mode of salutation was to kiss his head. The palace was of mud, and in every respect mean; there were about twenty muskets in it, which never were used. The town is described as covering as much ground as Lisbon; but the houses are scattered irregularly. The river, which he terms *La Mar Zarah*, flows to the south.

west, about two hundred yards from the town, and is about three quarters of a mile broad. The largest vessels upon it are canoes ten feet long, and carrying three men. The soil is cultivated very easily, and only with a small hoe; no animals being used for this purpose. The principal food is Guinea corn, ground between two stones, boiled into a thick mess like burgoo, and eaten with goat's milk. Their majesties feed upon it like the rest of the people, and without using any spoon or other utensil; only they are indulged with a little butter. They eat the flesh of the elephant, and deem it a great delicacy. They have cows, goats, asses, camels, dromedaries; but no horses. They possess, however, an animal called *heirie*, a small and very fleet kind of camel, used for riding, and of great use in the chase. This is stated by Mr Dupuis to be the camel of the Desert, highly prized by the Arabs for its superior patience, abstinence and swiftness. The natives are described as exceedingly dirty, and very fond of ornaments; a mixture, we suspect, by no means peculiar to those Africans. The men have several concubines beside their wives; and though the latter are treated with a marked preference, the constant quarrels that prevail, and the jealous disposition of the husbands, render their domestic life a scene of little comfort. The punishment of a paramour refusing to marry a woman who proves with child by him, is slavery. Adams describes the negroes as violent in their quarrels, in which they use their fists, and chiefly their teeth—but upon the whole as good-natured; and they always treated him with kindness. They have no outward appearance of religion; no house of worship; no priests; no meetings for prayer. The dead are buried without any external ceremony, except that the relatives assemble and sit round the body. Our readers will recollect the affecting description given by Mungo Park of the negro belief, which seems in his account to be, if not very sublime, at least as free from grossness and vulgar errors, as any system of paganism we know. Their practice of medicine is confined to the old women; and their dentists, like those of other countries, use cures which 'frequently cause not only the defective tooth to fall out, but one or two others.' It is observable, that when Adams came to Mogadore, he was fully impressed with a belief, that some of the negroes possessed supernatural powers, and could injure their enemies by witchcraft. Mr Dupuis seems to wonder at his having suppressed all mention of this in his narrative. The editor very fairly accounts for the omission, by reminding us that he may have dropt it, when he found the belief in it ridiculed. The negroes of Tombuctoo are passionately fond of dancing; which fre-

quently lasts all night, and forms their favourite amusement. Their musical instruments are a rude sort of guitar, made of leather thongs, drawn across cocoa-nut shells; a fife, and a sort of tambourine, with ostrich quills in the inside, against which the skin strikes.

‘ It has been already stated, that Adams can form no idea of the population of Tombuctoo; but he thinks that once he saw as many as two thousand persons assembled at one place. This was on the occasion of a party of five hundred men going out to make war in Bambarra. The day after their departure they were followed by a great number of camels, dromedaries, and heiries, laden with provisions. Such of these people as afterwards returned, came back in parties of forty or fifty; many of them did not return at all whilst Adams remained at Tombuctoo; but he never heard that any of them had been killed.

‘ About once a month a party of a hundred or more armed men marched out in a similar manner to procure slaves. These armed parties were all on foot except the officers: they were usually absent from one week to a month, and at times brought in considerable numbers. The slaves were generally a different race of people from those of Tombuctoo, and differently clothed, their dress being for the most part of coarse white linen or cotton. He once saw amongst them a woman who had her teeth filed round, he supposes by way of ornament; and as they were very long they resembled crow-quills. The greatest number of slaves that he recollects to have seen brought in at one time, were about twenty, and these he was informed were from the place called Bambarra, lying to the southward and westward of Tombuctoo; which he understood to be the country whither the aforesaid parties generally went out in quest of them.

‘ The slaves thus brought in were chiefly women and children, who, after being detained a day or two at the King’s house, were sent away to other parts for sale. The returns for them consisted of blue nankeens, blankets, barley, tobacco, and sometimes gunpowder. This latter article appeared to be more valuable than gold, of which double the weight was given in barter for gunpowder. Their manner of preserving it was in skins. It was however never used at Tombuctoo, except as an article of trade.

‘ Although the King was despotic, and could compel his subjects to take up arms when he required it, yet it did not appear that they were slaves whom he might sell, or employ as such generally; the only actual slaves being such as were brought from other countries, or condemned criminals. Of the latter class only twelve persons were condemned to slavery during the six months of Adams’s residence at Tombuctoo. The offences of which they had been guilty were poisoning, theft, and refusing to join a party sent out to procure slaves from foreign countries.

‘ Adams never saw any individual put to death at Tombuctoo—the punishment for heavy offences being, as has just been stated, slavery; for slighter misdemeanours the offenders are punished with

beating with a stick ; but in no case is this punishment very severe, seldom exceeding two dozen blows, with a stick of the thickness of a small walking cane.' p. 38—40.

It will surprise those who have been accustomed to the magnificent accounts of Tombuctoo, to learn that Adams observed no shops there. The goods imported for sale remain in the King's palace until they are disposed of. Mr Dupuis says, that he has heard contradictory accounts of this matter ; but admits that some of these agree with the story of Adams. It seems strange that there should be any doubt upon it. He states forty or fifty cowries as the price of a full grown slave, obviously from some great mistake, as Park makes the current price at Sansanding, no less than forty thousand. He asserts, pretty confidently, that no white man had ever been there before him, both from the information he received, and from the curiosity which his colour and appearance universally excited. Concerning the places which he heard mentioned by the natives, he recollected the names of *Nuitnougou*, *Tuaruck*, *Mandingo* and *Bondou*. He never saw the *Joliba* or *Niger*.

About six months after their arrival, there came a party of Moors, who ransomed their countrymen and Adams and Stevens. They set out in a north-easterly direction, along the river which he calls *La Mar Zarah* ; and, after travelling for thirteen days, arrived at a place named *Tudenug*, where they remained a fortnight, and then pursued a north-westerly course across the Desert. In this dreary and pathless waste they travelled nine and twenty days without meeting a human being, or seeing tree, or shrub, or even a blade of grass. They suffered greatly from want of food and water, the season being uncommonly dry, and the usual watering-places failing :—They were reduced to mix up camels' urine with the water which they carried in goat-skins. We extract the following passage, as proving, we think, to those who are acquainted with accounts of journeys in the Desert, either that Adams must have performed such a journey, or must have studied such accounts :—and the latter supposition, considering his inability to read or write, is quite incredible.

' The Moors who had been in confinement at Tombuctoo becoming every day weaker, three of them in the four following days lay down, unable to proceed. They were then placed upon the camels ; but continual exposure to the excessive heat of the sun, and the uneasy motion of the camels, soon rendered them unable to support themselves, and towards the end of the second day they made another attempt to pursue their journey on foot, but could not. The next morning at day-break they were found dead on the sand, in the place where they had lain down at night, and were left behind without being buried. The next day another of them lay down ; and,

like his late unfortunate companions, was left to perish: But on the following day one of the Moors determined to remain behind, in the hope that he who had dropped the day before might still come up, and be able to follow the party:—some provisions were left with him. At this time it was expected, what proved to be the fact, that they were within a day's march of their town: but neither of the men ever afterwards made his appearance; and Adams has no doubt that they perished.' p. 52.

This painful exertion at length brought them to *Vled Duleim*, or, as Mr Dupuis calls it, *Woled D'leim*, a village of Zeuts, inhabited by a pastoral tribe of Moors. Here the slaves were employed in tending goats and sheep, suffering severely by exposure, in almost entire nakedness, to a scorching sun, and hopeless of ever regaining their liberty. In respect to food, they were not by any means so wretched. They had barley-flour and abundance of milk, and they now and then contrived to kill a kid unperceived, which they dressed in a pit, and covered the ashes over with grass and sand. Worn out with suffering, and impatient of his situation, after remaining here eleven months, he made a desperate effort, and escaped on a camel, but was overtaken, after two days' journey, at a place called Hilla Gibla, as he was relating his adventures to the Moorish governor. His master had pursued him; and the governor, after hearing both sides, determined in favour of Adams; that is to say, he decreed that he should be ransomed for a bushel of dates and a camel, which his Excellency forthwith paid to the reluctant vendor, and took possession of Adams as his own purchase. Here he was employed in keeping camels and goats, and met with an adventure, in some respects resembling those which are related of other pastoral ladies and their husbands' slaves, though certainly the similarity does not hold throughout.

'Mahomet had two wives who dwelt in separate tents, one of them an old woman, the other young: the goats which Adams was set to take care of, were of the property of the elder one. Some days after he had been so employed, the younger wife, whose name was *Isha*, proposed to him, that he should also take charge of her goats, for which she would pay him; and as there was no more trouble in tending two flocks than one, he readily consented. Having had charge of the two flocks for several days, without receiving the promised additional reward, he at length remonstrated; and after some negotiation on the subject of his claim, the matter was compromised, by the young woman's desiring him, when he returned from tending the goats at night, to go to rest in her tent. It was the custom of Mahomet to sleep two nights with the elder woman, and one with the other; and this was one of the nights devoted to the former. Adams accordingly kept the appointment; and about nine o'clock *Isha* came and gave him supper, and he remained in her tent all

night. This was an arrangement which was afterwards continued on those nights which she did not pass with her husband. Things continued in this state about six months, and as his work was light, and he experienced nothing but kind treatment, his time passed pleasantly enough. One night his master's son coming into the tent discovered Adams with his mother-in-law, and informed his father, when a great disturbance took place: but upon the husband charging his wife with her misconduct, she protested that Adams had laid down in her tent without her knowledge or consent; and as she cried bitterly, the old man appeared to be convinced that she was not to blame. The old lady, however, declared her belief that the young one was guilty, and expressed her conviction that she should be able to detect her at some future time. For some days after, Adams kept away from the lady; but at the end of that time, the former affair appearing to be forgotten, he resumed his visits. One night the old woman lifted up the corner of the tent and discovered Adams with Isha; and having reported it to her husband, he came with a thick stick, threatening to put him to death: Adams being alarmed, made his escape; and the affair having made a great deal of noise, an acquaintance proposed to Adams to conceal him in his tent, and to endeavour to buy him of the Governor. Some laughed at the adventure; others, and they by far the greater part, treated the matter as an offence of the most atrocious nature, Adams being 'a Christian, who never prayed.' As his acquaintance promised, in the event of becoming his purchaser, to take him to Wadinoon, Adams adopted his advice, and concealed himself in his tent. For several days the old Governor rejected every overture; but at last he agreed to part with Adams for fifty dollars worth of goods, consisting of blankets and dates; and thus he became the property of *Boerick*, a trader, whose usual residence was at Hilla Gibbila. The girl (Isha) ran away to her mother.' p. 58—61.

A friend of his new master having persuaded him to send him to Wadinoon, where the Christians were likely to ransom him, he set out towards that place; but this friend seems to have had some purpose of his own in view, for he carried him in another direction, and used him as his slave. After continuing for some weeks in this state, and finding he was not at a very great distance from Wadinoon, he resolved to make his escape, which he effected; but was pursued and carried back. However, in a few days his new master proceeded to the same place, where they arrived in safety, and found his old comrades, the mate and two other seamen of the *Charles*. They had been above a year in the town, and were the property of the governor's sons. Adams was now sold to Bel-Cossim for seventy dollars, as we have formerly noticed. Among the Negro slaves at Wadinoon, he saw a woman who told him a very remarkable story. She said that 'she came from a place called *Kanno*, a long way across the Desert; and that she had seen in her own country,

‘ white men, as white as “ bather, ” meaning the wall, and in
 ‘ a large boat with two high sticks in it, with cloth upon them ;
 ‘ and that they rowed this boat in a manner different from the
 ‘ custom of the Negroes, who use paddles. In stating this, she
 ‘ made the motion of rowing with oars, so as to leave no doubt
 ‘ that she had seen a vessel in the European fashion, manned
 ‘ by white people.’ (p. 69.) Now, upon this singular circumstance, the editor makes the following judicious remarks, grounded upon the same distrust of Amadi Fatouma’s story, given in Mungo Park’s Last Journey, which we expressed in our account of that publication.

‘ It has already been stated, that many of the slaves purchased at Tombuctoo, and brought by the Arabs across the Desert, come from countries even as far east of that city as Wangara ; it is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that *Kanno*, mentioned in the text, may be the kingdom of *Ghana*, or *Cano*, which D’Anville places on the Niger, between the tenth and fifteenth degrees of eastern longitude. Assuming this to be the fact, the curious relation of the Negro slave at Wed-Noon might afford ground to conjecture that Park had made further progress down the Niger than Amadi Fatouma’s story seems to carry him,—further, we mean, than the frontier of Haoussa.

‘ In fact, the time which intervened between Park’s departure from Sansanding, and his asserted death, would abundantly admit of his having reached a much more distant country even than *Ghana* : for according to Isaaco and Amadi Fatouma (see Park’s Second Mission, 4to. p. 218), he had been *four months* on his voyage down the Niger before he lost his life ; having never been on shore during all that time. This long period is evidently quite unnecessary for the completion of an uninterrupted voyage from Sansanding to the frontiers of Haoussa : for Park was informed by Amadi Fatouma himself, that the voyage even to *Kashna* (probably more than twice the distance, according to Major Rennell’s positions of these places), did not require a longer period than *two months* for its performance.’ p. 141, 142.

The worst treatment experienced by Adams during his whole adventures, appears to have been at Wadinoon. He was maltreated in every way ; and having refused, from some religious scruples, to kiss his master’s feet upon one occasion, he was kept in irons for two months, until, being reduced to a skeleton, and expected to die, he was released to save his life. The poor mate, too, fell sick ; and, being unable to work when ordered, was threatened with death, which, he said, he should prefer to dying by inches ; whereupon his master, the governor’s son, killed him on the spot ; and his two other comrades, perpetually tormented to change their religion, at length consented, were circumcised, and set free. This rendered the lot of Adams still more insupportable, as he was the only Christian slave who re-

mained, and was the subject of constant taunts and injuries. He had endured these for three days, when M. Dupuis sent an exhortation to the slaves at Wadinoon to remain firm in their religious faith, and a promise to procure their release within a month. The effect of this letter is related in rather a striking manner. One of the renegadoes 'heard it read apparently without emotion; but the other became so agitated, that he let it drop out of his hands, and burst into a flood of tears.' The Vice-consul was as good as his word, and, at the expiration of a month, sent his agent to inform Adams that he was ransomed, and to bring him to Mogadore. He therefore left Wadinoon, after remaining there, he thinks, above twelve months; and journeyed to Mogadore, where they arrived in about a fortnight. Several details are given of this course, but they have no particular interest. On ascending a hill which gave them a view of Mogadore, and the square-rigged vessels lying in the harbour, Adams observes, 'that he can no otherwise describe the effects this sight had upon him, than by saying, he felt as if a new life had been given to him.' He was taken to Fez, where he was presented to the Emperor, and thence sent to Tangier; the American consul took charge of him, and procured him a passage to Cadiz, where he arrived on the 17th of May 1814, being three years and seven months from the time of his shipwreck; during which long period, by a rare fortune, he never had been sick a single day, except from the effect of the maltreatment he received at Wadinoon. At Cadiz he continued fourteen months as a servant or groom in the employ of Mr Hall an English merchant; and peace being restored with America, his Consul gave him an opportunity of returning home in a transport of American seamen; but he arrived at Gibraltar two days after the vessel had sailed. He therefore worked his passage to England, and, arriving at Holyhead, begged his way to London, where he was in the utmost misery, having slept some nights in the street. He was accidentally met by a gentleman who had seen him in Mr Hall's service, and who brought him to the Office of the African Committee.

To the narrative which we have now analyzed, are subjoined, beside the notes and illustrations, the substance of which we have noticed as we proceeded, an excellent dissertation upon the internal evidence of Adams's story, already mentioned, and a valuable Appendix in two parts; one containing Information or Remarks touching the interior of Africa; the other consisting of a sketch of the Population of West Barbary, taken from the information of Mr Dupuis.

In the first part of this Appendix, we find a curious account of Tombuctoo and the trade of the Niger, procured in 1764 for

a governor of Senegal by an Arabic interpreter attached to a journey to Galam. It is as follows, translated from the original French.

‘ After many difficulties, I have at length found a man lately returned from *Tombuctoo*, from whom I have obtained better information of the country than from any other person. I have spoken to several merchants, who have reported some things to me, but I confide most in this last, who is lately returned, who has assured me, that the vessels which navigate in the river of *Tombuctoo* do not come from the sea; that they are vessels constructed at *Tombuctoo*, which are sewed either with cordage or with the bark of the cocoa tree, he does not exactly know which; that these vessels only go by tracking and by oars (or paddles).

‘ He says, that the inhabitants of the city of *Tombuctoo* are Arabs; that it is a large city, and that the houses have three or four stories. He says, that the caravans which come to *Tombuctoo*, come from the side of *Medina*, and bring stuffs, white linens, and all sorts of merchandise. That these caravans are composed only of camels, that they stop at the distance of half a league from *Tombuctoo*, and that the people of *Tombuctoo* go there to buy the goods, and take them into the city; afterwards, that they equip their vessels to send them to *Genné*, which is another city under the dominion of *Tombuctoo*, and that the inhabitants of *Tombuctoo* have correspondents there. The people of *Genné* in their turn equip their vessels, and put into them the merchandise which they have received from the people of *Tombuctoo*, with which they ascend the river. It is to be remarked, that the separation of the two rivers is at half a league from *Genné*; and *Genné* is situated between the two rivers like an island. One of these rivers runs into *Bambarra*, and the other goes to *Betoo*, which is a country inhabited by a people of a reddish colour, who are always at war with the *Bambarras*. When they go out to war against the *Bambarras*, they are always five months absent. After the barks of *Genné* have gone a great distance up the river, they arrive at the fall of *Sootasoo*, where they stop and can proceed no further. There they unload their salt and other merchandise, and carry them upon the backs of asses, and upon their heads to the other side of the fall, where they find the large boats of the Negroes, which they freight; and ascend the river to the country of the *Mandingoes*, who are called *Malins*, and who are near to the rock *Gouvina*.’ p. 195, 196, note.

The gentleman who obtained this information, says, that during his residence at Senegal, of three or four years, he was at great pains to verify it by various inquiries; and that from the result of these, as well as from his confidence in the character and talents of the person who procured it for him, he had an entire reliance upon its accuracy. It is confirmed,

moreover, in some material points, by Mungo Park; nevertheless, it appears to be, in one particular, tinged with that love of the marvellous, which prevails in almost all accounts of Tombuctoo previous to the narrative of Adams. The houses are described as having three or four stories, contrary to the express and distinct statement of Adams. The account of the boats, and navigation generally, agrees completely with his, and is at variance with all the other tales, so easily invented, and so greedily swallowed, of square-rigged vessels driving a prodigious inland commerce.

The second part of the Appendix is well deserving of attention. It gives an account of the three races, *Berrebbers*, *Arabs*, and *Moors*, who inhabit Western Barbary. The first are the descendants of the original inhabitants before the Arabian conquest; their language varies in its dialects, but all of them are entirely different from the Arabic; and Mr Dupuis offers no conjectures whether or not they may be corruptions of the ancient Punic and Numidian. The *Shilluh*, or Berrebbers of the South, differ from the other tribes in appearance, and are distinguished by more warmth of attachment, as well as vehemence of passion. Nor are they ever known to violate the security of any person or property furnished with their protection. He relates a remarkable anecdote of this tribe.

‘ A Shilluh having murdered one of his countrymen in a quarrel, fled to the Arabs from the vengeance of the relations of his antagonist: but not thinking himself secure even there, he joined a party of pilgrims, and went to Mecca. From this expiatory journey he returned at the end of eight or nine years to Barbary; and, proceeding to his native district, he there sought (under the sanctified name of *El Haje*, the *Pilgrim*, a title of reverence amongst the Moham-medans) to effect a reconciliation with the friends of the deceased. They, however, upon hearing of his return, attempted to seize him; but, owing to the fleetness of his horse, he escaped and fled to Mogadore, having been severely wounded by a musket ball in his flight. His pursuers followed him thither; but the Governor of Mogadore hearing the circumstances of the case, strongly interested himself in behalf of the fugitive, and endeavoured, but in vain, to effect a reconciliation. The man was imprisoned; and his persecutors then hastened to Morocco to seek justice of the Emperor. That prince, it is said, endeavoured to save the prisoner; and to add weight to his recommendation, offered a pecuniary compensation in lieu of the offender’s life; which the parties, although persons of mean condition, rejected. They returned triumphant to Mogadore, with the Emperor’s order for the delivery of the prisoner into their hands: and having taken him out of prison, they immediately conveyed him without the walls of the town, where one of the party, loading his musket before the face of their victim, placed the muzzle to his breast

and shot him through the body; but as the man did not immediately fall, he drew his dagger, and by repeated stabbing put an end to his existence. The calm intrepidity with which this unfortunate Shilluh stood to meet his fate, could not be witnessed without the highest admiration; and, however much we must detest the blood-thirstiness of his executioners, we must still acknowledge that there is something closely allied to nobleness of sentiment in the inflexible perseverance with which they pursued the murderer of their friend to punishment, without being diverted from their purpose by the strong inducements of self-interest.' p. 214, 215.

Excepting that Berrebbers of the North are more robust than the Shilluh, 'a strong family likeness runs through all their tribes. Their customs, dispositions, and national character are nearly the same; they are all equally tenacious of the independence which their local positions enable them to assume; and all are animated with the same inveterate and hereditary hatred against their common enemy the Arab. They invariably reside in houses, or hovels, built of stone and timber, which are generally situated on some commanding eminence, and are fortified and loop-holed for self-defence. Their usual mode of warfare is to surprise their enemy, rather than overcome him by an open attack; they are reckoned the best marksmen, and possess the best fire-arms in Barbary, which renders them a very destructive enemy wherever the country affords shelter and concealment; but although they are always an overmatch for the Arabs when attacked in their own rugged territory, they are obliged, on the other hand, to relinquish the plains to the Arab cavalry, against which the Berrebbers are unable to stand on open ground. (p. 216.)

The *Arabs*, the descendants of the Mahometan conquerors, are cultivators of the soil, according to their proverb, that '*the earth is the Arab's portion.*' Their character differs from that of the Berreber, in being more open and violent, for we presume this is the meaning of '*a more generous cast.*' (p. 218.) When they have the power, they prey upon all strangers to their tribe and religion, 'carrying devastation and destruction wherever they go, sparing neither age nor sex, and even ripping open the dead bodies of their victims, to discover whether they have not swallowed their riches for the purposes of concealment.'

The *Moors* are a mixed race, if we rightly understand the author, inhabiting the towns, and descended from the Berrebbers, the Arabs, the Negroes, and the Arabs expelled from Spain. As the two former tribes are cultivators of the soil, and feeders of cattle, the latter are chiefly occupied with the pursuits of trade.

Upon the whole, we regard this volume as a very important accession to our knowledge of the African Continent. If there are no details of extraordinary interest respecting the interior, it is because the stories formerly told of Tombuctoo, were mere visions of the imagination; and the narrative of Adams has dispelled such illusions. This is the principal value of the book; and it is a great one. We draw another inference from it, and from the interesting notices of Mr Dupuis—that there seems more prospect than ever of the expeditions now sent out, prosecuting successfully their discoveries in the interior, and that much may be done by sending intelligent natives, either Moors or Negroes, by the usual caravans. The mild treatment experienced by Adams among the Negro tribes, shows how safe and easy the examination of the central region might prove, as soon as the deserts which surround and cut them off from the coast are passed; and the intelligent observations collected from natives of different classes, and even from a very illiterate and ordinary seaman, show, that in order to convey some useful and interesting details, there is no necessity for a scientific traveller.

While our hopes of information are thus raised, it must be admitted, that, in the same proportion, all the sanguine prospects of new channels for our commerce are overcast. They who expected to have a Mexico or Peru opened to their speculations in the heart of Africa, must now turn away from that Continent with some disappointment. In truth, their mistakes are not confined to the old hemisphere; the trade of South America falls almost as much below their golden dreams as that of Tombuctoo; and, instead of an avenue to mines of gold, it only opens to them the slow though sure benefits which must be derived from the progress of the South Americans in the arts that furnish means of carrying on a foreign trade of large extent, as soon as the European monopoly shall set their industry free. A still more slow progress of the same kind may render the Africans valuable customers to Europe, after Europe shall have ceased to drive a detestable traffic in their flesh and blood.

ART. VI. *The Life of James the II., &c. collected out of Memoirs, Writ of his own Hand, &c. Published from the Stuart MSS., at Carleton House.* By the Reverend JAMES STANIER CLARKE, &c. London. 2 vol. 4to. Longman & Co.

■ this publication is of considerable importance to those who critically study the History of England, we shall endea-

your to give our readers a full and plain account of the materials which compose it. It has long been known, that James II. left behind him some narrative of the events in which he was concerned. The first mention of it, with which we are acquainted, is by Burnet, who, in his account of James's first marriage, tells us,—‘ He ’ (the Duke of York) ‘ had a great desire to understand affairs; and, in order to that, *he kept a constant Journal of all that passed, of which he showed me a great deal.* ’—‘ The Dutchess of York was a very extraordinary woman. She had great knowledge, and a lively sense of things. She soon understood what belonged to a Princess,—and took state on her rather too much. She writ well, and *had begun the Duke's Life, of which she showed me a volume. It was all drawn from his Journal.* And he intended to have employed me in carrying it on.’ The Dutchess of York died in 1671.

The next public notice of James II.'s Memoirs, is in a history of Marshal Turenne, published at Paris in 1735, and written by Andrew Ramsay a Jacobite gentleman, and a writer of some note in his own time, who, having been created a Scotch Baronet by the Pretender, and having obtained the French order of St Michel by the interposition of the same Prince, is commonly known by the name of the Chevalier Ramsay. In the second volume of that work is an extract from James's Memoirs, extending to a hundred and fifty pages, containing an account of his campaigns in the French army under Turenne, and in the Spanish army in the Netherlands under Condé, from 1652 to the peace of the Pyrenees. Prefixed to this part of the work is an introductory note by the Cardinal de Bouillon at Rome, on the 16th of February 1715, from which we learn, that he received it from King James at St Germain, on the 1st of January 1696, as a mark of that Monarch's gratitude and reverence for Turenne, on condition that it should be shown to no other person during the life of the King. At the end is a certificate, dated on the 24th December 1734, by the Superiors of the Scotch College at Paris, viz. Louis Inesse, late Principal; C. Whiteford, Principal; Thomas Inesse, Sub-Principal; Alexander Smith, Prefect of Studies;—testifying, that ‘ the above Memoirs of James II. are conformable to the original English Memoirs, *written by his Majesty's own hand, and preserved in virtue of a warrant subscribed by him in the Archives of our said College.* ’ They also state, that the ‘ above ’ MSS., given by the King to the Cardinal, written and translated by Mr Dempster, one of the King's Secretaries, but revised and corrected by the King, agrees in every respect but style, and the order of the narrative, with another translation made by order of the Queen Dowager, signed by her, countersigned by Lord Caryl

and delivered by Louis Inesse, on the 15th January 1705, to the Cardinal de Bouillon, who, it appears, had mislaid the original translation presented to him by the King, which he did not recover till he was at Rome in 1715.

Thus far, then, the history of James's original MSS. is perfectly satisfactory. The earlier part of them were seen by Burnet before 1671. A considerable extract from that part was attested by James himself in 1696. On the 24th of March 1701, the King, by his warrant, directed the custody of the 'original Memoirs, *writt in our own hand,*' to be committed 'to Louis Inesse, Principal of the Scotch College, and to his successors in the Government of the said College.' In 1705 we find them in the College. On the 12th of January 1707, we find a warrant for the removal of that part of 'his Majesty's Memoirs and other papers, written in his own hand,' which relates to 1678 and the subsequent period, to St Germain's, for some months. We have also seen a promise of the son of James II., written on the 9th November 1707, to settle, within six months after his restoration, an estate producing a hundred pounds Sterling by the year in France, on the Scotch college at Paris, 'where the original Memoirs and MSS. of our Royal Father are deposited, by his especial warrant.' In 1734 these papers continued in the same custody. All this is clear and indisputable.

Hitherto the external evidence is confined to the King's original Memoirs: but we have lately seen an authentic document, which ascertains, that at least in the year 1740 there existed another MS. more immediately connected with the present publication. It is a despatch, dated at Rome on the 10th January 1740, from James Edgar, then the Pretender's Secretary, to Thomas Carte, who devoted himself to toil and danger during his whole life for the House of Stuart, and compiled his History of England to promote their restoration. It is of the following tenor. 'The King is pleased, by this post, to send directions to Messrs Innes, to give you the perusal at the Scots College at Paris, of the Complete Life of the late King his father; *writt by Mr Dicconson in consequence of royal orders, all taken out of and supported by the late King's MSS.*' There can be little doubt that the Life here spoken of is the very Narrative now before us; and until evidence be offered to the contrary, it is reasonable to conclude that Carte saw only the compilation, and was not allowed to peruse the King's original Memoirs. There are, indeed, a few particulars of no moment in Carte's extracts, published by Macpherson, to which we have not found any parallel passages in the present publication. (See i. Mac. 51—68—111.) More diligent search however might perhaps show, that

these, like all the rest, are extracted from it. If the result should be different, it may seem reasonable to infer, that Carte had access to other papers besides the Life, and that these passages are taken from the original Memoirs. If the passages had been numerous and important, more especially if they had related to events of a secret nature, such a conclusion would have appeared perfectly satisfactory. But Carte, who passed his life with Jacobites, might easily have gleaned a few unimportant particulars from their conversation, and inserted them in the order of time, as connected with his extracts from the Life of James. They might have been even communicated to him by the Superiors of the Scotch College, with an assurance that they were contained in the original Memoirs, which were not to be shown to him. From the general tenor of Carte's and Macpherson's extracts, it is apparent that they are copied or abridged from the Life before us. The probability that there are exceptions in Carte's extracts, seems extremely faint. We have not yet discovered a single proof that any of those of Macpherson are from another source. This order to Carte is mentioned by Macpherson in the preface to his State Papers, with his characteristic inaccuracy and confidence. 'Having obtained an order from Rome to inspect such papers in the Scotch Colleges as LAY OPEN he made large and accurate extracts from the *Life of James II. written in that prince's own hand.*' The words 'lay open,' which Macpherson prints in capital letters, are an addition of his own. The reader has already seen, that the order was to see the Life of James, not written by himself, but compiled from his own Memoirs by another writer; and that the title 'Memoirs' is always used to distinguish the King's own Narrative from the compilation called his Life. We shall presently see that there is too much reason to ascribe these mistatements to a purpose.

In the early editions of Mr Hume's History, he 'was obliged to acknowledge (though there remains no direct evidence of it) that a formal plan was laid in 1670 for changing the religion, and subverting the constitution of England; and that Charles II.' his brother, and 'the ministry, were in reality conspirators against the people.' When Mr Hume went afterwards to Paris as secretary to Lord Hertford's embassy, his station and his character procured him access to the papers in the Scotch College, which were perhaps no longer so jealously kept secret, after the last shadow of regal pretension in the House of Stuart had vanished, at the death of the son of James II. In the edition of 1770, he has accordingly added a note, in which we are informed that 'since the publication of this His-

tory, the author has had occasion to see the most direct and positive evidence of this conspiracy. From the humanity and candour of the Principal of the Scotch College at Paris, he was admitted to peruse James the Second's *Memoirs* kept there. *They amount to several volumes of small folio, all writ with that prince's own hand,* &c. &c. From this description, marked by the careful minuteness of a man of judgment and integrity, it is obvious, that the MSS. which Mr Hume perused were the '*Memoirs,*' and not the '*Life.*' It coincides with the more minute account of James's papers which is found in Lord Holland's Introduction to Mr Fox's History.

The next person who is known to have seen these papers, and the first who published any considerable part of them, was Macpherson. Though, as a publisher of such large extracts, he was bound to have given a far more minute and distinct description of them than that which had been given by Mr Hume, his account is in fact unfortunately distinguished by that unsatisfactory vagueness—that indisposition to state the sources of his information fully and candidly—that tone of disregard for the public, and defiance of the most reasonable demands of criticism, which have thrown so deep a shade over his literary probity. In this important instance, as in others, he seems to have chosen to affect a disdain of suspicions, rather than to silence them—and to resent accusations which it would have been wiser to confute. In particular, he suppresses the material distinction between the two MSS. in the Scotch College;—the *Memoirs* written by the hand of James the Second, and the *Life* collected from them and other sources, after the death of that Prince, by an anonymous compiler. He uses the words '*Life of James the Second*' and '*King James's Memoirs,*' indifferently—as if they were phrases denoting the same manuscript. He gives his readers to understand that his extracts were from the King's *Memoirs*, which there is reason to believe that he never saw. He entirely keeps out of view the great difference between the facts which rest on the testimony of the King, and those which are supported only by the authority (if that word may be used) of an anonymous Jacobite writer, in a work composed long after most of the events to which it relates. Yet many of his extracts, if not all, are certainly made from the compilation which professes to be '*collected out of Memoirs writ of his own hand.*' The practical importance of the distinction thus suppressed, will speedily appear in more than one remarkable instance. At present, it is sufficient to have remarked the suppression as an example of disingenuousness which it is not easy to parallel, in a work pretending to an historical character.

Nothing farther was known to the public concerning these papers, till the journey of Mr Fox to Paris in 1802. By his inquiries, three material points were ascertained;—that the Memoirs of James, placed in the Scotch College after his death, and which were there at the time of the French Revolution, consisted of *ten volumes*, a number corresponding to the marginal references in the narrative before us; *—that Macpherson never saw the original Memoirs, from which he wished his readers to believe that all his extracts were made;—and that all the Journals of James the Second, together with all the Stuart Papers in the Scotch College, except a copy of the narrative of the Life, had been committed to the flames at the country-house of M. Charpentier, near St Omers, where they had been sent from Paris, for the purpose of safe transmission to England. This gentleman, dreading the consequences which, in the horrible tyranny of 1793, might have been brought upon him by the custody of the MSS. of a King, richly bound and decorated by the Royal arms, thought their destruction necessary to his safety. Earl Gower, then the British Ambassador at Paris, had offered to Principal Gordon to take charge of King James's papers, and to deposit them in some place of safety in Britain. Bishop Cameron, who communicated this information to Lord Holland, did not know what answer was returned; 'but nothing was done.' The truth is, that Principal Gordon said that the papers could not be sent, unless Lord Gower would also undertake to convey to England the plate, &c. of the College. A condition, which, in the state of France at that time, must have endangered the secure return of the embassy, was naturally declined. Notwithstanding some obscure surmises to the contrary, it seems but too probable, that these curious materials of English history are now to be considered as for ever lost. The descendants of Jacobite emigrants in France still possess some papers of more or less curiosity and importance. A duplicate of the *Life* of James escaped the destruction of the Royal Journals at St Omers, and found its way into the hands of Dr Cameron, a respectable Catholic Prelate, who resides in Edinburgh. Before quitting this part of the subject, it is proper to call the attention of the public more distinctly to the circumstance, that Mr Fox 'ascertained, beyond all doubt, from the testimony of the principal persons of the Scotch College, that Macpherson never saw the original Journals;' and to add, that

* The narrative mentions distinctly nine volumes of Memoirs in the text, and, besides Letters, refers to another MS. by James, entitled 'Loose Sheets,' making up the number of ten.

the testimony of these respectable persons, which requires no corroboration, is supported by a comparison of Macpherson's extracts with the present narrative.

When the destruction of the most important papers of the Stuart family remaining in France was thus ascertained, curiosity was naturally directed towards Italy, which, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, had been the asylum of the last Princes of that House. At the death of Charles, the last person known in our laws by the designation of Pretender, he bequeathed his papers, neither to his widow the Countess of Albany, nor to his brother the Cardinal, but to his daughter by a Scotch Lady, with whom he had contracted an unwedded and irregular marriage. This daughter, on whom he had conferred the title of Dutchess of Albany, at her death bequeathed the papers to the Abbate Waters, Procurator-General of the English Benedictines in Italy. Sir John Cox Hippisley having seen these papers during his residence in that country, suggested the propriety of their being purchased by the Prince of Wales, who, having consulted Mr Fox on the subject, authorized that gentleman to direct Sir John Hippisley to purchase the MSS. from Waters. That direction was conveyed in Mr Fox's letter to Sir John, of the 5th October 1804. The papers were, in consequence, purchased from Waters, for an annuity of 100*l.*, of which he lived to receive only the first half yearly payment. They were immediately removed to Civita Vecchia, where they were deposited in the hands of a British merchant. But such was the rigour of the Continental system, that notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the British officers serving in the Mediterranean, it was found impossible, during the succeeding six years, to convey these Manuscripts to England. It was not accomplished at last without much toil, and some risk. Mr Bonelli, a picture-dealer, was despatched into Italy in 1810. He found means, by the assistance of the Abbate Macpherson, to convey them to Leghorn; from thence by a Tunisian vessel to Tunis; and from Tunis, by Malta, to London, where they finally arrived about the beginning of 1813.

All the confidential papers of the Stuart family, from 1688 to 1712, appear to have been left at Paris, with King James's Memoirs, a copy of the life compiled from them, and of the advice of that Prince to his son. A considerable number of confidential papers, from 1712 to 1719, were also kept in France by Naine, who was the Queen Dowager's Secretary till her death.

No copy of the King's Memoirs appears to have been sent to Italy. But a duplicate of the Life, and a copy of the advice of

James to his son, with some formal papers and ceremonial letters between 1688 and 1712, and the greater part of the confidential correspondence after 1712, and the whole after 1719, were in the possession of Prince Charles Stuart, and, in the manner already described, came into the library of the Prince Regent. The duplicate of the life, and the copy of the advice, are the materials of the present publication.

When the life was compiled, and who was the compiler, are questions which naturally present themselves to every reader. The second it is not possible to answer with much precision. The solution of the first is not very difficult, with respect at least to all the part of it which is subsequent to 1678. The following passage in the narrative of the year 1660, is important in this view.

‘We must not forget to mention, in this year, so extraordinary a passage in the Duke’s life, as was *his first marriage* with the Lord Chancellor’s daughter. Extraordinary, indeed, both in itself, and in the consequences, both good and bad, which, in process of time, followed from it.’ 1st Life James II. p. 387.

The first sentence is evidently written after the second marriage of James; and the second sentence seems to allude to the conduct of his daughters Mary and Anne at the Revolution. At least it is not very obvious to what other distant bad consequences of the second marriage the writer can allude. It is evident, that the extracts given to the Cardinal de Bouillon in 1696 and 1705 were from the King’s own Memoirs,—from which it seems probable that the life was not compiled at either of these periods. More precise information is afforded by a passage of the present work, in which the writer vents his indignation against the story of the supposititious birth of the son of James. ‘Never child had a greater resemblance of his parents, both in body and mind, than *his present Majesty* has of the *late King* his Father, and of the Queen his Mother.’ 2d Life James II. p. 195.

It is perfectly certain that the above sentence was written after the death of King James, and before the death of his Queen.* This brings the composition within the first seventeen years of the 18th century. Some other circumstances narrow it still farther. By the quotation from the third volume of Lord Clarendon’s History, in vol. II. p. 610, it appears, that it was not at least concluded till before the publication of that vo-

* Not, as the worthy Editor supposes, ‘after the death of James II, and that of his Queen,’ which would have left us without any means of conjecturing how modern the Life might be.

time, which was not until 1704. The total absence of all allusion to the House of Hanover, is a decisive proof that it was composed before their accession to the Throne. A Jacobite writer at St Germain's, after the accession of George I., could not have resisted the temptation of indulging himself in those angry allusions and acrimonious invectives against the Brunswick family, which were then universally prevalent among his party. The same feelings which prompt him to inveigh against William III. and the Princesses Mary and Anne, for the deposition of James II., would not have been inactive at the preference of so distant a branch of the Royal Family over the legitimate pretensions of James III. From the tone of acrimony in which Queen Anne is treated, we may almost certainly conclude, that the work was finished before the change of administration and of principles in 1710, after which a Jacobite would undoubtedly have spoken of her with more lenity. All these considerations combine to render it highly probable, that this narrative was written between 1704 and 1710; and as we find that the King's Memoirs were removed by warrant from his son to St Germain's in January 1707, *for some months*, where in fact they appear to have remained till November in that year, it does not seem an improbable conjecture that the compilation was then completed.

There are much fewer means of conjecturing the name of the writer. The tradition of the Scotch College which ascribes it to Mr Thomas Innes, deserves great respect. That gentleman was Sub-principal of the College in 1734. The chain of tradition from that period to 1802 is not composed of many links. Mr Thomas Innes, the author of 'a Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland,' was the first who introduced reason and sound criticism into Scottish antiquities, in which he has unfortunately had very few followers. He laments, in his Preface to 'the Essay,' that by a long residence in a foreign country, he had lost the purity and facility of his native language.' It is singular that so little should be known of a person, who certainly possessed considerable talents, and whose work made an epoch in one branch of the historical literature of Scotland. His claim to be the compiler of this narrative is liable to no serious objection, but that which arises from Edgar's letter to Carte, in which it is said to be 'writ by Mr Dicconson;'—a gentleman, we believe, of a Catholic family in Lancashire, who followed James II. into exile; was appointed Sub-governor to his son in October 1701; afterwards became Sub-treasurer to the Queen-dowager, and is said to have died at St Germain's between 1730 and 1740. Edgar might mean

only, that the Life was copied by Mr Dicconson; though the more natural import of his letter is, that it was composed by that gentleman, whose station did not make it likely that he should be a copyist. As the custody of the papers was committed to Lewis Innes, merely in his official character as Principal of the Scotch College, it was no mark of personal confidence, and no presumption that he was the writer. There is one Scotchism which might have been a proof of the country of the writer, if it had not been found in the part which is copied from the original memoirs of James himself. ‘My Lord Dartmouth had been to the westward to look out for the enemies fleet in Torbay; he got the length of that Bay.’ 2d Life James II. p. 230, from King Jam. Mem. tom. 9. p. 242. There are many other deviations from English use, as ‘accustomed,’ ‘espace,’ ‘rassured,’ &c.—but they are faults into which, from disuse of the language, and the habit of speaking another might have betrayed an Englishman, nearly, if not quite as soon as a Scotchman. It is indeed probable, that offences of this sort would have been more abundant, if the narrative, according to the tradition of the College, had not been revised by Charles Dryden, the son of the Poet.

The result of these few remarks is, that we know not the compiler of the narrative; that it probably was either Dicconson or Innes, and that the balance inclines to the side of Innes. The present editor indeed speaks frequently and familiarly of a person whom he designates as ‘the King’s Private Secretary,’ and to whom he chooses to ascribe the compilation. But the reader must not infer from this language, that either the editor or any other person knows any thing of the matter, and is in the least entitled to assert, or even to guess, that the writer was a Secretary, or a person who wrote under the King’s directions, or that the principal part of the narrative was written during the King’s life. We have already seen that the contrary is certain of a considerable part, and probable concerning the far larger portion.

Different parts of the narrative are so variously composed, that the dissimilarity may lead to a suspicion of the whole not being the work of the same hand. Generally speaking, it consists of three unequal parts, without a careful discrimination of which it is impossible to form an estimate of its value. The first consists of extracts from the Memoirs of King James, referring to the volume and page from which they are extracted, and marked as literal quotations by inverted commas. In the second, the narration of the text is supported by reference to the volume and page of the King’s Memoirs as the authority, though without

any extracts from these Memoirs, which are apparently abridged in the language of the compiler. The *third* is supported by no references to authorities, and must therefore rest on the personal credit of the anonymous writer, unless as far as it may be supported either by intrinsic probability, or by coincidence with other creditable testimony. The proportion of these ingredients is very different, in different parts of the work. The occurrences from the birth of the King, to the Restoration of his brother, occupied the three first volumes of his original Memoirs; the first of two hundred and sixty-one pages, the second of a hundred and sixty, and the third of a hundred and fifty-two. Almost the whole of these three volumes of Memoirs appear to have been transferred into the narrative of which they form the first Vol. in MSS., closing at Vol. I, p. 382 of this publication. His campaigns with the French and Spanish armies, amounting to more than a third of the whole, are avowedly related in his own words; and in the other parts of the narrative, the references to the Memoirs are so numerous and minute, that it is reasonable to consider the Memoirs as an authority for the whole relation. No other authority, at any rate, is quoted or referred to. The margin of few pages is without two references; that of some has four, five, or even seven. Perhaps this first volume may have been the abridgement of the King's Memoirs, composed by the Dutchess of York, and examined by Burnet. There are some circumstances which appear to countenance such a supposition. It can hardly be imagined that the King would destroy or neglect a narrative written by his wife. It is probable therefore, that it was one of the MSS. sent by him from London through the Tuscan Envoy at the time of the Revolution. It is certain that all these MSS. reached him at St Germain. From the note to Lord Holland's Introduction, it appears not to have been one of the MSS. lodged in the Scotch College at Paris, in virtue of James's warrant. Unless, therefore, it be the first volume of this MSS. there is no account of its fate. It is in other respects distinguishable from the sequel. It has few, if any allusions to succeeding events, and nothing of that anger and asperity which naturally pervaded the composition of a Jacobite emigrant in the reign of Queen Anne. It seems evidently not to be the production of the same person who compiled the greater part of the narrative. If it was written by the daughter of Lord Clarendon, it is no great praise to her to say, that she inherited somewhat more of her father's historical talent than fell to the share of her brother the second Earl. Her part (if she had any) must have closed at the Restoration; for immediately after is an account of her marriage, which she could

not have approved, and which must have been written after her death, and probably after the Revolution. From this period the narrative hitherto employed on personal adventures becomes political and acrimonious. From the Restoration to the Popish Plot, it is comprised in the disproportionate space of a hundred and fifty pages. It is distinguished from the preceding and succeeding parts, by the important peculiarity of containing no extracts from the King's Memoirs, and no marginal references to them or any other authority.

With the narrative of the Popish plot, recommence the quotations from the King's Memoirs, which more or less continue to the end of the work. It is observable, that the warrant for the removal of papers to St Germain's, comprehends only papers of 1678 and the subsequent years. Finding an entirely new system of narration begin at this period, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that a new writer was employed on the succeeding, which is both the larger and the more important part. The references to the King's Memoirs, in 1678, agree to the 7th and 8th volumes. To the 4th, 5th, or 6th, there are no references. From these three volumes, the writer of that part of the Life, which extends from 1660 to 1678, probably formed his narrative; but, as he did not condescend, like his predecessor and successor, to quote his authorities, the value of his relation is materially lowered, as indeed it seems more cursory and shallow than the rest of the work. It contains marks, too many to be enumerated, of having been written a considerable time after the events. They are minute, but, taken together, will appear decisive to a careful reader; and they point to a time subsequent to the Revolution. The account of the naval actions in the first and second Dutch wars; of James's change of religion; of the conversion and death of the Dutchess of York, and of his second marriage; and the scandalous anecdotes of Monmouth's birth, are likely to have been taken from the King's Memoirs.

That the relation of the secret treaty with France should have fallen to the lot of a compiler so careless as to afford us no means of ascertaining whether he borrowed his narrative of that most important transaction from the King's Memoirs, in whole or in part, would have been an irreparable misfortune, if the testimony of Mr Hume, who certainly perused the original Memoirs, had not coincided with the account in this work. The extract in Macpherson contains nothing that he might not have found in the Life. Carte's notes of this treaty are so short, that they would be scarcely intelligible to any one who had not read a fuller account.

* In the beginning of 1669, the Duke of York sent for Father Simons, a learned English Jesuit, whom he wished to consult about

the proper means of being reconciled to the Church of Rome. The Father very sincerely told him, that unless he would quit the communion of the Church of England, he could not be received into the Catholic Church. The Duke thought it might be done by a dispensation from the Pope, alleging the advantage to the Catholic religion, and, in particular, to those of it in England, if he might have such a dispensation for outwardly appearing a Protestant, at least till he could own himself publicly to be a Catholic, with more security to his own person, and advantage to them. But the good Father insisted, that even the Pope himself had not the power to grant it; for it was an unalterable doctrine of the Catholic Church, not to do ill that good might follow. What this good Jesuit thus said, was afterwards confirmed to the Duke by the Pope himself, to whom he wrote upon the same subject. Life James II. vol. I. p. 440. 441.

The Duke having been thus informed by this respectable and singular Jesuit, that he could not conscientiously profess a religion which he did not believe, no other expedient, unfortunately, occurred to him for the relief of his conscience, than that of a conspiracy, which would inevitably lead him through falsehood, fraud and blood, to impose on the majority of the people of England the necessity of practising that very hypocritical profanation against which he had himself been honestly warned. On the 25th of January 1669, the King, the Duke of York, the Lords Arundel and Arlington, with Sir Thomas Clifford, secretly met in the Duke's closet, to advise 'about the ways and methods for advancing the Catholic religion.'

'When they were met, according to the King's appointment, he declared his mind to them on the matter of religion, and repeated what he had newly before said to the Duke, how uneasy it was to him not to profess the faith he believed, and that he had called them together to have their advice about the ways and methods fittest to be taken for the settling of the Catholic religion in his kingdoms, and to consider of the time most proper to declare himself; telling them, withall, that no time ought to be lost; that he was to expect to meet with many and great difficultys in bringing it about, and that he chose rather to undertake it now, when he and his brother were in their full strength, and able to undergo any fatigue, than to delay it till they were grown older and less fitt to go thorow with so great a design. This he spake with great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes; and added, that they were to go about it as wise men and good Catholics ought to do.

'The consultation lasted long; and the result was, that there was no better way for doing this great work, than to do it in conjunction with France, and with the assistance of his Most Christian Majesty, the House of Austria not being in condition to help in it; and, in pursuance of this resolution, Mons. de Croÿ Colbert, the French Ambassador, was to be trusted with the secret, in order to inform his

master of it, that he might receive a power to treat about it with our King. The doing of this took up much time; for the treaty held on, not only here, but also Lord Arundel was sent into France, to conferr with that King, and to conclude the treaty: Sir Richard Beling was entrusted to draw the articles, and to do the part of a Secretary in that negociation.

' The treaty was not finally concluded and signed till about the beginning of 1670, the purport of which was, that the *French King was to give two hundred thousand pounds a year by quarterly payments*, the first of which to begin when the ratifications were exchanged, to enable the King to begin the work in England: That when the *Catholick religion was settled here, our King was to joyn with France in making war upon Holland*: That in case of success, France was to have such a part as was stipulated; the Prince of Orange such a share; and England was to have *Sluce, Cassant and Walkeren*, with the rest of the sea-ports as far as *Maesland Sluce*. The French had a great mind to have begun with the war of Holland first; but Lord Arundel being sent again over into France, convinced that King of the necessity of beginning first with the Catholicity here: And so it was at last adjusted, and the first payments began according to the articles.

' All this was transacted with the last secrecy; and, in preparation thereunto, Collonel Fitzgerald, lately come from Tanger, where he had been governor, was to have a new regiment of foot raised for him, and such officers chosen for it as might be confided in. His regiment was to put into Yarmouth, and he made governor of that important town. The Earle of Bath was governor of Plymouth, Lord Bellasis of Hull, Lord Widdrington of Berwick, all of them in whom the King might confide. The fleet and Portsmouth were in the Duke's hands; nor was the generality of the Church-of-England men at that time very averse to Catholick religion. Many that went under that name had their religion to chuse, and went to church for company's sake. The few troops that were on foot were look'd upon as well affected; and their officers, all except Collonel Russel, such as would serve the Crown without grumbleing or asking questions. The rigorous Church-of-England men were let loose, and encouraged, underhand, to protect according to the law the Nonconformists, to the end that these might be more sensible of the ease they should have when the Catholics prevailed. But how all this design came to faile, an account shall be given in its proper place. The Duke of Buckingham, finding himself every day sinking lower and lower in the King's esteem and confidence, and that his application to his R. H. by the Earle of Berkshire (who, as I should have said before, was introduced by the Earle of Peterborow) had no effect; and also finding that his friend Lord Arlington had, in the same manner, made his addresses to the Duke with better success; and knowing, withall, the great credit which Madame the Dutchess of Orleans had with our King, he thought

he could not be better supported or buoyed up, than by her favour towards him; and the better to introduce himself, he entered into a treaty with Monsieur de Rouvigny (who was at that time the King of France's minister in England, who mistakingly thought that Duke to be still in his former favour with the King) about a stricter alliance between England and France, to be transacted with all secrecy, only between that Duke on our King's part, and Madame for the King of France. In prosecution whereof, he sent over his great confident Sir Ellis Leighton, with recommendations from Monsieur de Rouvigny, to manage affaires with Madame. *In the mean time, the King kept the secret, and suffered this mock treaty to go on, that he might the better cover the real one, of which neither Madame nor that Duke had the least knowledge; whose chief drift in his own new project was to keep himself up at the head of the ministry.*

' This management was made a secret to his R. H. and to Lord Arlington. But after Sir Ellis was come back from France, and had settled a correspondence with Madame, his R. H. came accidentally to the knowledge of it, and at last received a full account of the whole transaction from Sir Ellis Leighton himself; and then gave notice of it to Lord Arlington; which served not a little to make the breach wider between him and the Duke of Buckingham, and to make him more firm in his R. H. interest, (whereunto Sir Thomas Clifford, that Lord's great friend, and a very stout and loyall man, did very much contribute), tho' he still supported the creatures he had brought in, in opposition to the Duke.' *1st Life James II. p. 442-445.*

' About the beginning of May in the same year, Madame, the King's only sister now living, came to Dover to meet her brother, which she had long desired to do, and which was now made easy to her, upon the King of France's coming then into Flanders to visit his new conquests: But this her journey prov'd to be unfortunate in many respects, and not only hurtfull to our King's affaires in general, but particularly to those good measures (which) had been taken as to the Catholick religion. I have already mentioned how the private treaty was signed and exchanged by the two Kings, and that some of the mony, in pursuance of it, had been paid to the King; for tho' the French allways shewed a strong inclination to have their own work done first, and to begin with the war against Holland, yet that King yielded at last to the convincing reasons that were given him to the contrary, as has already been said. But now again, still looking upon it as more advantageous for their own temporall concerns, to change those measures then taken, and knowing the great influence which, in all likelyhood, Madame would have upon the King her brother, it was resolved, by his Most Christian Majesty, to make use of her to bring that about which he so much desired: For which reason he consented to her journey, tho' formerly he had been adverse to her making a visite to her brother in England, as also Monsieur was, for reasons of his own. She very

willingly undertook this commission, hoping thereby further to ingratiate herself with that King, and to be more considered in France, by shewing the power she had over the King her brother. She had indeed a mind to stay in England, not only out of love to her brother, but she presumed upon his temper and the ascendant she should have over him; and beleaved, that if once she could compass her living with him, she might govern all things here.

When her coming over was first proposed, the Duke did not like it, fearing the ill consequences it might have, and afterwards did happen; and as dexterously as he could, without appearing downright against it, he did his utmost to binder it, but without effect. Also an accident happen'd at that time, which did very much facilitate Madame's prevailing upon the King her brother; for a late new act of Parliament coming just at that time to be put in execution against Conventicles, the King thought it necessary to leave the Duke behind him in London, to prevent any disorder that might happen upon the first Sunday in which the Conventicles were to be shutt up and suppres'd, which fell upon the 10th of May; so that Madame arrived at Dover three or four days before the Duke could come thither. In which time, she had so prevail'd with the King, that, when the Duke arrived there, he found all the former measures broken, and the resolution taken to begin out of hand with the war with Holland; and it was no little surprise to his R. H. that both Lord Arlington and Sir Thomas Clifford, being gained by Madame, had concurred in it, who were the only two there present that knew of the secret treaty. They, meeting the Duke upon his first entring into Dover, before he had seen the King, told him what had been done; who answer'd them, he was very sorry for it, for he was sure it would quite defeat the Catholic design; because, when once his Majty was engaged in such an expensive war as that would be, and was not absolute master of affaires at home, he unavoidably would run in debt, and *must then be at the mercy of his Parliament*, which, as matters had been ordered, were not likely to be in very good humour; and therfor, tho they had given very large supplys for the former Dutch war, in all probability they would not do the same now, since that war was of their own proposall, whereas this is undertaken without their advice, and (in) conjunction with France; for which reason alone, they would not approve of it; and besides, it would give them a jealousy and suspicion of what was further intended. They answered; That as to what his R. H. feared of the King's running in debt, there would be no danger of it, since his Majty being to have fifty ships out, to which the French were to joyn thirty, that charge might be easily supported by the customes, which they reckoned at six hundred thousand pounds, and that such a fleet, they thought, would be sufficient to deal with the Dutch; and that if the war succeeded, it was not much matter what people suspected. The Duke told them, he was sure they took wrong measures as to the sea expence, for tho

the number of ships they mentioned might cost no more, and that he thought he should be able to look the Dutch in the face with eighty such ships as those, and fire ships proportionable; yet the necessary convoys for the preservation of trade, and the security of the plantations with a recruit of ships which must be got ready to joyn the fleet after an engagement, would go near to cost as much more, not to reckon the land forces which, upon this occasion, must of necessity be raised. All this, and more, the Duke afterward represented to the King, but could not prevaile to get that fatall Dutche war put off. Whilst Madame stayd at Dover, she prevailed with the King to pass by his displeasure to the Duke of Buckingham, and got him restored again to his Majesties favour and trust; and when his R. H. found fault with her for so doing, she ingenously told him, she did it to make her court to the King, who she saw had a mind to be press'd to do it. She also made the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington friends; and had at that time so much credit with the King, by reason of the opinion he had of her good understanding, and of his kindness to her, that she should have persuaded him to have done almost any thing she had a mind to. After about a fortnight's stay at Dover, she was call'd back to the French court, being upon their return towards Paris; and a little after her arrivall at her own house at St Cloud, she dy'd of a sudden and violent distemper, which seized her but the evening before, to the great surprise and grief of all the Royall Family. The manner of her death gave some suspicion that she was poyson'd; but the phisitions, when she was opened, declared she was not.

' This voyage of Madame's into England made a noise beyond sea; and the Dutch were much alarm'd at it, whose jealousy was increased by the Duke of Buckingham's being sent soon after into France, insomuch that Monsieur Vanbeuning, their minister here, desir'd he might be empower'd to assure De Witt, that that Duke was sent upon nothing prejudiciall to his Masters.'

* * * * *

' The year 1672 began with preparing the fleet with as little noise as might be, to have it in readiness to begin the war in the spring with the Dutch, in pursuance of the treaty above mention'd with France. Of the King's Cabinet Councill were then the Duke of Buckingham, Duke of Lauderdale, Earle of Arlington, Lord Clifford, and Lord Ashly Cooper, afterward Earle of Shaftesbury and Chancellor of England, and none more zealous than he for carrying on the war with Holland. Now, tho none of them but Lord Arlington and Clifford had knowledge of the secret treaty with France, which gave the first rise to this war, yet there were not wanting other specious reasons enough, to make the others enter into it, which were afterwards sett forth in his Majties declaration of war, published on the 28th of March of the present year. The war being thus resolved on, the first business was to provide money sufficient to carry it on; for which they could find no other expe-

cient, but stopping all payments in the Exchequer, with an allowance of interest of six per cent. to the persons unpayd, and this for the space of a year.'

' Though his Royal Highness was, in his own judgment, against entering into this war *before his Majesties power and authority in England had been better fixed and less precarious, as it would have been, if the private treaty first agreed on had not been altered* '—

It is not for the purpose of animadverting on the atrocity of this conspiracy that we have laid these curious extracts before our readers. The unanimous opinion of mankind has already been pronounced on this subject. But the above is an account of this plot, in the spirit, if not in the words, of one of the ring-leaders. It is of no small importance to the world to see in what light such transactions are viewed by Kings and Princes. This was a conspiracy to impose upon the people of England a system which they dreaded and detested. It could not be accomplished without the previous acquisition of absolute power, by the ordinary means of military force. Violent resistance, long and bloody struggles, were evidently foreseen. It was a project which required the spirit and vigour of youth in the two Royal Brothers; and which could not be postponed without danger, to an age of infirmity and irresolution. Small as the army then illegally kept up was, it was chiefly trusted as the means of enslaving the nation. Officers, educated in the exercise of despotic power in colonial possessions not administered by the constitution of England, were selected for the command of some important fortresses. Noblemen infatuated by loyalty, or blinded by bigotry, were put into command of others. The Duke of York was to employ his popularity in the navy, to seduce from the cause of their country that gallant body, the only armed force who are not the natural enemies of freedom. The King and the Duke trusted only two Cabinet Ministers with this criminal secret. They carried on the negociation for a year, during which they cheated Buckingham, Lauderdale, and Shaftesbury. Buckingham, however, too acute not to discover the path to royal favour, tried a similar underplot of his own, into which Charles affected to enter, in order to hide the grand conspiracy which he thought mature for execution. He deceived Buckingham by this pretended acquiescence. He deceived the Dutchesse of Orleans through Buckingham. He deceived his family, his ministers, his subjects, and all Europe. Even the Duke of York, the most faithful of accomplices, neither trusted the King, nor was trusted by him. Buckingham's mock treaty was kept secret from him, and he detected it. The object, as has already been observed, was the overthrow of the

fundamental laws by which the King reigned, and the Duke claimed to inherit. It was to subvert that which he was bound to maintain, by every obligation, civil, moral, or religious. The slightest attempt for the same purpose by any of his subjects, would have been justly punished as a crime of the deepest dye. To crown all, he was to call in the aid of a foreign prince, the general oppressor of Europe, and to receive clandestinely from him the reward of treachery to his own country. Every sentiment of royal dignity, every spark of national feeling, must have been extinguished. The first fruits of his league with the Tyrant of Europe, was to be an unjust war, for the partition of the territory of the only commonwealth that could serve as a barrier against the power of France, or as a safeguard to the religion and liberties of England.

This is, perhaps, the only occasion in which we can hear a great Prince speak of his own participation in such projects. And it is very remarkable that James and his biographer survey this plan with perfect seeming complacency. Not a symptom of remorse, nor even of regret, is betrayed, in this narrative of every crime that can be committed against society. The language in which all these frauds and perjuries, and meannesses and enormities are spoken of by the Royal historian, is also not a little instructive. 'The great work,' which was to be accomplished before the war for the partition of Holland, is at first gently described as 'the settling' or establishment of 'Catholic religion in England.' As this establishment was to be effected by an army, and by fortresses, and by foreign money, it evidently involved the establishment of despotism. But no doubt is left by the words of our biographer. 'H. R. H. was against entering into this war, *before his Majesty's power and authority had been better fixed and less precarious, as it would have been, if the private treaty first agreed on had not been altered;*' i. e. if the Royal power, delivered from the restraints of law, and rendered absolute by the help of foreign money and military force, had established the Roman Catholic religion on the ruins of the laws, and in defiance of the people. The only circumstance in these transactions which James, on a subsequent survey of his own life, could, it seems, disapprove, was the imprudence of having attempted the plunder of Holland before England had been enslaved. In a passage which relates to the year 1681 (1st Life James II. p. 730), we have the good fortune to learn James's manner of representing such matters to himself, in his own words, which are quoted by the biographer from *King's Mein.* tom. 9. p. 176. 'The Dutchess of Portsmouth prevailed with his Majesty to make her a grant of ten thou-

‘ sand pounds a quarter out of his private French fund, till
 ‘ a hundred thousand pound was run up, though it was THE
 ‘ KING’S MAIN SUPPORT TO DEFEND HIM FROM THE TYRANNY
 ‘ OF A PARLIAMENT.’ A clandestine pension, which made Charles the mercenary dependent of a foreign Prince, the enemy of England and of all Europe, is called, in the courtly and extenuating language of James, ‘ his private French fund;’ and ‘ the tyranny of Parliament’ is his mode of considering the dependence of the Crown on Parliament for supply, without which the government of England would become necessarily and immediately despotic. It is clear that he considered the power of the purse in the House of Commons as a great evil, and a secret pension from France as a lawful and honourable means of escaping from it.

So inconceivable are the contradictions of human nature, that James and his correspondents, with all their consciousness of the measures in which they were engaged, yet in their confidential letters express the utmost indignation against the Dutch ambassadors for ‘ *flying out into such abusive expressions against the King as accusing him of BRIBERIE FROM FRANCE.*’ (1st Life James II. p. 721, from 2d Letters, p. 847.) When they speak thus in their confidential correspondence, it is little to add, that in the Duke of York’s Speech to the Parliament of Scotland, as in all other public acts, and in the language of the King and his ministers on all occasions, nothing is to be found but professions of the purest intention to maintain the religion and liberties of the kingdom. Whoever had ventured in public to doubt these professions, would not only have been punished as a libeller, but would probably have been regarded as an incendiary by the majority of candid and moderate men.

Those atrocious projects, though not known at the time in the full detail, and on the clear evidence in which they are known to us, were doubtless suspected, and on probable grounds believed, by the most considerable persons of this country. They are evidently alluded to by Sir W. Temple in that remarkable conversation with Charles himself, of which he has left us so interesting an account, and which may be regarded as a perfect model of the language to be used to a Sovereign by a counsellor at once enlightened, upright, conciliatory, sincere and prudent. Sir William Temple concealed nothing from Lord Essex. If Lord Russell could have been generally ignorant of the existence of such plans, it is impossible that in a long course of years he should have collected nothing of them from a person so closely connected with his family as Rouvigny. Sidney, who, during his residence in France, had undoubtedly much intercourse with

the most distinguished persons of that country, could hardly fail to discover some symptoms of designs which he was so much predisposed to suspect. Montague, the Ambassador in Paris, who had disclosed some of his diplomatic secrets, was not likely to have altogether concealed this master secret. Shaftesbury was too acute an observer not to have carried with him into opposition, some knowledge of a confederacy, from which his own exclusion is the most honourable fact in his long life, and that which most strongly tends to show, that his subserviency to the Court had some limits. The Duke of Buckingham, after having been allowed to carry on a mock treaty with France, differing more in the terms than in the object, from the real treaty, joined the party in opposition to the Court. Through these, and many other no longer discoverable channels, much of this conspiracy most certainly transpired. Hence arose the general belief of its existence at the time, and its adoption by almost all succeeding historians, even by Mr Hume, before he had seen, in James's Memoirs, the confession of an impenitent criminal. It has never been sufficiently considered, that the great and good men who were unhappily duped by the monstrous fictions of Titus Oates, were betrayed into that fatal error by their knowledge of the existence of this real and most atrocious plot. And when we reflect that fourteen years elapsed before they began to deliberate on the means of resisting this conspiracy against Religion and Liberty, we shall surely be disposed rather to admire their long patience, than to blame, as wanton or premature, those attempts in which they sacrificed their lives for their country.

But, to return from this historical digression to our proposed task of analyzing and appreciating the component parts of this work. Of the three parts which compose it, namely, 1. Quotation from James's Memoirs; 2. Reference to them; and, 3. General compilation by an almost unknown writer—we need not repeat that the nature and value are extremely different.

James himself, wherever we have his own words, must always be considered as a witness of high importance, deserving, in all cases, great attention, though not in all the same credit. Where he relates transactions in which he himself took a part, and where his relation is either adverse or indifferent to his own cause, he is one of the most credible of witnesses. Wherever he manifestly labours to excuse or to extenuate his own conduct, he must be listened to with the distrust to which all men are liable, when they bear witness for themselves. What is said without a purpose, is more unquestionable than what is intentional. What he seems to have written at the moment, is of more value

than what appears to have been the result of recollection at a distant period. What he reports concerning contemporary events, of which he had no direct knowledge, must be taken as the testimony of a common narrator, not much practised in the arts of balancing evidence and estimating probability. With respect to the references, no intention to deceive can reasonably be imputed to the abridger. As his manuscript was to be preserved in the same depositories with the King's original Memoirs, the means of detecting misrepresentation were too uniformly at hand, to allow a suspicion that any man of common sense could intentionally mistate the contents of James's narrative, in the place where his reference would instantly expose the mistatement. Still we must admit, that the part of this Life supported by references, is of inferior authority to that which is composed of extracts. Something may often depend on peculiarity of expression, in which the abridger may be negligent, or ignorant, or prejudiced. He may, or rather he must, be insensibly betrayed, by his partialities and antipathies, into extenuation or aggravation, in those numerous cases where a word of a fainter or stronger shade, may decide the moral colour of an action. With respect to the portion of the work neither supported by references nor made up of quotations, exact criticism requires that we should distinguish the portion between 1660 and 1678 from the rest. There being no extracts or references in that part of the narrative, and some parts of it (such as the account of the secret treaty with France) being, as we know from other sources, in substance taken from the King's journals, we cannot certainly distinguish what proportion does not rest on the testimony of James. But, wherever quotation and reference form the basis of the narrative, it may be laid down as a general maxim, that what does not rest upon either, is evidence of the lowest kind, being only to be considered by us as the testimony of an anonymous Jacobite exile, probably at a great distance of time after the events, of whose veracity or information we can know nothing, but of whose prejudices we might be assured from his situation, if the narration did not sufficiently prove them.

The suppression of this fundamental distinction is the material charge against Macpherson. It is, substantially, that he has made the nameless compiler of the same authority with the King. Against this charge, it seems difficult if not impossible to vindicate him. Three suppositions only can be made with respect to the manuscript read by him at the Scotch College. Either he read the Memoirs only—or he read the Memoirs and Life—or he read the Life only. The first supposition is positively con-

tradicted by the testimony of the Superiors of the Scotch College to Mr Fox. It is improbable that a person admitted to the perusal of the most confidential manuscripts, should have been refused access to another much less precious manuscript preserved in the same depository. If he neglected to avail himself of the permission to read it, he was at least bound to apprize the reader of the distinction between the two manuscripts, instead of insinuating, by the indiscriminate use of the terms 'Life' and 'Memoirs,' that they were one and the same. Many of his extracts betray the more pompous style of the compiler, and are without the ease and negligence which would probably characterize the original journals. In one or two places of the text of Macpherson's extracts, (see 1st Macph. State Papers, 145), there are references which seem to be to the Memoirs, though they are not named, but they are probably copied from the text of the Life. That Macpherson read the Life, and probably only the Life, and that he has suppressed the distinction which appears in almost every page of it, between the King's part and the compiler's, are facts which appear to be established against that writer, as clearly as can be expected in such cases. Of their importance, the public will judge in one or two examples.

In 1st Macph. State Papers, p. 148, is the following extract, which the reader, after perusing the language of Macpherson's Preface, naturally conceives to be that of James II.—'1686, Sunderland, besides having a pension from the Prince of Orange, had one from the King of France.'

The following passage of the work before us, which states the same circumstance, is supported neither by quotation nor reference, though, within two pages of it, there are found pretty considerable extracts from James's original Memoirs.

'It may be wondered what should prompt a man (Lord Sunderland) that seemed to be at the top of his expectation, to cut the ground away from under his own feet, and destroy the government wherein he had the greatest share of authority and advantage; for which reason *I dare not* say, it was his primary intention, but when he found the king in a dangerous situation, (which he had the chief hand in leading him to), he thrust him forward towards the precipice, to gain an interest with him he saw was about to supplant him. Besides, his extravagant expenses made him seek foreign pensions; for which service was expected, and it was not to be wondered at, if he ruined one master since he served so many; for, besides the Prince of Orange, he had a pension from the King of France, as his most Christian Majesty acquainted the King after the Revolution, and told him he always thought it was by his approbation, which, to be sure, the King would never have suffered, had he known it.' 2d Life James II. p. 72.

Grave as the charge in Macpherson's extract against Sunderland is, the reader is inclined to believe what James was likely to know if it were true, and in a private journal had hardly any temptation to invent if it were otherwise. To put therefore into the mouth of James, a charge of this nature, which rests upon the mere assertion of an anonymous writer, is a proceeding which we forbear to characterize. It must not be forgotten, that the above passage is not distinguished alone by the omission of quotation or reference to the King's journals. The writer has particularly distinguished himself from the King. He says, '*I dare not say,*' and '*the King.*' And the language which he uses at the conclusion, '*to be sure the King never would have suffered,*' plainly imports that the writer delivers only his own confident conviction about the King's opinion, as he would about the opinion of any other man with whose character and sentiments he thought himself well acquainted.

Whoever will compare the Reflections on the Prosecution of the Bishops in 1st Macpherson State Papers, p. 152, with the work before us (2d Life James II. p. 156-158), will be satisfied that Macpherson's extract is made from the Life; that the style is that of the writer of a book, and not a journal; and that the reflections on the impolicy of the King's measures, are those of a spectator, and cannot be those of any man on one of the most important acts of his own life. There are some omissions and abridgements in Macpherson's Extract; but the body of it is so evidently taken from the narrative of the King's Life, that we lay before our readers the two passages, as sufficient proof that the Life was the original from which Macpherson's extracts were made.

MACPHERSON'S EXTRACT.

'In the case of the Bishops, there is no doubt but the King had done better in not forcing some wheels when he found the whole machine stop. But it was his misfortune to give too much ear to the pernicious advice of those who put him upon such dangerous councils (vol. IV. p. 322), with intent to widen the breach between him and his subjects. But his prepossession against the yeilding temper which had proved so dangerous to his brother, and fatal to the King his father, fixed him in a contrary method. He

LIFE OF JAMES.

'There is no doubt but, according to human prudence, his Majesty had done better in not forcing some wheels, when he found the whole machine stop; but his too great attention to what he thought just and reasonable, hindered him from reflecting on what (to be sure) had been more safe, as the case then stood. For, how could he expect obedience or assistance from those he had long observed were sowing tares so industriously amongst the people, and they so ready to receive them? or that those should be the fittest

MACPHERSON.

had always preached against the wavering counsils of his brother; and, seeing that other Bishops made not the same difficulty, and since many complied, he thought the rest ought to do the same. The King, therefore, gave more easily into the Chancellor's opinion, who thought that a mere reprimand was not sufficient. It was, however, a fatal council; for, besides the common reasons against it, nothing ought to have made the King more cautious in the matter, than the present conjuncture, on account of the Queen's being with child. It was that gave the alarm; and, by consequence, required a greater attention, to avoid every cause of complaint.

LIFE.

persons to bind up the wounds, who did all they could to make them bleed afresh? But it was the King's misfortune to give too much ear to the pernicious advice of those who put him upon such dangerous counsels, with intent (as was suspected) to widen the breach, and therefore encouraged his persisting in those ways which he might have seen would not go down with the multitude; but his prepossession against that yielding temper, which had proved so dangerous to the King his brother, and so fatal to the King his father, fixed him too obstinately in a contrary method. He had observed, that nothing was more pernicious to them, than their frequent goings back from such counsels as had been prudently resolved upon, which determined him not to fall into the same error he had so much preached against in his brother's reign. His Majesty saw, likewise, that other Bishops made not the same difficulty; and, since many complied, it seemed natural to think those punishable who did it not. Hence it was, he gave more easily into the Chancellor's advice, who thought his having reprimanded them not sufficient.

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Besides the common reasons against it, nothing ought to have made the King more cautious in the matter, than the present conjuncture, on account of the Queen's being with child. It was that that gave the alarm on all sides, and, by consequence, required a greater attention to avoid the least suspicion.

If our readers agree with us, that the comparison of the foregoing passages affords satisfactory proof, that Macpherson certainly copied the Life in a place where the Life did not copy the Memoirs, they will not require many observations on one or two examples of that writer's mode of quotation which remain to be produced.

In 1st Macph. State Papers, Vol. I. p. 146, we find an anecdote of Sheldon informing James, in the presence of Lord Sunderland, that he (Sheldon) was directed by Monmouth to acquaint the King that Lord Sunderland had promised 'to meet him,' in order to join the insurrection. But Macpherson withholds from us the important information, that this anecdote, so extremely improbable in itself, rests only on the testimony of the anonymous writer of James's Life, which he has not thought fit to support by any reference to the King's own Memoirs.

The extract (1st Macph. p. 143), in which King William is charged with prompting Monmouth to invade England to serve his own purposes, the reader will also find to be almost a literal transcript of the Life, and in a part of which the general laboured and declamatory style excludes the supposition of a copy from the Journals.—2d Life James II. p. 25.

It is but justice to observe, that his own language on this subject, which is copied in the next page (2d Life James II. p. 26.) from a MS. called 'King James's Loose Sheets,'* is much more cautious, and indeed strictly limited to *information said to be received from Holland*, that the expeditions of Monmouth and Argyll were countenanced by the Prince of Orange. Monmouth's own letter to James, imploring for mercy, disproves the story; for he appeals to the Prince and Princess of Orange as witnesses of the assurance which he gave them, 'that he would not stir against the King.' In a note to 1st Macph. State Papers, p. 144, is the following bold assertion—'Monmouth confessed every thing to Sheldon. He discovered *the intrigues of the Prince of Orange*, and of his own abettors in England.' What colour there is for the most important part of this assertion, we cannot venture to conjecture. We have in vain looked for any such story in Macpherson's Extracts, or in the present Life. If other searchers should not be more fortunate, it will be unnecessary to make farther animadversions upon the historical character of Macpherson. Even in a part of the narrative which is copied from the King's Memoirs, that which relates to the supposed project of Lord Churchill, to carry the

* This MS. appears to have formed the tenth volume of the Memoirs which related to the events of James's own reign.

King prisoner from Warminster to the Dutch camp, Macpherson has two omissions, both of which are suspicious. The King tells us, that 'this project was generally believed afterwards.' Macpherson omits 'afterwards.' He suppresses also the mitigating reflection with which the anecdote is terminated, not indeed by the King, but by the biographer—'perhaps they might pretend that it was not with intention to have done him any personal harm, only force him to consent to what they thought reasonable.'

The curious narrative of the negotiations of Lord Preston and Mr Bulkeley with the English jacobites in 1691, deserves both a closer examination and a more minute comparison with Macpherson's Extracts, than we have now space or leisure to bestow upon it. There is one somewhat remarkable phrase common to Macpherson's Extracts, and to the present works. James's partisans are said in both to have been content '*that he might live a Catholic in devotion, but must reign a Protestant in government.*' This antithesis savours so much more of the style of a compiler, than of the negligent diction of a familiar Journal, that it might be considered in itself as a strong presumption of the Extracts having been made from the Life. To this internal evidence it must be added, that the passage does not profess to be in any respect taken from the original Memoir;—that scarcely any political memoirs were written by James after his return from Ireland, as we learn from Nairn; ‡

‡ 'All those memoirs of passages which occurred before his last escape out of England, have been happily preserved, though they were writ on several loose papers, and they may possibly serve hereafter for making a complete and authentic history of his whole life; they being safely kept by H. M. order in the library of the Scotch College at Paris. But these writ by him since the Revolution are of a quite different nature.—In these he describes what passed within his soul, filled with sentiments of repentance and devotion.' *Nairn in 1st Macph. State Papers, p. 246.*

From this passage, in which the author speaks of the King as dead, we learn, with absolute certainty, 1st, That the Life was not then composed: 2d, That the King left very few materials for the latter part of it; so that the want of quotation or reference is more fatal to the authority of assertions which relate to this period, than to that of allegations equally unsupported in former portions of the work: 3d, That Macpherson's assertion in p. 260, that the observations on the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, 'though written by another hand, were done under James's inspection, and corrected by himself,' is demonstrated to be false by the note of Nairn, which Macpherson himself has published.

--and that, agreeably to that information, we do not find above nine or ten references to his Memoirs in that part of this narrative which relates the occurrences of that period. If, then, Macpherson be presumed to have made his extracts from the Life, what are we to think of his suppression of the strong doubts evidently felt by the biographer, probably in common with the whole Court of St Germain, whether the supposed overtures of Lord Churchill, Lord Godolphin, and Lord Halifax, were sincere. In an extract otherwise full, the following sentence is omitted. 'It is hard, considering what has happened, to make a right judgement of their intentions, and whether they had any farther aim in what they did, than to secure themselves against the just resentment of an offended Prince, should he fortune to return by other means.' In like manner, the following sentence is omitted. 'Lord Dartmouth's proffer of service, which he sent by Mr Lloid, *though it was probably more sincere*, proved of as little use as the rest.' In the passage which relates to the charges made by Sir John Fenwick, the following sentence, omitted by Macpherson, is very important, if not altogether decisive. 'For the Prince of Orange, looking never the worse upon my Lord Godolphin and Admiral Russell, was an argument *he had been no stranger to their practices*; but it was a check on others, who *perhaps meant better*; of which number, *whether my Lord Churchill was to be counted or no, is still a mystery, and the veil is like to remain upon it.*' The historical importance of the last words will be felt, if we keep in mind that they were written after 1702, and that they must be considered as expressing the general opinion of the court of St Germain at that period. The effect of the suppression of these passages is to give a character of conviction and certainty to the narrative in Macpherson's Notes, instead of that hesitation and doubt, at last approaching to disbelief, which he found in his sole authority.

Of an act of attainder, we shall never speak without disapprobation. But the importance of this publication, as detecting the infidelity of Macpherson's Extracts, is no where more apparent than in the case of Sir John Fenwick. Our readers will recollect, that the indictment against Sir John had been found on the evidence of two witnesses, one of whom (Goodman) had been prevailed upon to leave the kingdom before trial, which by law rendered it impossible to convict Sir John of treason. The only extenuation of the attainder was, that the Jacobites had prevailed on Goodman to fly. Macpherson found, in the Life before us, the following admission of that fact by the Court of St Germain, which he deliberately withheld from the

knowledge of the public. ' Before they could bring him (Sir John Fenwick) to a tryal, *some of the King's friends* had prevailed with Mr Goodman to withdraw himself into France. ' 2d Life James II. 557.

The various negotiations relating to the Jacobite plots to assassinate King William, and Sir G. Barclay's mission to London, in which he thought himself authorized by James's commission to engage in that design, are to be found at length in this work; and they are the more important, because James's sentiments on the assassination are given partly in his own words. Plans of assassination were proposed to him at different periods, from 1693 to 1696. He refused to give any authority for such an attempt. But it does not appear that he ceased to keep up the closest connexion with those who had proposed it, or that he considered them in any worse light than as faithful and zealous partisans, transported by their zeal beyond the bounds of prudence or propriety. There are no traces of that 'vehemence' with which Macpherson supposes James to have rejected the proposal. 'Twice, if we may believe James's own words, 'his Majesty would not hear of it, looking upon the project as impracticable, and exposing his friends, when he had no prospect of seconding them.' A warrant to seize William's person, which would have been in fact an order for his assassination, was again refused in 1695, to Clench or Crosbie, whom James, as it appears in the sequel, suspected of being employed by King William. To require indeed an express warrant for such an act, was a demand of a very extraordinary nature, which might be refused without any strong repugnance to assassination. We are told by James, that notwithstanding these refusals, 'upon Sir George Barclay's being in London, with a power to levy war, they (the assassins) proposed their old project to him, which it seems he accepted of, and prepared to attack the P^{ce} of Orange, with about fortie hors, on the road, as he went too or came from hunting at Richmond, whereas his commission imported no such thing.' 2d Life James II. p. 543. from King James's Memoirs, tom. 9. p. 400.

Sir G. Barclay's narrative follows. It does not appear that he forfeited James's favour after his return to France. Charnock's vindication of the assassination, upon the principles of tyrannicide, is stated by the biographer at length, and without any blame. We hear much of James's sorrow for the death of his partisans, and for the injury done to his cause. But it will not be easy to find any history of a projected assassination, in which the calmness of the narrative is less disturbed by vehement abhorrence of the crime.

ART. VII. *A Narrative of Events which have recently occurred in the Island of Ceylon, written by a Gentleman on the spot.* 8vo. pp. 73. London. Egerton, 1815.

THERE is perhaps no passage in the history of our oriental policy which exhibits so strong a contrast to the ostensible principles of our conduct in Europe, as the short and successful war described in these pages. While we were exhausting every phrase of indignation against the aggressions of France, the proceedings of our own viceroys in the East, generally afforded examples of the very defects which we ascribed to the enemy; and it must also be admitted, that their talents, both in the cabinet and in the field, never failed to secure those advantages which for so many years made us envy the enterprizes of the French government. At the present moment, while we are protecting the Bourbon dynasty, and all other legitimate rulers, upon the principle of supporting hereditary right, without much regard to merit, our Indian governors are acting upon the very opposite principle, calling hereditary sovereigns to account for their misconduct, and dethroning them for maltreating their own subjects. The tract before us is understood to come from high authority; and the story of the Kandian war is told in it with so much clearness, and in such good plain language, that we have much satisfaction in following the narrative.

The contest arose in the following manner. Our unfortunate attack in 1803, had failed from being premature. The tyranny of the King, though intolerable, had not yet lasted long enough to spread a spirit of insurrection through his people; but, intoxicated with his success on that occasion, he had given vent to all his passions and caprices; and many partial rebellions in consequence broke out. The period seemed approaching when the natives generally might be expected to rise against him, and solicit our interposition in their behalf. This crisis was hastened by the following occurrence. Early in the year 1814, the first Adikar, or prime minister, who was also governor of a province, was summoned to Court, to answer some charge made against him. He prudently declined, from an accurate knowledge of the process of impeachment in that country, which is considerably shorter, and more efficacious than in this. His province rose and joined his standard; he immediately opened a communication with General Brownrigg, offering to surrender his district to us; but this was prudently declined, as the measure seemed still somewhat premature. The proceedings taken by the '*Legitimate Monarch*' of Kandy, upon this oc-

casion, are worthy of notice; they were in the nature of what we term in England the process to compel an appearance, though not precisely the same in form. They were as follows.

‘ It would be difficult to mark the character of the savage king in a stronger light than is exhibited in the steps which he took on the defection of the Adikar. The family of this Chief, who, agreeably to the custom of the court, had been detained as hostages for his good conduct, were instantly singled out by the King as the victims of his indiscriminating revenge; and the cruelties exercised on them present a dreadful picture of horror and disgust.—The mother and five children, the eldest of whom was a lad of eighteen, and the youngest an infant at the breast, were bound, and led into the market-place. The infant was torn from the arms of its mother; and its head being severed from its body, the parent was compelled to pound it in a mortar. The others were murdered in succession, the eldest being reserved for the last victim: and this scene of wanton and savage butchery was crowned by what every feeling mind will contemplate as an act of supreme, though unintentional mercy, the sacrifice of the mother herself.’ p. 3, 4.

The reader will naturally be desirous to learn the subsequent history of this unhappy man;—and the following passage conveys it in a manner at once simple and touching.

‘ The slaughter of his family appears to have subdued for a time the natural energy of the Adikar’s character, and to have induced a torpor of action which was at this season the ruin of his cause. His followers, disheartened by the inactivity of their Chief, were soon routed by the King’s troops; and after an ineffectual resistance of a few days duration, the Adikar fled into the British territories, and implored an asylum from the government.

‘ The protection he asked, however, was afforded in the most cautious manner, and every measure was resorted to, which a government, scrupulous of giving umbrage to a neighbouring power, could have adopted. The public reception which he courted was refused; and it was not until he had resided for some time in Colombo, that General Brownrigg acceded to his proposal of being favoured with an interview at his Excellency’s country-house.

‘ The interest excited on both sides by so extraordinary a scene as that of a Kandian Chief, who had resided the whole of his life in his native mountains, presenting himself before a British Governor, and imploring protection and succour, may be easily imagined. The forlornness of his condition derived additional claims to sympathy from the overwhelming force of his domestic afflictions; and these were claims which, he might well know, would find a powerful advocate in the breast of that governor from whom he sought all the relief and consolation which could yet be afforded him. He was received with the most distinguished kindness and respect, and was so affected with the novelty of his situation, and the unwonted kindness of a superior, that, regardless of the forms of introduction, he

burst into tears. As soon as he was composed, the Governor soothed him with promises of favour and protection. The Adikar replied, that he looked to his Excellency as his father; that he had been deprived of all the natural ties of relationship, and trusted that the favour he solicited of being allowed to call the Governor and Mrs Brownrigg his parents would not be denied him. It was a strong, but natural mode of expressing what he felt; and his gratitude at finding his request assented to, was unbounded.

‘ The astonishment of this Chief at all he beheld may be easily conceived. The romantic beauty of the house, situated on a rock overhanging the sea, an element of which he had entertained such confused ideas, but which he had never till now perfectly seen, struck him most forcibly. After looking minutely at the furniture of the house, he approached, cautiously, the pillars of the verandah, and gave himself entirely up to the admiration which the novelty of the scene before him could not fail to inspire. A ship, which was passing at the moment, was a fresh object of wonder; and, when it was explained to him, he said he had heard of such things, and was happy to have enjoyed the opportunity of witnessing what he now saw. Being asked if this was the first time he beheld the sea, he said he had occasionally obtained a very distant and imperfect view of it from a high mountain; but the largest piece of water he had ever approached was a lake in the Kandian country, the extent of which he described by looking and pointing through the two pillars of the verandah, the opening between which commanded but a partial view of the ocean before him.’ p. 4—7.

The tyrant having wreaked his vengeance upon his own subjects, thought proper to begin upon those of the British Government, and seized ten peaceable inhabitants of a frontier village; carried them to Kandy, where, without even a charge against them, he mutilated them in so shocking a manner, that seven died upon the spot, and the rest came back in a state well calculated to awaken the indignation of their fellow-subjects. General Brownrigg was however compelled, by the unfavourable season of the year, and the expectation of reinforcements from Madras, to proceed very slowly in his measures of retaliation; and the proclamation which he issued, wisely recommended to the Kandians to continue their present intercourse, but stated nothing which was likely to implicate them in any of his future proceedings, so as to draw down upon them prematurely the vengeance of their despot. Such, at least, we conceive to have been the tenor of this document; for the one referred to in the Narrative, as Appendix A, by some mistake is not to be found; the proclamation there inserted is the one upon commencing hostilities. At length the preparations being completed, the army marched on the 9th of December, having been previously assured of cordial cooperation from the

inhabitants. The whole force did not exceed three thousand men, and the General put himself at their head. Before setting out, he issued a proclamation, stating the grounds of the invasion. These are, undoubtedly, not the irruption of a Kandian force into our territory, mentioned in the outset, because that happened long after the expedition was prepared, and when it was on the very eve of marching—but the conduct of the King towards our subjects and his own. The following passages deserve the reader's best attention: he will be pleased to bear in mind, that they refer to the conduct pursued by a *legitimate* hereditary sovereign towards his people.

‘ But it is not against *the Kandian nation* that the arms of his Majesty are directed; his Excellency proclaims hostility against that tyrannical power alone, which has provoked, by aggravated outrages and indignities, the just resentment of the British nation, which has cut off the most ancient and noble families in his kingdom, deluged the land with the blood of his subjects, and, by the violation of every religious and moral law, become an object of abhorrence to mankind.

‘ For securing the permanent tranquillity of these settlements, and in vindication of the honour of the British name; for the *deliverance of the Kandian people from their oppressions*; in fine, for the subversion of that Malabar dominion which during three generations *has tyrannized over the country*, his Excellency has resolved to employ the powerful resources placed at his disposal.’ p. 56.

Thus was a war commenced, of which at least one very prominent object was avowed to be the punishment of intolerable tyranny, and the delivery of a people from the oppressions of an arbitrary and cruel, but a *rightful* sovereign. Under such auspices, and for purposes like these, the army advanced; the proclamation was circulated every where among the people; read with avidity, and met with a cordial reception. The enemy hardly showed himself in the field, and scarcely disputed the more tenable passes; the little resistance he made, was easily overpowered; and measures were taken for preventing the King's retreat. He, on his part, appears to have been lulled into security by the means usually adopted with persons of his profession. For a long time, he would not believe that we intended to invade his territory; ‘ his flatterers had persuaded him, that the British Government never would recover the fatal campaign of 1803.’ And when a messenger brought intelligence of our army having actually passed the frontier, His Most Kandian Majesty was pleased to direct, in reply, that his head be forthwith struck off. In like manner, another informant was rewarded for an account of our further progress, by being ~~imprisoned~~ *imprisoned* alive. Notwithstanding this vigorous conduct and brave

disbelief of his danger, however, some symptoms appeared, which must have given the Royal mind reason to suspect that all was not in 'a satisfactory state.' One appearance, well known in all courts, was truly ominous;—a minister of state suddenly changed sides, and went over to the English camp. The Noble Lord (as we should term him) carried with him his orders, and much valuable property. This movement operated as a signal to lesser folks; and the *ratting* (to use an European expression for an instinct inherent in the species, and common to all nations) became general. A slight difficulty occurred here, which is exactly of a piece with what happens upon similar occasions in our part of the world.

'No arrangement of offices could be concerted at this stage of the enterprize; but it was felt that if Molligodde was received with the honours of a Dessave, he could not afterwards be deprived of them. A slight diplomatic distinction obviated all jealousy, and contented both parties. It was observed that the honours belonged to the insignia of the Dessavony, and not to the Dessave—that the act of surrender should be attended with all possible state—and that Molligodde must in consequence march in with his full honours; but having deposited the rolls and banner, he would of course no longer look for the same ceremonies on taking leave, but would retire with only the honours of an Adikar, to which Eheilapola had no kind of objection.

'In this little question of etiquette, there was something characteristic of the manners of the Kandian court; but in substance the point was a natural one, and its discussion was conducted with politeness and liberality. Molligodde, of his own accord, proposed, in retiring from the audience of reception, to pay a visit to Eheilapola, which was agreed to; and the few particulars that are known of the interview are truly affecting: The visiter introduced himself with an exclamation that he was a ruined man. "What then am I?" said Eheilapola. Distressing recollections attached to this question, and both the chiefs burst into tears.' p. 19, 20.

The Monarch, seeing himself deserted by all but his nearest relations, to avoid being surrounded, precipitately left his capital, which was entered by our troops upon the 14th February. The first objects that presented themselves, were the remains of persons impaled; and they met a poor English soldier, who had been taken in 1803, and survived the massacre. His adventures would fill a volume, says our author; and we are glad to find that there is an intention of publishing them. We do not therefore dwell upon them in this place, but proceed with the Narrative. A great part of the females and treasures of the tyrant were soon captured; and, at the expiration of four days, our troops succeeded in taking the monster himself. The fol-

lowing passage shows how completely he acted up to the character of his tribe, and betrayed, in his fall, the cowardly, abject spirit, which ever lurks beneath the outward semblance of dignity and vigour wherewithal despotism is wont to array itself.

‘ In the most abject manner he implored protection for himself and his wives; and he could stoop to ask it from the dependants of the man whose wife and children he had so recently murdered with circumstances of such wanton barbarity. His life was spared; but from the indignation and contempt of his subjects, it was impossible to protect the tyrant. They bound him like a felon, and dragged him to the nearest village, upbraided him, spit on him; till, at length, wearied with their own execrations, they left him to all the repose which the dreadful reverse of his fortunes would at present permit him to enjoy.

‘ On the succeeding morning, Mr D'Oyly paid a visit to the fallen monarch. On entering the apartment, he found him surrounded by his mother, his wives and family, who were all in the deepest consternation and affliction, which had been increased by some idle reports, circulated by the Kandians, of an intention on the part of the British government to bring the King to trial, and disgrace his family. Mr D'Oyly humanely assured them that his person should not only be safe, but that he should be treated with every degree of respect and attention. The King, who was at first sullen and reserved, now betrayed evident signs of emotion; and, taking the hands of his aged mother and four wives, he presented them successively to Mr D'Oyly, and recommended them in the most solemn and affecting manner to his protection. In the Governor's assurances, he said, he had perfect confidence, as he knew him to be a good man, who would injure no one, and desired his respects might be presented to him.’ p. 26—28.

The greatest joy was diffused over the island, by the happy success of this enterprize. The people seemed to breathe once more, when they found their oppressor disarmed of all power, and his means of doing mischief transferred to the hands of a beneficent government. As for the tyrant himself, he was conveyed to Colombo in a private manner, and lodged in a spacious house fitted up for his reception. In the largest room was placed a *musnud*, or ottoman, covered with scarlet cloth, which he no sooner espied than ‘ he sprang upon it with great agility, and, seating himself in a most unkingly attitude, with his legs drawn under him, looked round the room, which he surveyed with great complacency.’ There is something extremely disgusting in the mixture of levity and cruelty which seem to make up this wretch's character. The reader of the following anecdotes will, however, speedily recognize similar traits in other portraits of tyrants both of ancient and modern times.

‘ Wikrome Rajah Siñha is in his person considerably above the middle size, of a corpulent, yet muscular appearance, and with a physiognomy which is at all times handsome, and frequently not unpleasing. His claim to talent has been disputed by many who have had an opportunity of conversing with him; but he is certainly not deficient in shrewdness or comprehension. With an utter indifference to all feelings of humanity, he possesses a great share of what is called good humour; and the affability with which he answered the questions that are addressed to him, is at least unexpected, while the ease and sang-froid with which he communicated some of the most extraordinary and murderous anecdotes of his reign is truly surprizing. He passes with great rapidity from one story of court intrigue to another; but it is to be observed, that the invariable issue of the whole of these anecdotes, is the cutting off the offender’s head, flogging him to death, impaling him alive, or pounding him in a mortar, as the caprice of the moment might have dictated; and all his surprize seems to be, that the English should feel any great indignation at what he had always considered a mere matter of course and pastime.—“ The English governors, however,” he observed to Major Hook, “ have one advantage over us kings of Kandy:—they have counsellors about them, who never allow them to do any thing in a passion, and that is the reason you have so few punishments; but unfortunately for us, the offender is dead, before our resentment has subsided.”

‘ His Majesty’s general reception of his English visitors is by a cordial shake of the hand.—With one officer he was particularly affable. He asked him if he would like to see the Queens? His visitor replied in the affirmative, but begged to know in what manner he was to receive them. “ Why,” said his Majesty, laughing very heartily, “ in any way you please:—they are rather dirty just now, as their clothes have not arrived from Kandy; and so you may take your choice,—either shake hands with them, or embrace them.”

‘ This anecdote is one of many which might be adduced in illustration of the levity of this extraordinary man’s character. He had, during the first week of his arrival, established a reputation for great fortitude and resignation; and there were not wanting some few to undertake his defence, and ascribe the tyrannical measures of his reign to evil counsellors. An occurrence shortly took place, however, which set his character in its true light.

‘ He had applied for the attendance of four of the female prisoners, who were originally servants of the Queens. His request was granted; and on the same night one of these poor creatures was delivered of a child in the house in which the King was residing. The instant he heard this piece of intelligence, he insisted on the woman’s removal. “ She was useless, and he would not allow her to remain.” Colonel Kerr sent to remonstrate on the cruelty of such a step in her present condition, and declined complying with the King’s solicitation. The tyrant flew from one apartment to the other; ex-

claimed that he would neither eat, drink nor sleep, till he was satisfied; reviled the sentries; and behaved in so frantic a manner at this first opposition to his will, that Colonel Kerr, apprehensive of his murdering the woman, ordered her, even at the hazard of her life, to be removed to a place of safety.' p. 31-34.

It seems, however, that his predominating feeling was indignation at the treatment he had received from his own subjects; and this led him to reveal the places where his treasure was hid, lest it might fall into the hands of his people. Upon the anecdotes just related, we must be permitted to remark, that without meaning to draw any comparison between the two personages, in general no one can read the account of the Kandian tyrant's manner while in captivity, (if we except his undignified posture, according to our notions of propriety), without being reminded of a much greater man, and more wholesale destroyer of his species, whom our arms have lately rendered harmless like him.

The discovery of the Kandian treasures sets the author of the Narrative upon a detailed description of ornaments, chairs, thrones, footstools, sceptres, and a variety of other matter, highly interesting, no doubt, to the captors, but not worth troubling our readers with. We pass on, therefore, to the settlement of the government, which next occupied the attention of the British commander. As there were many conflicting interests to reconcile, and jealousies to overcome, our author says 'it was some time before a day could be fixed for a solemn audience of the headmen, and the signature of a permanent convention.' The day, he adds, was *at length* fixed, and the convention made. The European reader will smile, when he learns in what this great delay consisted; the capital was entered February 14th; the King was caught the 18th; and the whole settlement was concluded on the *second of March*. A proclamation of the Governor, stated the general views with which a convention was to be entered upon. It enumerated, not only the tyrant's acts of aggression against the British territory, but his misgovernment at home. After mentioning the appeal made to us by the people for protection against him, it showed that 'their opposition to him was not licentious,' nor 'their complaints groundless,' by dwelling upon 'the wanton destruction of human life,' as 'implying the existence of general oppression.' It states, that after this, 'no other proofs are necessary of the exercise of tyranny;' but if such were wanting, it refers to the treatment of the Adikar's family, as 'including every thing which is barbarous and unprincipled in public rule, and portraying the last stage of individual depravity and wickedness, the obliteration of every trace of conscience, and the complete extinction of human feeling;'—a passage which we cite, not certainly for its eloquence, but to

show how severely our oriental viceroys deal with fallen '*legitimacy*.' The paper then concludes with the following remarkable declaration.

'It is not, however, that, under an absolute government, unproved suspicion must usurp the place of fair trial, and the fiat of the ruler stand instead of the decision of justice; it is not that a rash, violent, or unjust decree, or a revolting mode of execution, is here brought to view, nor the innocent suffering under the groundless imputation of guilt; but a bold contempt of every principle of justice, setting at nought all known grounds of punishment, dispensing with the necessity of accusation, and choosing for its victims helpless females uncharged with any offence, and infants incapable of a crime.' p. 42, 43.

Then was issued that memorable proclamation in which our Government distinctly recognizes and adopts the principle of making sovereign princes accountable for their abuse of the high trust reposed in them. The words used in this solemn instrument, are as strong and as ample as can be conceived. The Cingalese King is *dethroned* for misgovernment; he is *cashiered* for offences committed against his subjects; he is *called to account* for his actions, and *punished* for abuse of his power. The following passages clearly and unceremoniously set forth the charges against him, and the sentence passed upon him, which, it may be observed, is one of the most sweeping forfeitures known in the records of judicial proceedings.

'It is agreed and established as follows:—1st, That the cruelties and oppressions of the Malabar Ruler, in the arbitrary and unjust infliction of bodily tortures, and the pains of death without trial, and sometimes without an accusation or the possibility of a crime, and in the general contempt and contravention of all civil rights, have become flagrant, enormous, and intolerable; the acts and maxims of his government being equally and entirely devoid of that justice which should secure the safety of his subjects, and of that good faith which might obtain a beneficial intercourse with the neighbouring settlements.

'2d, That the Rajah Sri Wikreme Rajah Sinha, *by the habitual violation of the chief and most sacred duties of a sovereign, has forfeited all claims to that title, or the powers annexed to the same, and is declared fallen and deposed from the office of King*; his family and relatives, whether in the ascending, descending, or collateral line, and whether by affinity or blood, are also for ever excluded from the throne; and all claim and title of the Malabar race to the dominion of the Kandian provinces is *abolished and extinguished*.

'3d, That all male persons being, or pretending to be, relations of the late Rajah Sri Wikreme Rajah Sinha, *either by affinity or blood, and whether in the ascending, descending, or collateral line,*

are hereby declared enemies to the government of the Kandian Provinces, and excluded and prohibited from entering those provinces on any pretence whatever, without a written permission for that purpose by the authority of the British government, under the pains and penalties of martial law, which is hereby declared to be in force for that purpose; and all male persons of the Malabar cast, now expelled from the said provinces, are, under the same penalties, prohibited from returning, except with the permission before mentioned.' p. 68, 69.

Thus far all is plain enough, and the premises seem naturally to warrant the inference; but it does not appear so obvious a conclusion that the possession of the forfeited kingdom should be transferred to Great Britain. This *non-sequitur* is conveyed in the following terms.

'4th, The dominion of the Kandian Provinces is vested in the Sovereign of the British Empire, and to be exercised through the Governors or Lieutenant-Governors of Ceylon for the time being, and their accredited agents; saving to the Adigars, Dessaves, Mohottales, Coraals, Vidaans, and all other chief and subordinate native Headmen, lawfully appointed by authority of the British government, the rights, privileges and powers of their respective offices, and to all classes of the people the safety of their persons and property, with their civil rights and immunities, according to the laws, institutions and customs established and in force amongst them.' p. 69, 70.

Then follow many excellent reforms, promulgated with no very sparing hand, and dictated by a moderate degree of veneration towards the wisdom of the Rajah's ancestors, and the remote antiquity of the Cingalese institutions.

Upon several parts of the narrative which we have just closed, remarks naturally arise very favourable to the conduct of the Officer at the head of the British settlement in Ceylon. He displayed great prudence and moderation throughout; he lost no advantage by precipitate measures; he acted with promptitude and decision when his opportunity came; and he showed a most laudable regard towards the safety of the inhabitants, against whose tyrant he was called upon to wage war. In the settlement of the conquest, he of course acted by instructions from the Government at home; and the principles upon which it proceeds, are liable to considerable comment. Are the fundamental doctrines of public morals, of political morality, in their nature local and temporary? Can that be just in the East, which, in Europe, we affect to abhor? Is hereditary right so sacred among ourselves, that we hold no misrule a sufficient justification for the smallest deviation from the order of succession, —while, in Asia, we deem it a just cause of dethroning a prince, that he has abused towards man a trust received, as we admit,

from God—and to exercise which, he has a right held by us indefeasible? Must we still deny, as a sort of first principle, and almost an article of faith, that European kings can be called to account for their deeds in this world, and ourselves accuse, and sentence and punish Indian monarchs for their misconduct?

But we are told, that the case of the Kandian Prince was an extreme one; and that his enormities were intolerable. We greatly fear that the only real difference is, that they were perpetrated beyond the Cape, the established limits of our political creed. For, after all, horrible as the atrocities of the monster were, it is pretty clear that they were very much in the ordinary course of things under Eastern despotisms, where subjects are beheaded and impaled at their rulers' caprice, as easily as they are banished in one European country, imprisoned in another, or confined to their estates in a third. The more severe practices are as much established by custom, by immemorial usage, and ancient royal right,—are as *constitutional*, and as much authorized by the royal *prerogative* in the East, as the milder forms of abuse and misgovernment are in the West. If we go to Kandy for the purpose of deposing Kings who misbehave beyond the limits of European toleration, we act in the character of reformers; we do not judge them by the principles of their own country and state of society, but by those which we carry with us from regions more enlightened and humane. It would puzzle any one, however, to find a defence for this interference, which should not also justify us in other acts of interposition nearer home. If the Spanish government, for example, exercises the most unjustifiable oppression over the patriots who fought by our side in restoring it to power, and still more, if it persists in despoiling the unoffending villages of Africa for the support of the accursed slave traffic; surely we have the same right to interfere in defence of humanity that we had to march to Kandy, because its King had oppressed his people. In a word, there cannot be any thing local or temporary in the great principles of political justice. Nor can the Sovereigns of Europe be admitted to hold their dominion by a title higher, more sacred, or more indefeasible than their brethren of the East.

ART. VIII. *The Lay of the Laureate. Carmen Nuptiale.* By ROBERT SOUTHEY, ESQ., Poet-Laureate, &c. &c. 12mo. pp. 78. London, 1816.

A POET-LAUREATE, we take it, is naturally a ridiculous person; and has scarcely any safe course to follow, in times

like the present, but to bear his faculties with exceeding meekness, and to keep as much as possible in the shade. A stipendiary officer of the Royal household, bound to produce two lyrical compositions every year, in praise of his Majesty's person and government, is undoubtedly an object which it is difficult to contemplate with gravity; and which can only have been retained in existence, from that love of antique pomp and establishment which has embellished our Court with so many goldsticks and white rods, and such trains of beef-eaters and grooms of the stole—though it has submitted to the suppression of the more sprightly appendages of a king's fool, or a court jester. That the household poet should have survived the other wits of the establishment, can only be explained by the circumstance of his office being more easily converted into one of mere pomp and ceremony, and coming thus to afford an antient and well-sounding name for a moderate sinecure. For more than a century, accordingly, it has existed on this footing: and its duties, like those of the other personages to whom we have just alluded, have been discharged with a decorous gravity and unobtrusive quietness, which has provoked no derision, merely because it has attracted no notice.

The present possessor, however, appears to have other notions on the subject; and has very distinctly manifested his resolution not to rest satisfied with the salary, sherry, and safe obscurity of his predecessors, but to claim a real power and prerogative in the world of letters, in virtue of his title and appointment. Now, in this, we conceive, with all due humility, that there is a little mistake of fact, and a little error of judgment. The laurel which the King gives, we are credibly informed, has nothing at all in common with that which is bestowed by the Muses; and the Prince Regent's warrant is absolutely of no authority in the court of Apollo. If this be the case, however, it follows, that a poet-laureate has no sort of precedence among poets,—whatever may be his place among pages and clerks of the kitchen;—and that he has no more pretensions as an author, than if his appointment had been to the mastership of the stag-hounds. When he takes state upon him with the public, therefore, in consequence of his office, he really is guilty of as ludicrous a blunder as the worthy American Consul, in one of the Hanse towns, who painted the Roman *fascia* on the pannel of his buggy, and insisted upon calling his foot-boy and clerk his *lictors*. Except when he is in his official duty, therefore, the King's house-poet would do well to keep the nature of his office out of sight; and, when he is compelled to appear in it in public, should try to get through with the business as quickly and quietly as possible. The brawney dray-

man who enacts the Champion of England in the Lord Mayor's show, is in some danger of being sneered at by the spectators, even when he paces along with the timidity and sobriety that becomes his condition ; but if he were to take it into his head to make serious boast of his prowess, and to call upon the city bards to celebrate his heroic acts, the very apprentices could not restrain their laughter,—and ' the humorous man ' would have but small chance of finishing his part in peace.

Mr Southey could not be ignorant of all this ; and yet it appears that he could not have known it all. He must have been conscious, we think, of the ridicule attached to his office, and might have known that there were only two ways of counteracting it,—either by sinking the office altogether in his public appearances, or by writing such very good verses in the discharge of it, as might defy ridicule, and render neglect impossible. Instead of this, however, he has allowed himself to write rather worse than any Laureate before him, and has betaken himself to the luckless and vulgar expedient of endeavouring to face out the thing by an air of prodigious confidence and assumption :—and has had the usual fortune of such undertakers, by becoming only more conspicuously ridiculous. The badness of his official productions indeed is something really wonderful,—though not more so than the amazing self-complacency and self-praise with which they are given to the world. With the finest themes in the world for that sort of writing, they are the dullest, tamest, and most tedious things ever poor critic was condemned, or other people vainly invited, to read. They are a great deal more wearisome, and rather more unmeaning and unnatural, than the effusions of his predecessors Messrs Pye and Whitehead ; and are moreover disfigured with the most abominable egotism, conceit and dogmatism, that we ever met with in any thing intended for the public eye. They are filled, indeed, with praises of the author himself, and his works, and his laurel, and his dispositions ; notices of his various virtues and studies ; puffs of the productions he is preparing for the press, and anticipations of the fame which he is to reap by their means, from a less ungrateful age ; and all this delivered with such an oracular seriousness and assurance, that it is easy to see the worthy Laureate thinks himself entitled to share in the prerogatives of that royalty which he is bound to extol, and has resolved to make it

—' his great example as it is his theme. '

For, as sovereign Princes are permitted, in their manifestoes and proclamations, to speak of their own gracious pleasure and royal wisdom, without imputation of arrogance, so, our Laureate has persuaded himself that he may address the subject world

in the same lofty strains, and that they will listen with as dutiful an awe to the authoritative exposition of his own genius and glory. What might have been the success of the experiment, if the execution had been as masterly as the design is bold, we shall not trouble ourselves to conjecture; but the contrast between the greatness of the praise and the badness of the poetry in which it is conveyed, and to which it is partly applied, is abundantly decisive of its result in the present instance, as well as in all the others in which the ingenious author has adopted the same style. We took some notice of the *Carmen Triumphale*, which stood at the head of the series. But of the Odes which afterwards followed to the Prince Regent, and the Sovereigns and Generals who came to visit him, we had the charity to say nothing; and were willing indeed to hope, that the lamentable failure of that attempt might admonish the author, at least as effectually as any intimations of ours. Here, however, we have him again, with a *Lay of the Laureate*, and a *Carmen Nuptiale*, if possible still more boastful and more dull than any of his other celebrations. It is necessary, therefore, to bring the case once more before the Public, for the sake both of correction and example; and as the work is not likely to find many readers, and is of a tenor which would not be readily believed upon any general representation, we must now beg leave to give a faithful analysis of its different parts, with a few specimens of the taste and manner of its execution.

Its object is to commemorate the late auspicious marriage of the presumptive Heiress of the English crown with the young Prince of Saxe-Cobourg; and consists of a Proem, a Dream, and an Epilogue—with a L'envoy, and various annotations. The Proem, as was most fitting, is entirely devoted to the praise of the Laureate himself; and contains an account, which cannot fail to be very interesting, both to his Royal auditors and to the world at large, of his early studies and attainments—the excellence of his genius—the nobleness of his views—and the happiness that has been the result of these precious gifts. Then there is mention made of his pleasure in being appointed Poet-Laureate, and of the rage and envy which that event excited in all the habitations of the malignant. This is naturally followed up by a full account of all his official productions, and some modest doubts whether his genius is not too heroic and pathetic for the composition of an *Epithalamium*,—which doubts, however, are speedily and pleasingly resolved by the recollection, that as Spenser made a hymn on his own marriage, so, there can be nothing improper in Mr Southey doing as much on that of the Princess Charlotte. This is the general argument of the Proem. But the reader must know a little more of the details.

In his early youth, the ingenious author says he aspired to the fame of a poet; and then Fancy came to him, and showed him the glories of his future career, addressing him in these encouraging words—

“Thou whom rich Nature at thy happy birth
Blest in her bounty with the largest dower
That Heaven indulges to a child of earth”!

Being fully persuaded of the truth of her statements, we have then the satisfaction of learning that he has lived a very happy life; and that, though time has made his hair a little grey, it has only matured his understanding; and that he is still as habitually cheerful as when he was a boy. He then proceeds to inform us, that he sometimes does a little in poetry still; but that, of late years, he spends most of his time in writing histories—from which he has no doubt that he will one day or another acquire great reputation.

‘Thus in the ages which are past I live,
And those which are to come my sure reward will give.’

Part of his reward, indeed, he says he has got already,—for all the good and wise love and admire him; and moreover,

‘That green wreath which decks the Bard when dead,
That laureate garland crowns my living head.’

He then goes on to tell, that he has hitherto worn the said laurel with great honour, and has by no means made a sinecure of the situation—having indited a great variety of official odes since his appointment, the subjects and merits of which are accordingly explained in several sounding stanzas. The enumeration is closed with this strain of ingenuous modesty.

‘Such strains beseemed me well. But how shall I
To hymeneal numbers tune the string,’ &c.

‘Fitter for me the lofty strain severe,
That calls for vengeance for mankind oppress;
Fitter the songs that youth may love to hear.’ &c. &c.

However, he bethinks him of Spenser, as we have already mentioned; and comforts himself after this fashion—

‘And hast not thou, my Soul, a solemn theme?
I said—and mused until I fell into a dream.’

We come next, of course, to the Dream; and nothing more stupid or heavy, we will venture to say, ever arose out of sleep, or tended to sleep again. The unhappy Laureate, it seems, just saw, upon shutting his eyes, what he might have seen as well if he had been able to keep them open—a great crowd of people and coaches in the street, with marriage favours in their bosoms; church bells ringing merrily, and *foux-de-joie* firing in all directions. Eftsoons, says the dreaming poet, I came to a great door, where there were guards placed to keep off the mob;

but when they saw my Laurel crown, they made way for me, and let me in!—

‘ But I had entrance through that guarded door,

In honour to the Laureate crown I wore. ’

When he gets in, he finds himself in a large hall, decorated with trophies, and pictures, and statues, commemorating the triumphs of British valour, from Aboukir to Waterloo. The room, moreover, was filled with a great number of ladies and gentlemen very finely dressed; and in two chairs, near the top, were seated the Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold. Hitherto, certainly, all is sufficiently plain and probable;—nor can the Muse who dictated this to the slumbering Laureate be accused of any very extravagant or profuse invention. We come now, however, to allegory and learning in abundance. In the first place, we are told, with infinite regard to the probability as well as the novelty of the fiction, that in this drawing-room there were two great lions couching at the feet of the Royal Pair;—the Prince’s being very lean and in poor condition, with the hair rubbed off his neck as if from a heavy collar—and the Princess’s in full vigour, with a bushy mane, and littered with torn French flags. Then there were two heavenly figures stationed on each side of the throne, one called Honour, and the other Faith;—so very like each other, that it was impossible not to suppose them brother and sister. It turns out, however, that they were only second cousins; or so at least we interpret the following precious piece of theogony.

‘ Akin they were,—yet not as thus it seemed,

For he of VALOUR was the eldest son,

From Areté in happy union sprung.

But her to Phroni Eusebeia bore,

She whom her mother Dicé sent to earth;

What marvel then if thus their features wore

Resemblant lineaments of kindred birth?

Dicé being child of Him who rules above,

VALOUR his earth-born son; so both derived from Jove.’ p. 29.

This, we think, is delicious; but there is still more goodly stuff toward. The two heavenly cousins stand still without doing any thing; but then there is a sound of sweet music, and a whole ‘heavenly company’ appear, led on by a majestic female, whom we discover, by the emblems on our halfpence, to be no less a person than Britannia, who advances and addresses a long discourse of flattery and admonition to the Royal bride; which, for the most part, is as dull and commonplace as might be expected from the occasion; though there are some passages in which the author has reconciled his gratitude to his Patron, and his monitory duty to his Daughter, with singular spirit and dexterity. After enjoining to her the observance of all public do-

ties, and the cultivation of all domestic virtues, Britannia is made to sum up the whole sermon in this emphatic precept—

‘ Look to thy Siré, and in his steady way
 • • —learn thou to tread.’

Now, considering that Mr Southey was at all events incapable of sacrificing truth to Court favour, it cannot but be regarded as a rare felicity in his subject, that he could thus select a pattern of private purity and public honour in the person of the actual Sovereign, without incurring the least suspicion either of base adulation or lax morality.

When Britannia has delivered her lecture, she is succeeded by another venerable personage, whose lineage and office are thus loftily described by the sleeping Laureate.

‘ Of Kronos and the Nymph Mnemosyné
 He sprung, on either side a birth divine;
 Thus to the Olympian Gods allied was he,
 And brother to the sacred Sisters nine.

They called him Praxis in the Olympian tongue,
 But here on earth EXPERIENCE was his name.’ p. 35.

This Praxis, it seems, is a bookmaker by profession, like the Laureate himself; and contents himself, accordingly, with depositing a presentation copy of his work before the Royal Pair, and only pronouncing, after the manner of the said Laureate, a long eulogium on its beauty and use.

To this succeeds a most clumsy apparition of ‘ the Angel of the Church of England,’ attended by a considerable party of Saints and Martyrs,—who also pays his compliments to the Princess, and entreats her, in plain and distinct terms, to take care of the English Church, and preserve it from decay;—for which purpose, he is pleased to add, Providence had on former occasions, and

‘ In perilous times, provided female means,
 Blessing it beneath the rule of pious Queens.’

It is another proof of Mr Southey’s singular liberality, and disdain of courtly prejudices, that he has been at pains, at such a moment as the present, to profess his utter abhorrence and detestation of the Catholic religion, and made his Lutheran angel warn the young Princess against any toleration of its monstrous abominations. ‘ Think not,’ says he—

‘ Think not that lapse of ages shall abate
 The inveterate malice of that Harlot old, &c.
 For her fierce Beast, whose names are Blasphemy,
 The same that was, is still, and still must be.’

After the Church party have taken their leave, another celestial monitor advances, who, though he is not directly named

by the author, appears very plainly by his discourse to be none other than the angel of the British School Society. He makes a still better speech than his brother of the Church of England, and recommends the interests of education to the Royal Pair, in several very moving, though rather tedious stanzas,—which terminate in the following harmonious distich—

‘ The heart of man is rich in all good seeds ;
Neglected, it is choked with tares and noxious weeds. ’

We are next recreated with the presentation of Hope and Charity, who seem upon this occasion to sustain the character of the angels of the Missionary and Bible Societies, and exhort the Princess to spare no pains for the conversion of the Heathen. Speranza is the prolocutor, and ends her address, by repeating these two lines in small capitals.

‘ THY KINGDOM COME ! THY WILL BE DONE, O LORD !

AND BE THY HOLY NAME THROUGH ALL THE WORLD ADORED ! ’
—at which words the roof of the drawing-room opens, and a bright Cross is seen far up in the sky. The poet shuts his eyes on the splendour ; and, on opening them again, sees the last of the allegorical company,—a dim, dreary looking figure, but with ‘ divinest beauty in his awful face. ’ He makes his compliment and speech like the rest ; and the Dream ends with his last words, in which he announces to the bridal party—

‘ My name is DEATH—the last best friend am I. ’

The Epilogue need not detain us very long.—It consists almost entirely of an apology for, or rather a zealous encomium on the flat stupidities of that part we have now hastily gone over. The poet ingeniously supposes that some frivolous reader may say

‘ Are these fit strains for Royal ears to hear ? ’

and sets himself accordingly to show that they are the fittest and the worthiest, and the most precious that could possibly have been employed on the occasion. We have not patience to go over the dull prosing of this panegyric on his own genius and judgment. He has touched indeed, he confesses, upon awful subjects—

‘ Yet surely are they such as, viewed aright,

Contentment to thy better mind may bring. ’

Lighter themes, he candidly admits, might have been more amusing—but then their delights would soon wither like spring flowers ;—whereas his sublime strains are evergreens, and moreover of sovereign virtue—

‘ Yea, while the Poet’s name is doomed to live,

So long this garland shall its fragrance give. ’

—and so on in the same vein of high poetry and lowly modesty, through some dozen stanzas.—The work ends with one entitled,

‘ L’Envoy ’—which breathes the very soul of silliness and self-complacency.

‘ Go, little Book, from this my solitude, . .

I cast thee on the waters : . . go thy ways !

And if, as I believe, thy vein be good,

The world will find thee after many days.

Be it with thee according to thy worth : . .

Go, little Book ! in faith I send thee forth.’ p. 69.

It is impossible to feel any serious or general contempt for a person of Mr Southey’s genius;—and, in reviewing his other works, we hope we have shown a proper sense of his many merits and accomplishments. But his Laureate odes are utterly and intolerably bad ; and, if he had never written any thing else, must have ranked him below Colley Cibber in genius, and above him in conceit and presumption. We have no toleration for this sort of perversity, or prostitution of great gifts ; and do not think it necessary to qualify the expression of opinions which we have formed with as much positiveness as deliberation.—We earnestly wish he would resign his livery laurel to Lord Thurlow, and write no more odes on Court galas. We can assure him too, most sincerely, that this wish is not dictated in any degree by envy, or any other hostile or selfish feeling. We are ourselves, it is but too well known, altogether without pretensions to that high office—and really see no great charms either in the salary or the connexion—and, for the glory of writing such verses as we have now been reviewing, we do not believe that there is a scribbler in the kingdom so vile as to think it a thing to be coveted.

ART. IX. *A Letter to a Member of Parliament, on the Slavery of the Christians at Algiers.* By WALTER CROKER, Esq. of the Royal Navy. London, Stockdale. 1816.

WE rejoice very sincerely in observing the disposition at length evinced by the Legislature, to urge the government towards the performance of a duty imperative upon this country, if all regard to character and consistency has not departed from among us. The discussion which took place at the close of last Session, upon Mr Brougham’s motion, clearly evinces, that the day is not far distant, when the ignominious license, too long indulged to the Barbary Pirates, will be numbered, with the Slave Trade, among those monstrous departures from publick justice and policy, to which nothing but length of time could ever have reconciled the feelings of men, and in

the existence of which it will be difficult for them to believe, after they have once awakened to a sense of duty, and looked back, at the distance of but a few years, to the disgraceful usage of past centuries.

Already, indeed, it is little less than incredible, that the civilized nations of Europe should so long have endured the piracy of those bloody and despicable Barbarians, who ravage the fairest coasts of its southern regions, and daily commit with impunity outrages, the least of which, if offered once in twenty years, by one great power to another, must have proved the cause of instant war, and only been repaired by a prodigious waste of blood and treasure, almost all over the civilized world. The law of nations has seemed hitherto to visit with its penalties only the more rare and trivial breaches of its enactments; while, towards the constant perpetration of the blackest crimes in the catalogue, it has held forth the sure encouragement of a previous pardon,—not by connivance, for it took notice of the offences,—but exhibiting the mock figure of perverted Justice, with her eyes open, her balance reversed, and her sword flung away.

It is scarcely possible to account for this anomaly. If we say that the law of nations is a Christian code, and has no sway over Infidels, the fact refutes us presently; for we maintain all the usual relations of political intercourse with the Turk; nay, we have consuls and vice-consuls in the dominions of the piratical States themselves. If it be pretended that the Barbarians never came into our notions of right, and have in all ages exercised the trade of spoliation; the answer is, that, beyond all memory, it has been the universal practice of nations to regard pirates as enemies of the human race, and to inflict summary punishment upon them whensoever they were caught; so that the right of the one party to punish, rests on the same prescriptive title behind which the other shelters his offending. If, again, an exception be alleged, by suggesting that the Corsairs are not lawless pirates, but vessels bearing a national flag, and recognized by their own government, which authorizes their proceedings; then we reply, that this only shifts the crime from the agent to the principal, or rather gives us a right to visit with punishment both the subject and the power which protects him. But we are wasting time in contending with such fanciful arguments. The true reason of that forbearance so long shown towards the Robbers, has been the mutual jealousy of the powers who should have united to extirpate them. There was always some notion of interest, either present or expected; some preposterous and shameful project of turning the friendship of the Barbarians to account, in a quarrel or a

rivalry with a civilized neighbour; some pitiful shopkeeper's calculation, that their traffic might yield exclusive advantages,—or some yet more contemptible speculation, that their hostility might be pointed against a competitor for power. If the archives of European diplomacy could be ransacked by some person of patience more than human, and of a perverted taste for the study of elaborate trifling mingled with infatuation and misconduct in great concerns, high among the monuments of incredible folly and wickedness, we will venture to say, would stand the despatches touching Algerine affairs. We make no doubt that, but a few years ago, would be found 'MOST SECRET AND CONFIDENTIAL' letters, reckoning upon the assistance of his Highness the Dey in provisioning a fleet or a garrison, and stating to '*your Lordship*' the gratifying assurances of his continued good dispositions towards '*His Majesty*,' and his hostility towards '*the persons at present exercising the government of France*.' Indeed, the common belief in the Mediterranean is, that we rather encourage the piracy of these freebooters, for the purpose of opposing the commerce of other nations;—a most false charge undoubtedly in this extent, but so far founded in truth, that we might, by a word, have put them down long ago, and that we have always for one reason or another abstained from exerting our lawful means of destroying them.

At the present moment there is an end, for some time, of the deadly feuds which have so long disfigured the face of civilized society. It seems, therefore, to be the fittest period that could be imagined for redeeming our character, and rescuing all Christendom from the imputations which have so long lain upon it, of never waging war under the banners of the Cross, unless where cruelty or plunder were the objects, and fanaticism the cloak of the enterprize. The information contained in Mr Croker's letter, meagre as it is, suffices to augment the just and generous feelings which naturally impel every thinking mind towards such a purpose as soon as the subject is mentioned.

This officer was sent to Algiers upon service, in the command of a sloop of war attached to the Mediterranean squadron, in July 1815; and having thus had an opportunity of witnessing something of the interior of that piratical state, he tells us plainly and distinctly what he saw, with feelings of honest indignation. While he was there, a large body of Christian slaves were brought from the port of Bona; and he learnt, from the concurrent testimony of all the Consuls, the history of those wretched sufferers. They were the survivors of 357 captured by two Algerine corsairs, carrying English colours for the purpose of decoying their victims within their reach. They had been driven

like a herd of cattle' a journey of many days, and fifty-nine had died of misery during that time. One unhappy youth fell dead at the Dey's feet, while they were undergoing the usual ceremony of presentation. In the first six days after their arrival, nearly seventy more perished miserably. This is a mortality greatly exceeding that of the middle passage and seasoning in the worst periods of the African Slave Trade. Mr Croker saw the wretched survivors driven out in the morning 'promiscuously with the mules' to the public quarries, where they were worked together. He inquired the history of many of them, and was told that they had been captured while under the protection of English passports, and employed in purchasing grain for our armies. Another instance is added of the same kind.

'When the island of Ponza was added to the conquests of His Majesty's arms, the great addition of the English garrison, and our squadron, occasioned considerable anxiety for the means of maintenance of the inhabitants themselves, as well as of the necessary refreshments and supplies for their new masters and benefactors, as they called us. It was also a consideration of such moment to the commanding officer of our forces, that he encouraged the spirit of commerce, which had already shown itself in the natives, by requesting English passports to different places, for grain, for the use of the island. These passports were not only willingly granted, but an intended support was also given them; namely, a permission to wear the British flag.

'Some of these poor unfortunate men, returning from one of their little enterprizes, were, within sight of their own island, boarded by six boats belonging to two Algerine pirates;—the colours which they vainly looked to for protection, were, by these assailants, torn in pieces and cast into the sea, and the unhappy crew were dragged to slavery. Such was the fate of poor Vicenza Avelino, and his unoffending crew of eleven or twelve men; who surely were as much entitled to English protection as the inhabitants of any other island which wore the English colours!

'You will judge what an English officer's feelings must have been, when surrounded by these miserable men, who, with tears, inquired, *If England knew their fate?* or if they were to expect *any mercy* from our all-powerful nation?

'I own, I cannot but wish that some of those English gentlemen, who travel in search of pleasure in the Mediterranean, would pay Algiers a visit, even for one week; I am sure they could not fail to feel, like me, the degradation to which the Christian name is exposed, and to endeavour, on their return home, to exert their abilities and influence in a cause which no one doubts to be meritorious; but which actual inspection would make every man feel to be a solemn, religious, and moral duty.

'I should add, that on the arrival of these new slaves, our Consul sent his interpreter to the bani and hospital, to find out if any of

them had claims on the English protection. The Infidels would not permit him to enter either place. All I have told you, and ten times more, will be confirmed by your taking the trouble to inquire into it; and there are two gentlemen, who will attend *in person*, if it be necessary.' p. 8, 9.

Our own Consul, it seems, used all his influence to procure their release, but without effect; and Mr Croker tells us that his influence is greater than that of any other Consul, for 'extends to being able to avoid insult to his person and house, and barely that.'—The Danish Consul was taken to the *Bani*, or Slave prison, and kept in irons until his government paid some tributary debt. The Swedes are compelled to furnish artists for their gunpowder works; and the Spanish Vice-Consul at Oran, our author himself saw working in heavy irons, with the other slaves. He adds, that he was told by a French ship-builder, that he had been sent by his government to assist in building their navy; a charge against Buonaparte which, if true, throws many of his other enormities into the shade, and must for ever stop the mouths of his adherents in their invectives against England, for employing Blood-hounds in Jamaica, and Indians in North America. The last fact of this kind which we shall cite from Mr Croker is, that the captain and crew of a Gibraltar trader, English subjects, were in irons and slavery, while he was at Algiers, although our Consul had repeatedly offered the proofs of their belonging to his nation.

The following description of the treatment of the miserable slaves, is a more eloquent exhortation to adopt *at length* the policy which honour, as well as prudence dictates, than the most elaborate argument we could frame.

'The bani, or bagnio, is in one of the narrow streets of Algiers, has nothing remarkable in its outside appearance; but, inside, *it is the most remarkable house of misery* imagination can conceive. On entering the gate, there is a small square yard for the slaves to walk about in; there they are, on every Friday, locked up, and, as they do not work on that day, they are allowed nothing but water from the Algerine government. We then ascended a stone stair-case, and, round the galleries, were rooms with *naked earthen floors and damp stone walls*. They have an iron grated window and a strong door; two of these rooms have, in each of them, twenty-four things, like cot frames, with twigs interwoven in the middle.—These are hung up, one above another, round the room, and those slaves, who are able to pay *for the luxury of such a bed*, are alone admitted.

'I am happy in wanting a comparison, in any part of the world where I have been, for this abominable prison, and those deadly cells; but, if they had a little more light, I think they would most

resemble a house where *the negroes of the West India Islands keep their pigs*. I must add, that the pestilential smell made Mr Stanburg so ill that he nearly fainted; and Doctor M'Connell and myself were not much less affected.

'The food of the slaves consists of two black loaves of half a pound each, which are *their daily bread*; neither meat nor vegetables do they ever taste, those excepted who work at the Marino, who get *ten olives* per day with their bread, and others in the Spanish hospital, which the Spanish government to this day supports, as well perhaps as it is able. In visiting this hospital, the floors of which were covered with unhappy beings of every age and either sex, I saw some men who looked almost sixty, and some children who could not be more than eight years old; the whole of them had their legs swelled and cut in such a horrid manner, that we all thought they could not recover. There also we saw some young Sicilian girls, and some women. One poor woman burst into tears; told us that she was the mother of eight children, and desired us to look at six of them, who had been slaves with her for thirteen years. We left these scenes of horror, and, in going into the country, I met the slaves returning from their labour. The clang of the chains of those who were heavily ironed, called my attention to their extreme fatigue and dejection: they were attended by Infidels with large whips.' p. 11-13.

The ravages of these detestable pirates are chiefly committed upon the vessels of the weaker powers, and upon the defenceless coasts of Sicily, Sardinia, Calabria, and the eastern side of Italy: but no ports of the Mediterranean shores, except France, are free from their incursions. When they venture to seize an English or French ship, they butcher the whole crew, to avoid the detection which must ensue from their prisoners being examined by the Consuls. But when they capture the vessels of weaker states, they lead the crews into the hopeless bondage which we have been contemplating, unless indeed that the late treaty with Naples and Sardinia, concluded under our sanction, must expose the crews of their ships to the same fate with those of England and France. But the worst vengeance of those Barbarians is reserved for the coasts. They land on any exposed point, and fall upon the defenceless houses and villages, burning and destroying every thing they cannot take away, and carrying off the whole inhabitants, even children at the breast. The terror in which those people live who are thus exposed, can hardly be imagined. There are whole ranges of coast where no house is to be seen from the sea; and, in many places, a Martello tower and ditch are regular parts of a nobleman's villa. The promise to clear the sea of the pirates, used to be one of the great engines of English influence in the Italian courts.

Our long forbearance has of late mightily injured our character in those countries; and the treaty just now alluded to, and which formed the subject of Mr Brougham's motion, has still further contributed to place our conduct in a light disadvantageous to our reputation.

The treaties not having been laid before the public, it is impossible to state in detail what have been the proceedings of Government; but it was admitted in the late discussion, that our Admiral had assisted in concluding a bargain with the pirates, by which the Neapolitan slaves were ransomed at about fifty pounds a head, and the Sardinians at something less; and the piratical court stipulated, for a further yearly sum, to capture no vessels belonging to either of those two powers, without a regular declaration of war. Now, to what does the sanction, if not the actual negotiation, of such treaties by England, amount? Most certainly to an indirect sanction of the outrages by which the wretched captives were taken; but if we admit that there was some inducement rather to negotiate than to compel their liberation, in order to avoid the risk they might have run of being massacred during our military operations against the Dey in their behalf, still the worst part of the arrangement remains undefended; it is a tacit permission given by England to whatever depredations the Barbarians may commit upon all the vessels and coasts not protected by the treaties; that is, upon every country which has not paid tribute for an exemption from lawless violence. In what other light can the affair be viewed by the rest of Europe? Is it not evident that every nation which continues subject to the piracies of the Corsairs, will charge us both with having left it unprotected, and with having authorized the claim of the robbers to obtain a price for their forbearance? But the robbers themselves will doubtless view it in the same light; they will act as if they had the countenance of the English government in their outrages, and will, at the very least, consider themselves as permitted by us to plunder every one who cannot or will not pay for their indemnity. We say, at the very least; for there is no reason to expect that these savage marauders will be satisfied with extending the arrangement recently made to all other nations. It is far more likely that they begrudge the loss of a part of their field of plunder, and will not consent to restrict it further. In all probability they have been induced to allow the limitation now imposed, as much for the sake of the authority which our interposition gives to their remaining depredations, as for the gain immediately derived from the bargain. At all events, there can be no doubt that, excluded from one part of the Mediter-

anean shores, they will concentrate their forces, and pour them upon the coasts which remain unprotected by any stipulation; so that the fair fields of Tuscany and the Roman territory will pay for the exemption purchased by Sardinia and Naples. This, at least, is the universal expectation in those countries; and the character of the English nation is lowered in their estimation accordingly. In the late discussion, a fact transpired which must excite the most bitter sentiments of shame in every lover of his country. Lord Cochrane stated, that he had himself, three or four years ago, the humiliating duty assigned to him, of carrying to the Dey of Algiers rich presents from our Government; and a rumour was mentioned as prevailing in the Mediterranean, that a letter had been written to that Chief pirate, by the highest authority in the country; nor was any contradiction whatever given by the ministers to this assertion. Transactions so degrading, we verily believe, will never again tarnish the high fame of England in the eyes of mankind, now that the effectual remedy has been applied, by making the whole subject a matter of Parliamentary inquiry and public discussion.

It may be demanded then, towards what line of conduct our inferences point? We think clearly to this; that no treaty ought ever again to be made, involving a payment of tribute, although a ransom of slaves already captured may, perhaps, through tenderness towards their sufferings, be allowed. But that future outrages should plainly be prevented, not by armed force, not by negotiation; and that the severest vengeance should be inflicted on the robbers the very first time they attack a vessel or a village belonging to any power not formally at war with them. This is the least which the law of nations allows us to do. But an immediate attack upon the nest of the pirates, upon Algiers itself, seems the most fit step to be taken; and will be justified by the very first act of violence which they shall commit. One of the evil effects of these inauspicious conventions is, that they prevent us from proceeding against the place until some such act of violence is perpetrated with the connivance of the Dey's government.

The safety and facility of an enterprize against the pirates, can admit of no doubt. Mr Croker explicitly states the works of Algiers to be a mere bugbear; and the force of the whole state to be trifling in the extreme. They are now at war with the Tunisians, who set them at defiance; and the tribes of Arabs in the immediate vicinity of the city, hold the power of the Dey in equal contempt, levying contributions on his subjects within sight of his walls. The officer alluded to above, asserted distinctly in the House of Commons, that two sail of the line would

at once put an end to the intolerable nuisance which we call the Algerine Government, and that without any risk whatever of failure. It is further to be remembered, that this government means only a band of three or four thousand Turkish Janisaries, who tyrannize over the native Algerines as much as over the the Christians who fall into their hands; who chuse the Dey out of their own body; and are so far from submitting to any regular or hereditary authority, that the present Chief's sons serve as common soldiers in the corps from which he himself was taken. To put down this execrable dynasty, would be fully as great a blessing to its own subjects, as to those of the neighbouring States.

In justification of such a measure, we trust that enough has already been urged. A few words only are required to show, that, without gross inconsistency, we cannot neglect this duty. We stood foremost among the champions of Africa, and opposers of the slave trade. But the miseries endured by the unhappy negroes are not greater than those of the Italians, Greeks and Spaniards, whose lot has been depicted in the course of these pages. Indeed, the slave trade of the Africans in the Mediterranean is considerably worse than that of the Europeans in the Atlantic; worse at least in its kind, though much less extensive. A moment's reflection may convince any one of this; for in the former case, the oppressor is the barbarian, and a barbarian of the most savage and unprincipled caste; whereas, in the latter, with all its horrors, we must at least admit, that the sufferings of the slave are lighter, both because his master is more civilized, and because subjection is less severe to those who are less enlightened. While we are not even satisfied with doing all we can to prevent our own people from trading in African slaves, but are most righteously sounding the cry against this accursed traffic, in every tongue and in every clime, it is a prodigious inconsistency to permit the Africans to carry on a worse commerce in the blood of Europeans, and of those who have never bought or sold a single negro from the beginning of time. Against this abomination, our whole force should be bent, if necessary; but when a single blow could annihilate it, and we have only to obtain the consent of other nations whom we do not require to cooperate with us, what excuse can be imagined for our neither stirring ourselves, nor moving them in the cause? There is something monstrous in this departure from our own principles, and from the example set by us elsewhere, not only in the West, but in the recent deposition of the Kandian Tyrant.

ART. X. *The City of the Plague, and other Poems.* By JOHN WILSON. Author of the *Isle of Palms, &c.* 8vo. pp. 300. Edinburgh, 1816.

WE have often thought it unnatural to say, or to think, any thing harsh of the innocent and irritable race of poets. Most other writers are apt, in a thousand ways, to excite our spleen, and mortify our vanity,—by pretending to instruct our ignorance, to refute our errors, or to expose our prejudices. They offend us, in short, by assuming a superiority over us, and either disturbing our favourite notions, or at least showing us how much we have still to learn. The poet alone has none of this polemic and offensive spirit. His sole business is to give pleasure, and to gain praise from all descriptions of men. He contradicts nobody, and refutes nothing; but puts himself to a great deal of trouble for the sole purpose of raising delightful emotions in the breasts of his readers;—and asks no other reward than that inward gratitude and approbation which, in such circumstances, it must be still more blessed to give than to receive. He is naturally to be regarded, therefore, as a benefactor to mankind—at least in purpose and design; and we really think that he generally is so in fact and reality also: For though the degrees of pleasure which they afford are infinitely various, and usually bear no proportion either to the pains they have taken, or the opinion they entertain of their success, we think there are few poets (of course we do not speak of mere versemongers), from a candid perusal of whose works all who have any true relish for poetry may not derive a sensible gratification, or who may not be regarded as having added something to the stores of our most refined and ennobling enjoyments. For our own parts, therefore, we confess that we are inclined to look on the whole tribe not only with indulgence, but with gratitude; and that we have often been indebted for very considerable gratification to works which we should be somewhat ashamed to praise, and not very proud of having written—works too humble, or too full of faults, to be tolerated by critical readers, or recommended with safety to such as are not critical.

But though we generally endeavour to *read* poetry in this indulgent humour, we cannot always afford to criticize it in the same amiable spirit—and that for reasons which we have explained, we believe, on some former occasion. Yet we are inclined to hope that, even in the discharge of this stern duty, it would not be difficult for an intelligent reader to trace the ha-

bitual operation of the same lenient principles which we have now been endeavouring to recommend;—and, hardly as we have been accused of dealing with some poetical adventurers, we flatter ourselves that we have always manifested the greatest tenderness and consideration for the whole tuneful brotherhood. There are some faults, indeed, to which we have found it impossible to show any mercy: But to all those errors that arise out of the poetical temperament, or are at least consistent with its higher attributes, we venture to assert, that we have been uniformly indulgent in a very remarkable degree—and have shown more favour than any critics ever did before us to extravagance and exaggeration, when springing from a genuine enthusiasm—to redundant or misplaced description, when arising out of a true love of nature or of art,—and even to a little sickness or weakness of sentiment, whenever it could be traced to an unaffected kindness of heart, or tenderness of fancy.

There are faults, however, as we have already hinted, incident to this branch of literature, for which we have little toleration; but we cannot think that our severity towards them should be construed into any want of indulgence to poets in general, since they are all of a kind that can only affect those who have a genuine veneration for the poetical character, and consist chiefly of apparent violations of its dignity and honour. Among the first and most usual, we might mention the indications of great conceit and self-admiration, when united with ordinary talents. Excellence in poetry is so high and so rare an excellence, as not only to eclipse, but to appear contrasted with all moderate degrees of merit. It has a tone and a language of its own, therefore, which it is mere impertinence in ordinary mortals to usurp; and when a writer of slender endowments assumes that which is only allowed to the highest, he not only makes his defects more conspicuous, by exposing them to such overwhelming comparisons, but provokes and disgusts us by the manifest folly and vanity of his pretensions—which unlucky qualities come naturally to strike us as the most prominent and characteristic of his works, and effectually indispose us towards any trifling though real merits they may happen to possess. Another and a more intolerable fault, as more frequently attaching to superior talents, is that perversity or affectation which leads an author to distort or disfigure his compositions, either by a silly ambition of singularity, an unfortunate attempt to combine qualities that are truly irreconcilable, or an absurd predilection for some fantastic style or manner, in which no one but himself can perceive any fitness or beauty. In such cases, we are not merely offended by the positive deformities which are thus pro-

duced, but by the feeling that they are produced wilfully and with much effort, and by the humiliating spectacle they afford of the existence of paltry prejudices and despicable vanities in minds which we naturally love to consider as the dwellingplace of noble sentiments and enchanting contemplations. Akin to this source of displeasure, but of a more aggravated description, is that which arises from the visible indication of any great moral defect in those highly gifted spirits, whose natural office it seems to be, to purify and exalt the conceptions of ordinary men, by images more lofty and refined than can be suggested by the coarse realities of existence. We do not here allude so much to the loose and luxurious descriptions of love and pleasure which may be found in the works of some great masters, as to the traces of those meaner and more malignant vices which appear still more inconsistent with the poetical character—the traces of paltry jealousy and envy of rival genius—of base servility and adulation to power or riches—of party profligacy or personal spite or rancour—and all the other low and unworthy passions which excite a mingled feeling of loathing and contempt, and not only untune the mind for all fine or exalted contemplations, but at once disenchant all the fairy scenes whose creation must be referred to the agency of spirits so degraded.

Except when our bile is stirred by the display of such infirmities as these, we look upon ourselves as very indulgent judges of poetry; and believe we have, upon the whole, incurred the displeasure of the judicious much oftener by an excessive lenity, than by any undue measure of severity—for our rash and unqualified praises, than for our intemperate or embittered censures. In spite of all we have heard upon this subject, however, we still incline to adhere to our former system, and, to say the truth, are much more frequently disposed to repent us of our severities, than of our indulgence,—as it is the nature of all angry feelings to be short-lived, and is, at all events, so much more agreeable to contemplate what is beautiful than what is offensive.

We do not know very well how we have been led into this long encomium on our own gentleness—unless it be that we are conscious of being more pleased with the volume before us than we feel any assurance that our readers will be.—There is something extremely amiable, at all events, in the character of Mr Wilson's genius:—a constant glow of kind and of pure affection—a great sensibility to the charms of external nature, and the delights of a private, innocent, and contemplative life—a fancy richly stored with images of natural beauty and simple enjoyments—great tenderness and pathos in the representation of suf-

ferings and sorrow, though almost always calmed, and even brightened, by the healing influences of pitying love, confiding piety, and conscious innocence. Almost the only passions with which his poetry is conversant, are the gentler sympathies of our nature—tender compassion—confiding affection, and guiltless sorrow. From all this there results, along with a most touching and tranquillizing sweetness, a certain monotony and languor, which, to those who read poetry for amusement merely, will be apt to appear like dullness, and must be felt as a defect by all who have been used to the variety, rapidity, and energy of the more popular poetry of the day. The poetry before us, on the other hand, is almost entirely contemplative or descriptive. There is little incident, and no conflict of passion or opposition of character.—The interest is that of love or of pity alone: there is no entanglement of situation, no opposition of interests—no struggle of discordant feelings. There is not even any delineation of guilt, or any scene of vengeance, resentment, or other stormy passion. The effect of the piece, at least, never depends upon such elements. The author seems to have written just to embody the scenes and characters on which he had most pleasure in dwelling—and his chief art consists in fixing his eye intently upon them—and drawing them with the truth, the force, the fondness and the fullness of complete portraits of beloved objects. In pursuing this pleasing occupation, he was not likely to become so soon wearied as the comparatively indifferent spectators in whose eye he was working;—and from this has resulted another fault—the excessive diffuseness and oppressive fulness of most of his pictures and details—which has inevitably led to occasional weakness in the diction, and a want of brilliancy and effect in the colouring of the style. Still, however, there is a charm about the work, to which it would be unfortunate, we think, to be insensible—a certain pastoral purity, joined with deeper feelings, and more solemn and impressive images than belong to pastoral—and reflecting, if not the more agitated and deeply shaded scenes of adventurous life, an enchanting image of peace, purity, and tenderness, which, we hope, is not more unlike the ordinary tenor of actual existence.

The most important piece in the present volume, is a dramatic poem entitled, ‘*The City of the Plague*,’—by which is meant London, during the great sickness of 1666. Most of our readers are probably familiar with De Foe’s history of that great calamity—a work in which fabulous incidents and circumstances are combined with authentic narratives, with an art and a verisimilitude which no other writer has ever been able to communicate to fiction. A great part of Mr Wilson’s materials, and

indeed most of the ground colour of his poem, are derived from this source;—and there is not much complication or invention in the particular incidents he has imagined for bringing them into connexion. Though the nature of the subject, and the uniformity of sadness to which it inevitably led, rendered it eminently unfit for actual representation, and not very suitable for a dramatic form, we think there are many dramatic beauties in the poem before us, and a very great number of passages that are both pathetic and poetical in a very high degree. We shall make no apology, therefore, for presenting our readers with a pretty full account of it, and with such specimens of the execution as may enable them to judge of its merits.

The scene opens with the conversation of Frankfort and Wilmot, two young naval officers, on the banks of the Thames, a few miles below the city. They had heard of the pestilence on their making the coast some days before;—and one of them is pressing on with overwhelming fears and forebodings, to satisfy himself as to the fate of a beloved mother and brother, whom he had left in the devoted city at his last sailing, and not heard of since;—the other belongs to a different part of the kingdom, and accompanies his friend from mere love and affection. The lonely and desolate appearances of the once gay and populous region through which they are advancing, oppress the despairing son with new terrors, while his friend endeavours to comfort him, by reminding him that it is then the sabbath evening, and consequently devoted to rest. He answers, in a fine vein of poetry—

‘ O unrejoicing Sabbath ! not of yore
Did thy sweet evenings die along the Thames
Thus silently ! Now every sail is furl’d,
The oar hath dropt from out the rower’s hand,
And on thou flow’st in lifeless majesty,
River of a desert lately filled with joy !
O’er all that mighty wilderness of stone
The air is clear and cloudless as at sea
Above the gliding ship. All fires are dead,
And not one single wreath of smoke ascends
Above the stillness of the towers and spires.
How idly hangs that arch magnificent
Across the idle river ! Not a speck
Is seen to move along it. There it hangs,
Still as a rainbow in the pathless sky.’ p. 6.

In the same spirit of fanciful foreboding, he views all the objects that successively present themselves; and at last observes—

‘ Here, on this very spot where now we rest,
Upon the morning I last sail’d from England,

My mother put her arms around my neck,
 And in a solemn voice, unchok'd by tears,
 Said, "Son! a last farewell!" That solemn voice,
 Amid the ocean's roaring solitude,
 Oft past across my soul, and I have heard it
 Steal in sad music from the sunny calm.
 Upon our homeward voyage, when we spake
 The ship that told us of the Plague, I knew
 That the trumpet's voice would send into our souls
 Some dismal tidings; for I saw her sails
 Black in the distance, flinging off with scorn
 A shower of radiance from the blessed sun.' p. 9.

While they are pausing in these melancholy contemplations, they are accosted by an old man flying from the city with a little infant, the sole survivor of a late happy family, who holds a long conversation with them, in a tone rather too elevated and poetical for the occasion. There is considerable force and effect, however, in the following passage.

'Know ye what you will meet with in the city?
 Together will ye walk, through long, long streets,
 All standing silent as a midnight church.
 You will hear nothing but the brown red grass
 Rustling beneath your feet; the very beating
 Of your own hearts will awe you; the small voice
 Of that vain bauble, idly counting time,
 Will speak a solemn language in the desert.
 Look up to heaven, and there the sultry clouds,
 Still threatening thunder, lower with grim delight,
 As if the Spirit of the plague dwelt there,
 Darkening the city with the shadows of death.' p. 14.

He then proceeds to describe the horrors of the scene, and, in particular, the nightly interment of the dead, in cart and waggon loads, in the vast pits that were opened in different parts of the city.

'Would you look in? Grey hairs and golden tresses,
 Wan shrivell'd cheeks that have not smil'd for years;
 And many a rosy visage smiling still;
 Bodies in the noisome weeds of beggary wrapt,
 With age decrepit, and wasted to the bone;
 And youthful frames, august and beautiful,
 In spite of mortal pangs,—there lie they all
 Embrac'd in ghastliness! But look not long,
 For haply, 'mid the faces glimmering there,
 The well-known cheek of some beloved friend
 Will meet thy gaze, or some small snow-white hand,
 Bright with the ring that holds her lover's hair.' p. 15.

He then warns them again against entering the devoted place ; but, finding them resolved, commends them to the prayers of ' the radiant angel,' whom he assures them they will meet, conveying peace and consolation through the despairing streets.

The Second Scene is of a more questionable character. It represents a crazy impostor, dealing out his astrological prognostications to a wild and distracted multitude, in one of the squares of the city. There is a good deal of striking and agonizing detail in the statements that are made by the pale inquirers, and many traits of a savage and powerful eloquence in the dread and mystical responses that are returned by the oracle. In the midst of his prophesying, and just after Frankfort and Wilmot have mingled in the audience, he is smitten with the plague, and the assembly flies from the contagion.

———' Disperse

All ye who prize your lives !—Soon will the air
Be foul with his dead body.'

The Third Scene introduces us to Magdalene the gentle heroine of the piece. This innocent maid, bred from her infancy among the lakes and hills of Westmoreland, where she had been betrothed to Frankfort, had come to London in his absence with her father and mother, at the period when the pestilence began its ravages. Both parents had fallen among its earliest victims ; and the poor orphan had been left with one female friend among the dead and the dying. In this awful situation, she felt herself roused to extraordinary exertions ; and, regardless of her own danger, had passed several months in tending the dying and the friendless, praying by the desperate, and rendering all offices of saintly humanity to the miserable sufferers of the devoted city. She is here presented praying by night in one of the deserted churches.

' Oh ! let me walk the waves of this wild world
Through faith unsinking ;—stretch thy saving hand
To a lone castaway upon the sea,
Who hopes no resting-place except in heaven.
And oh ! this holy calm,—this peace profound,—
That sky so glorious in infinitude,—
That countless host of softly-burning stars,
And all that floating universe of light,
Lift up my spirit far above the grave,
And tell me that my pray'rs are heard in Heaven. ' p. 38.

A ruffian who had entered the same place for purposes of sacrilege and violence, is touched by her sweet voice and saint-like demeanour ;—confesses with horror the tremendous profligacy in which he and his associates had been living since the plague.

had rendered them desperate;—and is sent away heart-struck and penitent.

The Fourth Scene is rather an unsuccessful attempt to represent one of those seemingly unnatural orgies,—those frantic displays of wild and daring revelry, to which the desperation of the time naturally gave rise, and which are so strikingly depicted in the work of De Foe. Mr Wilson has set out a long table in a silent and deserted street, and placed around it a party of licentious young men and women carousing. He has made them drink toasts and memories, sing songs in praise of the plague, and even utter scoffs and impieties against a reverend priest who comes to reprove their excesses;—but he has not in any one instance caught the true tone of profligacy, or even of convivial gaiety. It seems as if he had not the heart to represent human creatures as thoroughly reprobate or unamiable. Accordingly, they all give signs of penitence and good feeling. Even the prostitutes are gentle-hearted, delicate and interesting beings; and the master of those unseemly revels, turns out to be graced with almost every virtue under heaven. However creditable it may be to his philanthropy, this faintheartedness in conceiving profligacy, is a great defect in an author who deals in effect. With what bold lines and strong colouring would Scott have drawn such a scene as this!—what shuddering and horror would Crabbe have excited by means of it!—what mingled laughter and pity and terror would it have breathed in the hands of Shakespeare!

The Second Act shows us Frankfort at the door of his mother's house, looking in agony upon its black windows, now gleaming in the silent moon; afraid to enter, and watching for the least sign of life or motion in that beloved dwelling. A pious priest at last comes and tells him, that his mother and little brother had both died that very morning. After some bursts of eloquent sorrow, the poor youth inquires how they died; and the priest answers—

‘ Last night I sat with her,
And talk’d of thee;—two tranquil hours we talk’d
Of thee and none beside, while little William
Sat in his sweet and timid silent way
Upon his stool beside his mother’s knees,
And, sometimes looking upwards to her face,
Seem’d listening of his brother far at sea.
This morning early I look’d in upon them
Almost by chance. There little William lay
With his bright hair and rosy countenance
Dead! though at first I thought he only slept.

" You think, " his mother said, " that William sleeps !
 " But he is dead ! He sicken'd during the night,
 " And while I pray'd he drew a long deep sigh,
 " And breath'd no more ! "

—I found that she had laid upon her bed
 Many of those little presents that you brought her
 From your first voyage to the Indies. Shells
 With a sad lustre brighten'd o'er the whiteness
 Of these her funeral sheets; and gorgeous feathers,
 With which, few hours before, her child was playing,
 And lisping all the while his brother's name,
 Form'd a sad contrast with the pale, pale face
 Lying so still beneath its auburn hair.
 Two letters still are in her death-closed hand
 And will be buried with her. One was written
 By your captain, after the great victory
 Over De Ruyter, and with loftiest praise
 Of her son's consummate skill and gallantry.
 The other, now almost effaced by tears,
 Was from yourself, the last she had from you,
 And spoke of your return. God bless thee, boy !
 I am too old to weep—but such return
 Wrings out the tears from my old wither'd heart.

Frank. O 'tis the curse of absence that our love
 Becomes too sad—too tender—too profound
 Towards all our far-off friends. Home we return
 And find them dead for whom we often wept,
 Needlessly wept when they were in their joy !
 Then goes the broken-hearted mariner
 Back to the sea that welters drearily
 Around the homeless earth ! ' p. 69–71.

The Second Scene passes between the holy Magdalene and her faithful Isabel, within their little apartment in a lonely street of the suburbs. It is very characteristic of the author's manner,—and is full, we think, of tenderness and beauty. After talking over their daily tasks of charity, their thoughts wander back to their own happy home among the mountains—and to the days when Frankfort's smiles lent new glory to the landscape.

' How bright and fair that afternoon returns
 When last we parted ! Even now I feel
 Its dewy freshness in my soul ! Sweet breeze !
 That hymning like a spirit up the lake
 Came through the tall pines on yon little isle
 Across to us upon the vernal shore
 With a kind friendly greeting. Frankfort blest
 The unseen musician floating through the air,
 And smiling said, " Wild harper of the hill !
 " So may'st thou play thy ditty when once more

Each year so full of blossoms or of fruit
 Planted by my mother, and her holy name
 Graven on its stem by mine own infant hands ! ' p. 75—77.

This overflowing of innocent hearts is continued with the same sweetness through several pages;—and then they sing their evening hymns together, and pass to the discharge of other duties.

The Third Scene has scarcely any reference to the main agents in the story,—but consists altogether of conversations in the streets on the subject of the wide-wasting pestilence, and the signs by which its approach was announced. There is something very terrific and impressive in the images Mr W. has conjured up for this purpose. The orator of the superstitious gossip demands—

—Did any here behold, as I beheld,
 That Phantom who three several nights appear'd,
 Sitting upon a cloud-built throne of state
 Right o'er St Paul's Cathedral? On that throne
 At the dead hour of night he took his seat,
 And monarch-like stretch'd out his mighty arm
 That shone like lightning. In that kingly motion
 There seem'd a steadfast threatening—and his features,
 Gigantic 'neath their shadowy diadem,
 Frown'd, as the Phantom vow'd within his heart
 Perdition to the City. Then he rose,
 Majestic spectre! keeping still his face
 Towards the domes beneath, and disappear'd,
 Still threatening with his outstretch'd arm of light,
 Into a black abyss behind the clouds.

Voice from the crowd. ' And saw ye not
 The sheeted corpses stalking through the sky
 In long long troops together—yet all silent,
 And unobservant of each other, gliding
 Down a dark flight of steps that seem'd to lead
 Into the bosom of eternity ?

' What sawest thou else ?

3d Man. I have seen hearses moving through the sky !
 Not few or solitary, as on earth
 They pass us by upon a lonesome road.
 But thousands, tens of thousands mov'd along
 In grim procession—a long league of plumes
 Tossing in the storm that roar'd aloft in heaven,
 Yet bearing onwards through the hurricane,
 A black, a silent, a wild cavalcade
 That nothing might restrain; till in a moment
 The heavens were freed, and all the sparkling stars
 Look'd through the blue and empty firmament ! ' p. 87, 88.

There is, then, another attempt to portray profligate insensibility and blasphemous daring;—but the author's heart again fails him, and a few words of mild exhortation from Magdalene melts the whole party into tears of penitential sorrow.

The following scene passes calmly and sorrowfully between Frankfort, his friend, and the Priest, beside the bodies of the innocent sufferers. The Priest describes the death of Magdalene's parents, and her heroic devotion since that event.

—What! though thy Magdalene heretofore had known
 Only the name of sorrow, living far
 Within the heart of peace, with birds and flocks,
 The flowers of the earth, and the high stars of heaven
 Companions of her love and innocence;
 Yet she who in that region of delight,
 Slumber'd in the sunshine, or the shelter'd shade,
 Rose with the rising storm, and like an angel
 With hair unruffled in its radiance, stood
 Beside the couch of tossing agony!
 As undisturb'd as on some vernal day
 Walking alone through mountain-solitude,
 To bring home in her arms a new-year'd lamb
 Too feeble for the snow!

Frank. I wonder not!
 Its beauty was most touching, and I loved
 The bright and smiling surface of her soul;
 But I have gazed with adoration
 Upon its awful depths profoundly calm,
 Seen far down shadowing the sweet face of heaven.'

p. 106, 107.

While they are thus discoursing, she enters,—and the loving orphans embrace each other in speechless sorrow and delight. The last scene of this act begins with rather a dull dialogue between a gravedigger and his apprentice, broken off by a brawl and fatal duel in the churchyard, and ends with the funeral of Frankfort's mother.

The Last Act, for there are but three, opens with a quiet conversation between Frankfort's friend and the reverend Priest, in which the latter describes some of the most remarkable effects of the first appearance of the plague.

—'As thunder quails
 Th' inferior creatures of the air and earth,
 So bowed the Plague at once all human souls,
 And the brave man beside the natural coward
 Walk'd trembling. On the restless multitude,
 Thoughtlessly toiling through a busy life,
 Nor heeding in the tumult of their souls

The ordinary language of decay,
 A voice came down that made itself be heard,
 As Death's benumbing fingers suddenly
 Swept off whole crowded streets into the grave.
 Then rose a direful struggle with the Pest!
 And all the ordinary forms of life
 Mov'd onwards with the violence of despair.
 Wide flew the crowded gates of theatres,
 And a pale frightful audience, with their souls
 Looking in perturbation through the glare
 Of a convulsive laughter, sat and shouted
 At obscene ribaldry, and mirth profane.
 There yet was heard parading through the streets
 War-music, and the soldier's tossing plumes
 Mov'd with their wonted pride. O idle show
 Of these poor worthless instruments of death,
 Themselves devoted! Childish mockery!
 At which the Plague did scoff, who in one night
 The trumpet silenc'd and the plumes laid low.' p. 119, 120.

And a little after—

' Silent as nature's solitary glens
 Slept the long streets—and mighty London seem'd,
 With all its temples, domes, and palaces,
 Like some sublime assemblage of tall cliffs
 That bring down the deep stillness of the heavens
 To shroud them in the desert. Groves of masts
 Rose through the brightness of the sun-smote river,
 But all their flags were struck, and every sail
 Was lower'd. Many a distant land had felt
 The sudden stoppage of that mighty heart.
 And as I look'd
 Down on the courts and markets, where the soul
 Of this world's business once roar'd like the sea,
 That sound within my memory strove in vain,' &c. p. 122-3.

In this interesting conversation, they are interrupted by the return of Frankfort himself—in a wild access of delirium and fever. He is with difficulty borne home; and the scene shifts to the lonely chamber of Magdalene, where it soon appears that the same unsparing malady has likewise laid its spell on that sainted creature. After some starts of natural sorrow, she composes herself in blissful gentleness—

——' O were Frankfort happy!

● I now could follow death into the grave
 As joyfully as in the month of May
 A lamb glides after its soft-bleating mother
 Into a sunny field of untrod dew.' p. 138.

—but hearing of his seizure, she insists upon going instantly to

him ; and accordingly arrives in the next scene to still the tossing of his wounded spirit, with her meek eyes and enchanting voice. He recognizes her almost immediately, and regains his perfect recollection ; and she says—

Thy face

Is all at once spread over with a calm
More beautiful than sleep, or mirth, or joy !
I am no more disconsolate. We shall die
Like two glad waves, that, meeting on the sea
In moonlight and in music, melt away
Quietly 'mid the quiet wilderness !' p. 147, 148.

She then clasps him in her arms ; and he says—

' Thy soft white spotless bosom, like the plumes
Of some compassionate angel, meets my heart !
And all therein is quiet as the snow
At breathless midnight.
A sweet mild voice is echoing far away
In the remotest regions of my soul.
'Tis clearer now—and now again it dies,
And leaves a silence smooth as any sea,
When all the stars of heaven are on its breast.

Magd. We go to sleep, and shall awake with God.

Frank. Sing me one verse of a hymn before I die.

Ope of those hymns you sang long, long ago

On Sabbath evenings ! Sob not so, my Magdalene.' p. 149.

We pity the reader who does not feel the beauty and the pathos of those simple expressions. He dies in that pure embrace : and she remains entranced upon his bosom. The Priest says—

' See her breath just moves
The ringlets on his cheek !—How lovingly
In her last sleep these white and gentle hands
Lie on his neck and breast !—Her soul is parting !' p. 151.

She does not die there, however ; but is present at his funeral in the concluding scene. She faints at the edge of his grave, and is thus commiserated by the by-standers.

' That one small grave—that one dead mariner—
That dying Lady—and those wond'rous friends
So calm, so lofty, yet compassionate—
Do strike a deeper awe into our souls,
A deeper human grief than yon wide pit
With its unnumber'd corpses.

Another Voice.

Woe and death
Have made that Angel bright their prey at last !
But yesterday I saw her heavenly face
Becalm a shrieking room with one sweet smile !
For her, old age will tear his hoary locks,

And childhood murmur forth her holy name
Weeping in sorrowful dreams !

Another Voice. Her soft hand clos'd
My children's eyes,—and when she turn'd to go,
The beauty of her weeping countenance
So sank into my heart, that I beheld
The little corpses with a kind of joy,
Assured by that compassionate Angel's smile
That they had gone to heaven.' p. 162.

She dies at length in blissful resignation, and the scene closes with prayers and benedictions.

We have dwelt so long upon this leading part of the volume before us, that we can afford to give but a short account of the rest. There is another dramatic fragment, entitled—'The Convict,' which we think has extraordinary merit.—The subject is the conviction and deliverance, at the place of execution, of an innocent country man, upon whom accidental circumstances had fastened irresistible suspicions of murder. The topics may seem low and ignoble, but the interest excited is prodigious, and of a true tragic character,—while the piety of the unhappy victim, the innocent simplicity of his wife and children, and the rustic images belonging to his condition, serve to redeem the horror of the main incidents, and lend a certain elegance and dignity to what might otherwise appear but a dreadful or an edifying story. The great merit of the piece, however, consists in the fine dissection and leisurely display of all the terrible emotions that belong to such an occurrence, and in forcing the reader to contemplate it steadily and fixedly, till all the powerful emotions with which it is pregnant are developed, and find their way to the heart. We have not room now to give any considerable specimens of the way in which this is executed. But we must add a part of the last scene. One compassionate and distant spectator observes,

' I see the hill-side all alive,
With silent faces gazing steadfastly
On one poor single solitary wretch,
Who views not in the darkness of his trouble
One human face among the many thousands
All staring towards the scaffold ! Some are there
Who have driven their carts with him unto the market,
Have shook hands with him meeting at the Fair,
Have in his very cottage been partakers
Of the homely fare which rev'rently he blessed,
Yea ! who have seen his face in holier places,
And in the same seat been at worship with him,
Within the House of God. May God forgive them !' p. 283.

The whole process of dreadful preparation, with its effect on the sympathizing crowd, is then described with admirable force of colouring. When all is about to be concluded, the true murderer is accidentally discovered, and dragged to the foot of the scaffold, amidst shouts to stop the execution; at this instant the prisoner's wife, followed by her children, bursts through the crowd, and exclaims,

' Come down—come down—my husband! from the scaffold.

—O Christ! art thou alive—or dead with fear!

Let me leap up with one bound to his side,

And strain him to my bosom till our souls

Are mix'd like rushing waters.

Dost hear thy Alice? Come down from the scaffold,

And walk upon the green and flowery earth

With me, thy wife, in everlasting joy! *[She tries to move forward, but falls down in a fainting fit.]*

One of the crowd. See—see his little daughter! how she tears

The covering from his eyes—unbinds the halter—

Leaps up to his bosom—and with sobs is kissing

His pale fix'd face. "I am thy daughter—Father!"

But there he stands—as lifeless as a stone—

Nor sees—nor feels—nor hears—his soul seems gone

Upon a dismal travel!

[The PRISONER is led down from the scaffold, with his daughter held unconsciously in his arms.]

Prisoner. Must this wild dream be all dreamt o'er again!

Who put this little Child into my arms? My wife

Lying dead!—Thy judgments, Heaven! are terrible.

The Clergyman. Look up—this world is shining out once more
In welcome to thy soul recalled from death.

The murderer is discovered.

[The prisoner falls on his knees, and his wife, who has recovered, goes and kneels by his side.]

Clergyman. Crowd not so round them—let the glad fresh air
Enter into their souls.

Prisoner. Alice! one word!

Let me hear thy voice assuring me of life.

Ah me! that soft cheek brings me by its touch

From the black, dizzy, roaring brink of death,

At once into the heart of happiness!

—Gasping with gratitude! she cannot speak.

Wife. I never shall smile more—but all my days

Walk with still footsteps, and with humble eyes,

An everlasting hymn within my soul

To the great God of Mercy!

Prisoner (starting up). O thou bright angel with that golden
hair,

Scattering thy smiles like sunshine through the light,

Art thou my own sweet Daughter! Come, my Child,
Come dancing on into thy Father's soul!
Come with those big tears sparkling on thy cheeks,
And let me drink them with a thousand kisses.

—That laugh hath fill'd the silent world with joy!' p. 287-89.

The two most considerable of the other poems are 'The Children's Dance,' and 'The Scholar's Funeral,' both written with very considerable elegance, and full of the author's characteristic sweetness and tenderness. The first is not the celebration of a city ball, but of the annual assembly of the infant rustics around Grassmere and its romantic neighbourhood, who meet in a little lowly room, garnished with holly boughs and Christmas roses, to exhibit before their delighted parents their proficiency in the arts taught by the old village dancing-master, the judicious instructor of more than one generation. It begins,

- 'How calm and beautiful the frosty Night
Has stol'n unnotic'd like the hush of sleep
O'er Grassmere vale! Beneath the mellowing light,
How sinks in softness every rugged steep!' p. 171.
- 'Through many a vale how rang each snow-roof'd cot,
This livelong day with rapture blithe and wild!
All thoughts but of the lingering eve forgot,
Both by grave Parent, and light hearted Child.' &c.
- 'All day the earthen floors have felt their feet
Twinkling quick measures to the liquid sound
Of their own small-piped voices shrilly sweet,—
As hand in hand they wheel'd their giddy round.
Ne'er fairy-revels on the greensward mound
To dreaming bard a lovelier show display'd:—
Titania's self did ne'er with lighter bound
Dance o'er the diamonds of the dewy glade,
Than danc'd, at peep of morn, mine own dear mountain-
maid.'
- 'Oft in her own small mirror had the gleam,
The soften'd gleam of her rich golden hair,
That o'er her white neck floated in a stream,
Kindled to smiles that Infant's visage fair,
Half-conscious she that beauty glistened there!
Oft had she glanced her restless eyes aside
On silken sash so bright and debonnair,
Then to her mother flown with leaf-like glide,
Who kiss'd her cherub-head with tears of silent pride.'

p. 172, 173.

The description of the whole scene is equally beautiful and touching; but we can afford room for no more than the breaking up and retiring of the party.

- ' But now the lights are waxing dim and pale,
 And shed a fitful gleaming o'er the room;
 'Mid the dim hollies one by one they fail,
 Another hour, and all is wrapt in gloom.
 And lo! without, the cold, bright stars illumine
 The cloudless air, so beautiful and still,
 While proudly placed in her meridian dome
 Night's peerless Queen the realms of heaven doth fill
 With peace and joy, and smiles on each vast slumbering hill.
- ' The dance and music cease their blended glee,
 And many a wearied infant hangs her head,
 Dropping asleep upon her mother's knee,
 Worn out with joy, and longing for her bed.
 Yet some lament the bliss too quickly fled,' &c. p. 185.
- ' O'er Loughrig-cliffs I see one party climb,
 Whose empty dwellings through the hush'd midnight
 Sleep in the shade of Langdale-pikes sublime—
 Up Dummil-Raise, unmindful of the height,
 His daughter in his arms, with footsteps light
 The father walks, afraid lest she should wake!
 'Through lonely Easdale past yon cots so white
 On Helm-crag side, their journey others take;
 And some to those sweet homes that smile by Rydal lake.'
- ' He too, the Poet of this humble show,
 Silent walks homeward through the hour of rest—
 While quiet as the depth of spotless snow,
 A pensive calm contentment fills his breast!
 ' O wayward man! were he not truly blest!
 'That Lake so still below—that Sky above!
 Unto his heart a sinless Infant prest,
 Whose ringlets like the glittering dew-wire move,
 Floating and sinking soft amid the breath of love!'

p. 186, 187.

The scene of 'the Scholar's Funeral' is at Oxford; and it commemorates the untimely death of a glorious youth, who sickened and died while pursuing his studies at that seat of learning. It is written throughout with singular elegance and beauty; and has an air of sad reality about it, that assures us of its being drawn from nature. But we can afford no more extracts—and must here close our notice of this interesting volume.

We take our leave of it with unfeigned regret, and very sincere admiration of the author's talents. He has undoubtedly both the heart and the fancy of a poet; and, with these great requisites, is almost sure of attaining the higher honours of his art, if he continue to cultivate it with the docility and diligence of which he has already given proof. Though his

style is still too diffuse, and his range too limited, the present volume is greatly less objectionable on these grounds than the former. It has also less of the peculiarities of the Lake School; and, in particular, is honourably distinguished from the productions of its founders, by being quite free from the paltry spite and fanatical reprobation with which, like other fierce and narrow-minded sectaries, they think it necessary to abuse all whose tastes or opinions are not exactly conformable to their own. There is no shadow of this ludicrous insolence in the work before us; in consequence of which, we think it extremely likely, that he will be execrated and reviled, on the first good opportunity, by his late kind masters.

ART. XI. *The Story of Rimini, a Poem.* By LEIGH HUNT. pp. 111. London, Murray, 1816.

THERE is a great deal of genuine poetry in this little volume; and poetry, too, of a very peculiar and original character. It reminds us, in many respects, of that pure and glorious style that prevailed among us before French models and French rules of criticism were known in this country, and to which we are delighted to see there is now so general a disposition to recur. Yet its more immediate prototypes, perhaps, are to be looked for rather in Italy than in England: at least, if it be copied from any thing English, it is from something much older than Shakespeare; and it unquestionably bears a still stronger resemblance to Chaucer than to his immediate followers in Italy. The same fresh, lively and artless pictures of external objects,—the same profusion of gorgeous but redundant and needless description,—the same familiarity and even homeliness of diction—and, above all, the same simplicity and directness in representing actions and passions in colours true to nature, but without any apparent attention to their effect, or any ostentation, or even visible impression as to their moral operation or tendency. The great distinction between the modern poets and their predecessors, is, that the latter painted more from the eye and less from the mind than the former. They described things and actions as they saw them, without expressing, or at any rate without dwelling on the deep-seated emotions from which the objects derived their interest, or the actions their character. The moderns, on the contrary, have brought these most prominently forward, and explained and enlarged upon them perhaps at excessive length. Mr Hunt, in

the piece before us, has followed the antient school ; and though he has necessarily gone something beyond the naked notices that would have suited the age of Chaucer, he has kept himself far more to the delineation of visible, physical realities, than any other modern poet on such a subject.

Though he has chosen, however, to write in this style, and has done so very successfully, we are not by any means of opinion, that he either writes or appears to write it as naturally as those by whom it was first adopted ; on the contrary, we think there is a good deal of affectation in his homeliness, directness, and rambling descriptions. He visibly gives himself airs of familiarity, and mixes up flippant, and even cant phrases, with passages that bear, upon the whole, the marks of considerable labour and study. In general, however, he is very successful in his attempts at facility, and has unquestionably produced a little poem of great grace and spirit, and, in many passages and many particulars, of infinite beauty and delicacy.

In the subject he has selected, he has ventured indeed upon sacred ground ; but he has not profaned it. The passage in Dante, on which the story of Rimini is founded, remains unimpaired by the English version, and has even received a new interest from it. The undertaking must be allowed to have been one of great nicety. An imitation of the manner of Dante was an impossibility. That extraordinary author collects all his force into a single blow : His sentiments derive an obscure grandeur from their being only half expressed ; and therefore, a detailed narrative of this kind, a description of particular circumstances done upon this ponderous principle, an enumeration of incidents leading to a catastrophe, with all the pith and conclusiveness of the catastrophe itself, would be intolerable. Mr Hunt has arrived at his end by varying his means ; and the effect of his poem coincides with that of the original passage, mainly, because the spirit in which it is written is quite different. With the personages in Dante, all is over before the reader is introduced to them ; their doom is fixed ;—and his style is as peremptory and irrevocable as their fate. But the lovers, whose memory the muse of the Italian poet had consecrated in the other world, are here restored to earth, with the graces and the sentiments that became them in their lifetime. Mr Hunt, in accompanying them to its fatal close, has mingled every tint of many-coloured life in the tissue of their story—blending tears with smiles, the dancing of the spirits with sad forebodings, the intoxication of hope with bitter disappointment, youth with age, life and death together. He has united something of the voluptuous pathos of Boccaccio with Ariosto's laughing graces. His

court dresses, and gala processions he has borrowed from Watteau. His sunshine and his flowers are his own ! He himself has explained the design of his poem in the Preface.

‘ The following story is founded on a passage in Dante, the substance of which is contained in the concluding paragraph of the second canto. For the rest of the incidents, generally speaking, the praise or blame remains with myself. The passage in question—the episode of Paulo and Francesca—has long been admired by the readers of Italian poetry, and is indeed the most cordial and refreshing one in the whole of that singular poem, the *Inferno*, which some call a satire, and some an epic, and which, I confess, has always appeared to me a kind of sublime night-mare. We even lose sight of the place, in which the saturnine poet, according to his summary way of disposing both of friends and enemies, has thought proper to put the sufferers ; and see the whole melancholy absurdity of his theology, in spite of itself, falling to nothing before one genuine impulse of the affections.

‘ The interest of the passage is greatly increased by its being founded on acknowledged matter of fact. Even the particular circumstance which Dante describes as having hastened the fall of the lovers—the perusal of *Launcelot of the Lake*—is most likely a true anecdote ; for he himself, not long after the event, was living at the court of Guido Novello da Polenta, the heroine’s father ; and indeed the very circumstance of his having related it at all, considering its nature, is a warrant of its authenticity.

‘ The commentators differ in their accounts of the rest of the story : but all agree that the lady was in some measure beguiled into the match with the elder Malatesta ;—Boccaccio says, by being shown the younger brother once as he passed over a square, and told that that was her intended husband. I have accordingly turned this artifice to account, though in a different manner. I have also omitted the lameness attributed to the husband ; and of two different names, by which he is called, Giovanni and *Launcelot*, have chosen the former, as not interfering with the hero’s appellation, whose story the lovers were reading.

‘ The Italians have been very fond of this little piece of private history, and I used to wonder that I could meet with it in none of the books of novels, for which they have been so famous ; till I reflected that it was, perhaps, owing to the nature of the books themselves, which such a story might have been no means of recommending. The historians of Ravenna, however, have taken care to record it ; and, besides Dante’s episode, it is alluded to by Petrarch and by Tassoni. The former mentions the lovers among his examples of calamitous passion, in the *Trionfo d’Amore*, cap. 3.—Tassoni, in his *tragi-comic war*, introduces Paulo Malatesta, as leading the troops of Rimini, and paints him in a very lively manner, as contemplating, while he rides, a golden sword-chain which Francesca had given him, and which he addresses with melancholy en-

thusiasm, as he goes.' See the *Secchia Rapita*, canto 5. st. 43, &c. and canto 7. st. 29, &c.

The poem opens with the following passage of superb description.

'The sun is up, and 'tis a morn of May
Round old Ravenna's clear-shown towers and bay.
A morn, the loveliest which the year has seen,
Last of the spring, yet fresh with all its green;
For a warm eve, and gentle rains at night
Have left a sparkling welcome for the light,
And there's a crystal clearness all about;
The leaves are sharp, the distant hills look out;
A balmy briskness comes upon the breeze;
The smoke goes dancing from the cottage trees;
And when you listen, you may hear a coil
Of bubbling springs about the grassy soil;
And all the scene, in short—sky, earth, and sea,
Breathes like a bright-eyed face, that laughs out openly.
'Tis nature, full of spirits, waked and springing:—
The birds to the delicious time are singing,
Darting with freaks and snatches up and down,
Where the light woods go seaward from the town;
While happy faces, striking through the green
Of leafy roads, at every turn are seen;
And the far ships, lifting their sails of white
Like joyful hands, come up with scattery light,
Come gleaming up, true to the wished-for day,
And chase the whistling brine, and swirl into the bay,
Already in the streets the stir grows loud,
Of expectation and a bustling crowd.
With feet and voice the gathering hum contends,
The deep talk heaves, the ready laugh ascends;
Callings, and clapping doors, and curs unite,
And shouts from mere exuberance of delight,
And armed bands, making important way,
Gallant and grave, the lords of holiday,
And nodding neighbours, greeting as they run,
And pilgrims, chanting in the morning sun.'

Such is the manner in which the business of the day is ushered in. The rest of the first canto is taken up in describing the preparations for receiving the bridegroom, the processions of knights that precede his expected arrival; the dresses, &c.—There is something in all this part of the poem which gives back the sensation of the scene and the occasion;—a glancing eye, a busy ear, great bustle and gaiety, and, where it is required, great grace of description. Perhaps the subject is too

long dwelt upon; and there is, occasionally, a repetition of nearly the same images and expressions. The reader may take the following as fair specimens.

' And hark ! the approaching trumpets, with a start,
On the smooth wind come dancing to the heart.
A moment's hush succeeds; and from the walls,
Firm and at once, a silver answer calls.
Then heave the crowd; and all, who best can strive
In shuffling struggle, tow'rd the palace drive,
Where balconied and broad, of marble fair,
On pillars it o'erlooks the public square,' &c.

' For in this manner is the square set out :—
The sides, path-deep, are crowded round about,
And faced with guards, who keep the road entire ;
And opposite to these, a brilliant quire
Of knights and ladies hold the central spot,
Seated in groups upon a grassy plot ;
The seats with boughs are shaded from above
Of early trees transplanted from a grove,
And in the midst, fresh whistling through the scene,
A lightsome fountain starts from out the green,
Clear and compact, till, at its height o'er-run,
It shakes its loosening silver in the sun.'

' With various earnestness the crowd admire
Horsemen and horse, the motion and the attire.
Some watch, as they go by, the riders' faces
Looking composure, and their knightly graces ;
The life, the carelessness, the sudden heed,
The body curving to the rearing steed,
The patting hand, that best persuades the check,
And makes the quarrel up with a proud neck,
The thigh broad pressed, the spanning palm upon it,
And the jerked feather swaling in the bonnet.

Others the horses and their pride explore,
Their jauntiness behind and strength before ;
The flowing back, firm chest, and fetlocks clean,
The branching veins ridging the glossy lean,
The mane hung sleekly, the projecting eye
That to the stander near looks awfully,
The finished head, in its compactness free,
Small, and o'erarching to the lifted knee,
The start and snatch, as if they felt the comb,
With mouths that fling about the creamy foam,
The snorting turbulence, the nod, the champing,
The shift, the tossing, and the fiery tramping.'

After all, the future husband does not appear, but his young-

er brother, Paulo, who comes as his proxy to take the bride to Rimini; and it is to the mistaken impression thus made on her mind that all the subsequent distress is owing. His person, his dress, the gallantry of Paulo's demeanour, are very vividly described, and the effect of his appearance on the surrounding multitude.

‘ And on a milk-white courser, like the air,
A glorious figure springs into the square;
Up, with a burst of thunder, goes the shout,
And rolls the trembling walls and peopled roofs about.
And see,—his horse obeys the check unseen;
And with an air ’twixt ardent and serene,
Letting a fall of curls about his brow,
He takes his cap off with a gallant bow;
Then for another and a deafening shout;
And scarfs are waved, and flowers come fluttering out;
And, shaken by the noise, the reeling air
Sweeps with a giddy whirl among the fair,
And whisks their garments and their shining hair.
With busy interchange of wonder glows
The crowd, and loves his brilliance as he goes,—
The golden-fretted cap, the downward feather,—
The crimson vest fitting with pearls together,—
The rest in snowy white from the mid thigh:
These catch the extrinsic and the common eye.’

The Second Canto gives an account of the bride's journey to Rimini, in the company of her husband's brother, which abounds in picturesque descriptions. Mr Hunt has here taken occasion to enter somewhat learnedly into the geography of his subject; and describes the road between Ravenna and Rimini, with the accuracy of a topographer, and the liveliness of a poet. There is, however, no impertinent minuteness of detail; but only those circumstances are dwelt upon, which fall in with the general interest of the story, and would be likely to strike forcibly upon the imagination in such an interval of anxiety and suspense. We have only room for the concluding lines.

‘ Various the trees and passing foliage here—
Wild pear, and oak, and dusky juniper,
With briony between in trails of white,
And ivy, and the suckle's streaky light,
And moss, warm gleaming with a sudden mark,
Like flings of sunshine left upon the bark,
And still the pine, long-haired, and dark, and tall,
In lordly right, predominant o'er all.—
Much they admire that old religious tree
With shaft above the rest up-shooting free,’

And shaking, when its dark locks feel the wind,
 Its wealthy fruit with rough Mosaic rind.
 At noisy intervals, the living cloud
 Of cawing rooks breaks o'er them, gathering loud,
 Like a wild people at a stranger's coming ;
 Then hushing paths succeed, with insects humming,
 Or ring-dove, that repeats his pensive plea,
 Or startled gull, up-screaming tow'ards the sea.
 But scarce their eyes encounter living thing,
 Save, now and then, a goat loose wandering,
 Or a few cattle, looking up aslant
 With sleepy eyes and meek mouths ruminant ;
 Or once, a plodding woodman, old and bent,
 Passing with half-indifferent wonderment ;
 Yet turning, at the last, to look once more ;
 Then feels his trembling staff, and onward as before.

- - - - -
 So ride they in delight through beam and shade ;—
 Till many a rill now passed, and many a glade,
 They quit the piny labyrinths, and soon
 Emerge into the full and sheeted moon :
 Chilling it seems ; and pushing steed on steed,
 They start them freshly with a homeward speed.
 Then well-known fields they pass, and straggling cots,
 Boy-storied trees, and passion-plighted spots ;
 And turning last a sudden corner, see
 The square-lit towers of slumbering Rimini.
 The marble bridge comes heaving forth below
 With a long gleam ; and nearer as they go,
 They see the still Marecchia, cold and bright,
 Sleeping along with face against the light.
 A hollow trample now—a fall of chains—
 The bride has entered—not a voice remains :—
 Night and a maiden silence wrap the plains.'

We have detained our readers longer than we intended, from that which forms the most interesting part of the poem, the Third Canto, of which the subject is the fatal passion between Paulo and Francesca. We shall be ample in our extracts from this part of the poem, because we have no other way of giving an idea of its characteristic qualities. Mr Hunt, as we have already intimated, does not belong to any of the modern schools of poetry ; and therefore we cannot convey our idea of his manner of writing, by reference to any of the more conspicuous models. His poetry is not like Mr Wordsworth's, which is metaphysical ; nor like Mr Coleridge's, which is fantastical ; nor like Mr Southey's, which is monastical. But it is something which we have already endeavoured to sketch by its general

features, and shall now enable the reader to study in detail in the following extracts.

The first disappointment of the warm-hearted bride, and the portraits of the rival brothers, are sketched with equal skill and delicacy.

‘ Enough of this. Yet how shall I disclose
The weeping days that with the morning rose,
How bring the bitter disappointment in,—
The holy cheat, the virtue-binding sin,—
The shock, that told this lovely, trusting heart,
That she had given, beyond all power to part,
Her hope, belief, love, passion, to one brother,
Possession (oh, the misery!) to another!
Some likeness was there ’twixt the two—an air
At times, a cheek, a colour of the hair,
A tone when speaking of indifferent things;
Nor, by the scale of common measurings,
Would you say more perhaps, than that the one
Was more robust, the other finelier spun;
That of the two, Giovanni was the graver,
Paulo the livelier, and the more in favour.
Some tastes there were indeed, that would prefer
Giovanni’s countenance as the martialler;
And ’twas a soldier’s truly, if an eye
Ardent and cool at once, drawn-back and high,
An eagle’s nose, and a determined lip,
Were the best marks of manly soldiership.
Paulo’s was fashioned in a different mould,
And finer still, I think; for though ’twas bold,
When boldness was required, and could put on
A glowing frown, as if an angel shone,
Yet there was nothing in it one might call,
A stamp exclusive, or professional—
No courtier’s face, and yet its smile was ready—
No scholar’s, yet its look was deep and steady—
No soldier’s, for its power was all of mind,
Too true for violence, and too refined.
A graceful nose was his, lightsofely brought
Down from a forehead of clear-spirited thought;
Wisdom looked sweet and inward from his eye;
And round his mouth was sensibility;—
It was a face, in short, seemed made to show
How far the genuine flesh and blood could go;—
A morning glass of unaffected nature,—
Something that baffled every pompous feature,—
The image of a glorious human creature.

The worst of Prince Giovanni, as his bride
Too quickly found, was an ill-tempered pride.

Bold, handsome, able if he chose to please,
 Punctual and right in common offices,
 He lost the sight of conduct's only worth,
 The scattering smiles on this uneasy earth,
 And on the strength of virtues of small weight,
 Claimed tow'ards himself the exercise of great.
 He kept no reckoning with his sweets and sour;—
 He'd hold a sullen countenance for hours,
 And then, if pleased to cheer himself a space,
 Look for the immediate rapture in your face,
 And wonder that a cloud could still be there,
 How small soever, when his own was fair.'

' Yet all the while, no doubt, however stern
 Or cold at times, he thought he loved in turn.
 And that the joy he took in her sweet ways,
 The pride he felt when she excited praise,
 In short, the enjoyment of his own good pleasure,
 Was thanks enough, and passion beyond measure.—
 She, had she loved him, might have thought so too;
 For what will love's exalting not go through,
 Till long neglect and utter selfishness
 Shame the fond pride it takes in its distress?
 But ill prepared was she, in her hard lot,
 To fancy merit where she found it not—
 She who had been beguiled—she who was made
 Within a gentle bosom to be laid—
 To bless and to be blessed—to be heart-bare
 To one who found his bettered likeness there—
 To think for ever with him, like a bride—
 To haunt his eye, like taste personified—
 To double his delight, to share his sorrow,
 And like a morning beam, wake to him every morrow.'

Paulo's growing passion for Francesca is described with equal delicacy and insight into the sophistry of the human heart. He is represented as first concealing his attachment from himself; then struggling with it; then yielding to it—

' Till 'twas his food and habit day by day,
 And she became companion of his thought;
 Silence her gentleness before him brought,
 Society her sense, reading her books,
 Music her voice, every sweet thing her looks.'

' He wished not to himself another's blessing,
 But then he might console for not possessing;
 And glorious things there were, which but to see
 And not admire, was mere stupidity;
 He might as well object to his own eyes
 For loving to behold the fields and skies,

His neighbour's grove, or story-painted hall;
'Twas but the taste for what was natural.

But we hasten on to the principal event and the catastrophe of the poem. The scene of the fatal meeting between the lovers is laid in the gardens of the palace, which are here described with the utmost elegance and beauty.

' So now you walked beside an odorous bed
Of gorgeous hues, white, azure, golden, red;
And now turned off into a leafy walk,
Close and continuous, fit for lovers' talk;
And now pursued the stream, and as you trod
Onward and onward o'er the velvet sod,
Felt on your face an air, watery and sweet,
And a new sense in your soft-lighting feet;
And then perhaps you entered upon shades,
Pillowed with dells and uplands 'twixt the glades,
Through which the distant palace, now and then,
Looked lordly forth with many-windowed ken;
A land of trees, which reaching round about,
In shady blessing stretched their old arms out,
With spots of sunny opening, and with nooks,
To lie and read in, sloping into brooks,
Where at her drink you started the slim deer,
Retreating lightly with a lovely fear.
And all about, the birds kept leafy house,
And sung and sparkled in and out the boughs;
And all about, a lovely sky of blue
Clearly was felt, or down the leaves laughed through;
And here and there, in every part, were seats,
Some in the open walks, some in retreats;
With bowering leaves o'erhead, to which the eye
Looked up half sweetly and half awfully,—
Places of nestling green, for poets made,
Where when the sunshine struck a yellow shade,
The slender trunks, to inward peeping sight,
Thronged in dark pillars up the gold green light.

But 'twixt the wood and flowery walks, half-way,
And formed of both, the loveliest portion lay,
A spot that struck you like enchanted ground:—
It was a shallow dell, set in a mound
Of sloping shrubs, that mounted by degrees,
The birch and poplar mixed with heavier trees;
From under which, sent through a marble spout,
Betwixt the dark wet green, a rill gushed out,
Whose low sweet talking seemed as if it said
Something eternal to that happy shade:
The ground within was lawn, with plots of flowers
Heaped towards the centre, and with citron bowers.

And in the midst of all, clustered about
 With bay and myrtle, and just gleaming out,
 Lurked a pavilion, a delicious sight,
 Small, marble, well-proportioned, mellowy white,
 With yellow vine-leaves sprinkled,—but no more—
 And a young orange either side the door.

It was a beauteous piece of antient skill,
 Spared from the rage of war, and perfect still;
 By most supposed the work of fairy hands,
 Famed for luxurious taste, and choice of lands—
 Alcina or Morgana—who from fights
 And errant fame inveigled amorous knights,
 And lived with them in a long round of blisses,
 Feasts, concerts, baths, and bower-enshaded kisses.
 But 'twas a temple, as its sculpture told,
 Built to the Nymphs that haunted there of old;
 For o'er the door was carved a sacrifice
 By girls and shepherds brought, with reverend eyes,
 Of sylvan drinks and foods, simple and sweet,
 And goats with struggling horns and planted feet;
 And on a line with this ran round about
 A like relief, touched exquisitely out,
 That showed, in various scenes, the nymphs themselves;
 Some by the water side on bowery shelves
 Leaning at will—some in the water sporting
 With sides half swelling forth, and looks of courting;
 Some in a flowery dell, hearing a swain
 Play on his pipe, till the hills ring again—
 Some tying up their long moist hair,—some sleeping
 Under the trees, with fauns and satyrs peeping—
 While their forgotten urns, lying about
 In the green herbage, let the water out.
 Never, be sure, before or since, was seen
 A summer-house so fine in such a nest of green.'

Such is the landscape:—now for the figures.

' All the green garden, flower-bed, shade and plot,
 Francesca loved, but most of all, this spot.
 Whenever she walked forth, wherever went
 About the grounds, to this at last she bent:
 Here she had brought a lute and a few books;
 Here would she lie for hours, with grateful looks,
 Thanking at heart the sunshine and the leaves,
 The summer rain-drops counting from the eaves,
 And all that promising, calm smile we see
 In nature's face, when we look patiently.
 Then would she think of heaven; and you might hear
 Sometimes, when every thing was hushed and clear,

Her gentle voice from out those shades emerging,
 Singing the evening anthem to the Virgin.
 The gardeners and the rest, who served the place,
 And blest whenever they beheld her face,
 Knelt when they heard it, bowing and uncovered,
 And felt as if in air some sainted beauty hovered.
 One day—'twas on a summer afternoon,
 When airs and gurgling brooks are best in tune,
 And grasshoppers are loud, and day-work done,
 And shades have heavy outlines in the sun,—
 The princess came to her accustomed bower
 To get her, if she could, a soothing hour,
 Trying, as she was used, to leave her cares
 Without, and slumberously enjoy the airs,
 And the low talking leaves, and that cool light
 The vines let in, and all that hushing sight
 Of closing wood seen through the opening door,
 And distant plash of waters tumbling o'er,
 And smell of citron blooms, and fifty luxuries more.
 Painfully clear those rising thoughts appeared,
 With something dark at bottom that she feared;
 And snatching from the fields her thoughtful look,
 She reached o'er-head, and took her down a book,
 And fell to reading with as fixed an air,
 As though she had been wrapt since morning there.
 'Twas *Launcelot of the Lake*, a bright romance,
 That like a trumpet, made young pulses dance,
 Yet had a softer note that shook still more:—
 She had begun it but the day before,
 And read with a full heart, half-sweet, half-sad,
 How old King Ban was spoiled of all he had
 But one fair castle: how one summer's day
 With his fair queen and child he went away
 To ask the good King Arthur for assistance.

We cannot give the whole abstract of the story,—only she becomes more deeply engaged as she comes to the love scenes.—
 What follows, we think is very exquisitely written.

' Ready she sat with one hand to turn o'er
 The leaf, to which her thoughts ran on before,
 The other propping her white brow, and throwing
 Its ringlets out, under the sky-light glowing.
 So sat she fixed; and so observed was she,
 Of one who at the door stood tenderly—
 Paulo—who from a window seeing her
 Go strait across the lawn, and guessing where,
 Had thought she was in tears, and found, that day,
 His usual efforts vain to keep away.

"May I come in?" said he:—it made her start,—
That smiling voice;—she coloured, pressed her heart
A moment, as for breath; and then with free
And usual tone said, "O yes—certainly."

There's apt to be, at conscious times like these,
An affectation of a bright-eyed ease,
An air of something quite serene and sure,
As if to seem so, was to be, secure;
With this the lovers met, with this they spoke,
With this they sat down to the self-same book,
And Paulo, by degrees, gently embraced
With one permitted arm her lovely waist;
And both their cheeks, like peaches on a tree,
Leaned with a touch together, thrillingly;
And o'er the book they hung, and nothing said,
And every lingering page grew longer as they read.
As thus they sat, and felt with leaps of heart
Their colour change, they came upon the part
Where fond Geneura, with her flame long nurst,
Smiled upon Launcelot when he kissed her first;—
That touch, at last, through every fibre slid;
And Paulo turned, scarce knowing what he did,
Only he felt he could no more dissemble,
And kissed her, mouth to mouth, all in a tremble.
Sad were those hearts, and sweet was that long kiss;
Sacred be love from sight, whate'er it is.
The world was all forgot, the struggle o'er,
Desperate the joy.—That day they read no more.'

We do not think the execution of the fourth and last Canto quite equal to that of the third: Yet there are passages in it of the greatest beauty; and an air of melancholy breathes from the whole with irresistible softness and effect.

The feelings of Francesca, arising from the consciousness of her melancholy situation and broken vows, are thus finely represented.

'And oh, the morrow, how it used to rise!
How would she open her despairing eyes,
And from the sense of the long lingering day,
Rushing upon her, almost turn away,
Loathing the light, and groan to sleep again!
Then sighing once for all, to meet the pain,
She would get up in haste, and try to pass
The time in patience, wretched as it was;
Till patience self, in her distempered sight,
Would seem a charm to which she had no right,
And trembling at the lip, and pale with fears,
She shook her head, and burst into fresh tears.

Old comforts now were not at her command :
 The falcon reached in vain from off his stand ;
 The flowers were not refreshed ; the very light,
 The sunshine, seemed as if it shone at night ;
 The least noise smote her like a sudden wound ;
 And did she hear but the remotest sound
 Of song or instrument about the place,
 She hid with both her hands her streaming face.
 But worse to her than all (and oh, thought she,
 That ever, ever such a worse should be !)
 The sight of infant was or child at play ;
 Then would she turn and move her lips, and pray
 That Heaven would take her, if it pleased, away.'

From the distress and agitation of her mind, she afterwards betrays the secret of her infidelity to her husband in her sleep. This leads to a rencounter between the two brothers, which is fatal to Paulo, who runs voluntarily upon his brother's sword ; and partly from the shock of the news, partly from previous grief preying on her mind and body, Francesca dies the same day. Her death is profoundly affecting, and leaves an impression on the imagination, icy, cold, and monumental. The squire of Paulo is admitted to the side of her sad couch, to tell the dismal story—and repeats, in the Prince's own words, how he had been forced to fight with his brother—

“ and that although

“ His noble brother was no fratricide,
 “ Yet in that fight, and on his sword,—he died. ”
 “ I understand, ” with firmness answered she ;
 More low in voice, but still composedly.
 “ Now, Tristan—faithful friend—leave me ; and take
 “ This trifle here, and keep it for my sake. ”
 So saying, from the curtains she put forth
 Her thin white hand, that wore a ring of worth ;
 And he, with tears no longer to be kept
 From quenching his heart's thirst, silently wept,
 And kneeling took the ring, and touched her hand
 To either streaming eye, with homage bland,
 And looking on it once, gently up started,
 And, in his reverent stillness, so departed.

Her favorite lady then with the old nurse
 Returned, and fearing she must now be worse,
 Gently withdrew the curtains, and looked in :—
 O, who that feels one godlike spark within,
 Shall say that earthly suffering cancels not frail sin !
 There lay she praying, upwardly intent,
 Like a fair statue on a monument,

With her two trembling hands together prest,
 Palm against palm, and pointing from her breast.
 She ceased, and turning slowly towards the wall,
 They saw her tremble sharply, feet and all,—
 Then suddenly be still. Near and more near
 They bent with pale inquiry and close ear;—
 Her eyes were shut—no motion—not a breath—
 The gentle sufferer was at peace in death. ’

The bodies of the two lovers are sent back, by order of the husband, to Ravenna, to be buried in one tomb. We shall close our extracts with the account of the arrival of this mournful procession, so different in every respect from the former one.

‘ The days were then at close of autumn—still,
 A little rainy, and towards night-fall chill;
 There was a fitful, moaning air abroad;
 And ever and anon, over the road,
 The last few leaves came fluttering from the trees,
 Whose trunks now thronged to sight, in dark varieties.
 The people, who from reverence kept at home,
 Listened till after noon to hear them come;
 And hour on hour went by, and nought was heard
 But some chance horseman, or the wind that stirred,
 Till towards the vesper hour; and then ’twas said
 Some heard a voice, which seemed as if it read;
 And others said that they could hear a sound
 Of many horses trampling the moist ground.
 Still nothing came—till on a sudden, just
 As the wind opened in a rising gust,
 A voice of chanting rose, and as it spread,
 They plainly heard the anthem for the dead.
 It was the choristers who went to meet
 The train, and now were entering the first street.
 Then turned aside that city, young and old,
 And in their lifted hands the gushing sorrow rolled.
 But of the older people, few could bear
 To keep the window, when the train drew near;
 And all felt double tenderness to see
 The bier approaching, slow and steadily,
 On which those two in senseless coldness lay,
 Who but a few short months—it seemed a day,
 Had left their walls, lovely in form and mind,
 In sunny manhood he,—she first of womankind.
 They say that when Duke Guido saw them come,
 He clasped his hands, and looking round the room,
 Lost his old wits for ever. From the morrow
 None saw him after. But no more of sorrow.
 On that same night, those lovers silently
 Were buried in one grave, under a tree.

There, side by side, and hand in hand, they lay
In the green ground :—and on fine nights in May
Young hearts betrothed used to go there to pray.

We have given these extracts at length, that our readers might judge of the story of Rimini, less on our authority, than its own merits ; and we have few remarks to add to those which we ventured to make at the beginning. The diction of this little poem is among its chief beauties—and yet its greatest blemishes are faults in diction.—It is very English throughout—but often very affectedly negligent, and so extremely familiar as to be absolutely low and vulgar. What, for example, can be said for such lines as

‘ She had stout notions on the marrying score,’ or
‘ He kept no reckoning with his sweets and sour ;—’ or
‘ And better still—in my idea at least,’ or
‘ The two divinest things this world has got.’

We see no sort of beauty either in such absurd and unusual phrases as ‘ a clipsome waist,’—‘ a scattery light,’ or ‘ flings of sunshine,’—nor any charm in such comparatives as ‘ martialler,’ or ‘ tastefuller,’ or ‘ franklier,’ or in such words as ‘ whisks,’ and ‘ swaling,’ and ‘ freaks and snatches,’ and an hundred others in the same taste. We think the author rather heretical too on the subject of versification—though we have much less objection to his theory than to his practice. But we cannot spare him a line more on the present occasion—and must put off the rest of our admonitions till we meet him again.

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I N D E X.

- Adams, Robert*, narrative of, 383—author, how discovered, 384—veracity of, examined, 385—his appearance on return from slavery described, 388—is shipwrecked on the coast of Africa, and made prisoner by the Moors, 390—carried to Tombuctoo, 391—description of that place, *ib.*—is transferred to various masters, and suffers extreme hardships, 394—remarkable story told him by a negro woman, 396—is ransomed, and arrives in England, 398.
- Æschylus*, character of his tragedies, 78.
- Africa*, important information concerning the interior of, derived from a poor sailor, 384.
- Algiers*. See *Croker*.
- Apennines*, geological description of, 158.
- Aristophanes*, character of his comedies, 87.
- Attraction* of mountains first suggested by Newton, 36—various methods of ascertaining the quantity of, 37.
- Bank of England*, inquiry whether the notes of, have experienced any loss of value, 147.
- Barbary*, different races of people inhabiting, described, 401.
- Bible Society*, remarkable concurrence of all different sects in, 62.
- Bouguer, M.*, his methods of ascertaining the quantity of attraction of mountains, 37—made trial of, on the mountain of Chimborazo, 39.
- Brocchi* on fossil shells, &c. 156—use of systems in science vindicated, 157—geological description of the Apennines, 158—of the smaller hills lying along the foot of that range, 164—of the vale of Lombardy, 168—its physical structure, how accounted for, 169—fossil shells and bones found in the Sub-Apennine hills, 174—the remains of great land animals that now inhabit the torrid zone found in many parts of Italy, 177.
- Brougham, Mr.*, extracts from his speech on the state of agriculture, &c., 261.
- Brownrigg, General*, dethrones the King of Kandy, 434.
- Canada*, an instance of the good effects of toleration, 57.
- Cathelineau* first commences hostilities against the Republicans in La Vendée, 9.
- Ceylon*, origin of the contest with the King of Kandy in, 431.
- Chimborazo*, experiments on the quantity of attraction of, 39.
- Comedy*, ancient, nature and range of the characters introduced in, 88.
- Commons, House of*, different classes of members described, 376.
- Corn*, inquiry into the causes of the gradual rise of price of, 137.
- Corneille*, remarks on some of his works, 91.
- Croker* on the slavery of Christians at Algiers, 449—inconsistency of having so long permitted the depredations of the Barbary states, 450—true cause of the forbearance shown towards these robbers, *ib.*—miserable condition of the slaves, 451—description of the pri-
vations, 453—ravages of the barbarians, where chiefly committed, consequences to be expected from the late treaty, 455.

- Culloden Papers*, what, and when discovered, 107. See *Forbes*.
- Currency*, effects of the depreciation of, considered, 139.
- Davy*, Sir H., on the Fire Damp, 233—dreadful effects of its explosions, 234—author's investigation of its nature and properties, 235—steps by which he is led to the discovery of the Safe Lamp, 237—great merit and importance of that discovery, 239.
- Drama*, sketch of the rise and progress of the, 76.
- Elephant*, great quantities of the bones of, found fossil in Italy, 177.
- Eumenides* of *Æschylus*, remarks on, 79.
- Exchange*, foreign, unfavourable state of, an evidence of the depreciation of the currency at home, 150.
- Farmer*, by the English law, cannot be a bankrupt, 257.
- Fire-damp*, dreadful effects of its explosions, 234—properties of, investigated by Sir H. Davy, 235—safety lamp invented by him, 238.
- Forbes*, Duncan, account of his parentage, &c. 109—is appointed Sheriff of Mid-Lothian, 109—when advocate-depute, refuses to prosecute the rebel prisoners, 110—is appointed Lord Advocate, 112—what the leading objects of his official and parliamentary life, 113—appointed Lord President of the Court of Session, 117—his prudent and moderate conduct during the rebellion in 1745, 118—extracts from his epistolary correspondence during that period, 120—is ungratefully treated by Government notwithstanding his services, 124—his death, 126.
- Forest laws*, remarks on, 355.
- Fouché*, Duke of Otranto, sketch of his life and character, 228.
- France*, letters from, preliminary remarks on, 215—imprudence of the King, in violating the charter, &c. 217—fear entertained of the encroachments of the priests, 219—disregard of the army manifested by the royal family, 220—their hatred and jealousy of every thing connected with the revolution, 222—remarks on the progress of Napoleon on his return from Elba, 224—his arrival in Paris, 225—artful conduct of *Fouché* throughout his whole career, 228.
- Gellert*, the fabulist, portrait of, 324.
- German literature*, what the weak side of, 67.
- Goethe's Life of Himself*.—Remarks on modern German literature, 304—author a faithful representative of the general character of his countrymen, 310—account of his birth and early years, 315—Piper's court-day described, 317—progress of the author's education, 318—he becomes acquainted with a set of vagabonds, and the consequence, 322—interview with *Gellert* the fabulist, 324—and Professor *Gottsched*, ib.—is seized with an indigestion, and how cured, 326—visits Strassburgh, 327—is introduced to the celebrated *Herder*, 328—finishes his *Goetz of Berchlingen*, 331—remarks on suicide, 332—origin of the plan of *Werther*, 333.
- Gottsched*, Professor, anecdote of, 324.
- Hunt's story of Rimini*, character of, 476—design of the poem explained, 478—extracts, 479.
- James II.*, Life of, 402—account of the original Memoirs of that Prince, 403—they are destroyed during the French Revolution.

- 407—Stuart papers purchased by the Prince of Wales, on the death of the Pretender, 408—conjectures concerning the compiler, &c. 409—account of the secret treaty with France, 413—atrocity of that transaction, 419—component parts of the present work analyzed, &c. 422.
- Jopp*, Mr, on the Constitution and Representative System of England, &c. 349.
- Kandy*, origin of the contest with the King of, 431—instances of his shocking barbarity, 432—is driven from his capital, and made prisoner, 435—characteristic anecdotes of, 437—charges against, and sentence passed upon him, 439—justice of his dethronement examined, 440.
- Klettenburg*, Madam Von, account of, 326.
- Land*, causes of the rise in the value of, 141.
- Larochejaquelein*, Madame de, Memoirs of, compared with those of Mrs Hutchinson, 1—general character of, 2—author's birth, and marriage to M. de Lescure, 3—dangers they experienced on the 10th of August, 4—are rescued by the fidelity of some old domestics, 5—description of La Vendée, 6—character of the people, 7—causes of the revolt there, 8—account of the first commencement of, 9—cruelty of the Marseillois, 12—some account of the principal insurgent chiefs, 15—they take Thonars, 16—and Fontenay, 17—attack Nantes without success, 19—are, after the most desperate resistance, defeated and driven to the banks of the Loire, 24—extreme hardships the author suffered on that occasion, 25.
- Larochejaquelein*, Henri de, character of, 15.
- Lavater*, the physiognomist, anecdotes of, 335.
- Lescure*, M. de, character of, 16.
- Lombardy*, geological description of the vale of, 168.
- Longitude*, methods of ascertaining the difference of, between two stations, 44—by explosions of gunpowder, 46.
- Levat*, Lord, character of, and extracts from his correspondence with Forbes of Culloiden, &c. 126.
- Malcolm's History of Persia*—character of the people, and remarks on the language, 282—how far the authentic history may be traced in the traditional narratives of the East, 284—account of the first dynasty of Persian kings, 285—Assyrian domination, how typified in Persian tradition, 287—Persian monarchs of the Grecian histories, how noticed by the native historians, 289—changes introduced by the Mohamedan conquest, 293—outline of the usual course of a Mohamedan dynasty, 294—death of Nadir Shah, 295—different classes of inhabitants at that period, 296—reign and character of Carim Khan, 297—of Aga Mohamed Khan, 300—revolt of Heraclius, Prince of Georgia, 302.
- Marseillois*, cruelty of, in La Vendée, 12.
- Maskelyne*, Dr, experiments of, on the attraction of the mountain Schehalion, 40.
- Mediterranean*, coasts of, cruelly infested by the Algerines, 454.
- Metals*, precious, decrease in the value of, inquired into, 139.
- Mines*, Spanish, annual product of, 140.

- Newton*, Sir Isaac, first suggests the idea of the attraction of mountains, 36.
- Niger river*, traffic on, how conducted, 399.
- Oldfield's Representative History of Great Britain, &c.*—Author's scheme of parliamentary reform, 338—his qualifications for suggesting improvements examined, 339.
- Park*, Mr, circumstance rendering doubtful the account of his death formerly received, 397.
- Parliament*, constitution of, at an early period inquired into, 339—since the Revolution, 367.
- Phillibeg*, said to have been introduced into the Highlands by an Englishman, 114.
- Poetical Extracts*—from Southey's Lay of the Laureate, 445—from Wilson's City of the Plague, 462—his Convict, 472—the Children's Dance, 474—from Hunt's Story of Rimini, 479.
- Poetry*, ancient German and Northern, general remarks on, 181—account of some of the earliest Teutonic romances, 183—changes introduced at the accession of the Swabian line of princes, 192—account of the master-singers, their regulations, and productions, 203—analogy between the ancient Danish and Scottish ballads, 210.
- Poor-laws*, state of, imperiously demands the attention of the Legislature, 275.
- Property tax*, particularly oppressive to agriculture, 146.
- Quarterly List of New Publications*, 241, 492.
- Racine*, character of his works, 93.
- Safe-Lamp* for mines, invented by Sir H. Davy, 238.
- Schehalion*, whimsical mistake of the Baron de Zach with regard to the name of, 39—experiments on the attraction of, by Dr Maskelyne, 40.
- Schlegel on the Drama*—what the weak side of German literature, 67—some account of the author, 68—object of his work explained, ib.—distinction between the modern or romantic and antique or classical style of art, 70—sketch of the rise and progress of the Drama, 76—remarks on the Grecian theatre, 77—account of the Greek tragedians,—Æschylus, 78—Sophocles, 82—Euripides, 85—Comedies of Aristophanes, 87—observations on the characters introduced into the ancient comedy, 88—account of the French theatre, 89—dramatic works of Shakespeare, how distinguished from all others, 99—character of the German drama, 105.
- Shakespeare*, distinguishing characteristics of, 99—observations on his language and versification, 102.
- Shilluh*, or inhabitants of Western Barbary, remarkable anecdote of one, 400.
- Southey's Lay of the Laureate*, 441—remarks on the nature of the office of Laureate, 442—subject and plan of the present Lay, 444.
- Suicide*, remarks on, 332.
- Systems*, utility of, in philosophy, 157.
- Taxation*, excessive, the chief cause of all the present distresses, 284.
- Tobacco* formerly cultivated in Britain, 273—removal of the present prohibition recommended, 274.

Toleration, reflections on the progress of the principles of, 51—persecution not the result of any particular system, but rather of liberal prejudices, 52—Protestant churches, if established in the darker ages, would have had the same persecuting spirit as the Catholics, 54—examples of intolerance in the Church of England, 54—and in that of Scotland, 55—causes of the mutual animosities between the Episcopal and Presbyterians, 56—statutes against heretics still remain *in terrorem*, though unexecuted in England, 59—remarkable instance of the amicable intercourse of all the different sects, 62—beneficial effects produced by the diffusion of knowledge, 63.

Tombuctoo, account of, by Adams, an American sailor, 391—of the trade of the Niger, 398.

Tythes, effects of, upon cultivation, 277—measures proposed for effecting a change in this branch of public economy, 279.

Usury-laws, repeal of, recommended, 270.

Vavassors, who, 342.

Vendée, La, description of the country of, 6—character of the inhabitants, 7—rise of the insurrection in, 8.

Werther, Goethe's origin of, 332.

Western, Mr, speech of, &c. present distressed state of the country, 255—instances of, in different parts of England, 256—true causes of, explained, 258—some remedies proposed, shown to be inefficacious, 268—what the most probable means of removing or alleviating, 271.

Wilson, Mr, inquiry, &c. 135—gradual rise in the price of corn, 137—derotes a fall in the value of money, 138—same cause affects the value of land, 141.

Wilson's City of the Plague, &c. 458—general tenderness of the Reviewers towards the tribe of poets, *ib.*—faults incident to this branch of literature that cannot be tolerated, 459—character of the present author, 460—account of his work, with extracts, 461.

Wool-laws, prejudicial to the agricultural interest, 271.

Zach, Baron de, on the attraction of mountains,—Account of the author, 36—attraction of mountains first suggested by Newton, *ib.*—methods for ascertaining the quantity of, 37—experiments by the French academicians on Chimborazo, 39—by Dr Maskelyne on Schellion, 40—by the Author in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, 41—methods of ascertaining the difference of longitude between two stations, 44—farther experiments on attraction of mountains recommended, 48.

END OF VOLUME TWENTY-SIXTH.

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